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Albert

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF

the late

DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

COMPRISING THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLE-FIELDS
OF WELLINGTON AND HIS COMRADES,



Southfieldways.

AND
THE POLITICAL LIFE
OF
The Duke and his Contemporaries.

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THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE LATE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE DUKE.

BY THOMAS GASPEY, ESQ.

VOL. III.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,
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CONTENTS.

VOL. III.

	PAGE		PAGE
Chapter I.—Early promise of Arthur Wellesley; he opposes revolutionary views in Parliament; he, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, introduces a measure for training the Militia of Ireland; he defends his conduct with respect to the Convention of Cintra; he resumes his duties as Chief Secretary for Ireland	1	Office; correspondence between the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson; conciliatory policy of the Duke's administration; Earl Dudley, Lord Palmerston, and other members of the government withdraw; provision for the Canning family; abandonment of the Sinking Fund	91
Chapter II.—Sir Arthur Wellesley suggests a reform in the discipline of the army; the victory of Talavera is likened to a defeat; the honours granted to Lord Wellington are justified by Mr. Canning, and eulogised by the Marquis Wellesley; equanimity of the Duke; Lord Castlereagh's confidence in his judgment	11	Chapter X.—State of Ireland; the Ribbon code; great debate on the catholic question; speeches of the Marquis Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington; the slave-trade; proceedings of the finance committee; appropriation of public money without the sanction of Parliament	105
Chapter III.—The Duke of Wellington appears as Plenipotentiary in the Congress of Verona; he opposes continental despotism; becomes trustee for the claimants of the Deccan prize-money; his conduct is attacked, and triumphantly vindicated	23	Chapter XI.—Turkish affairs; changes in Portugal; Don Miguel, appointed regent, aspires to the crown; the ambassador at the court of England protests against his proceedings; the common people of Portugal are excited against the English; the troops at Oporto declare in favour of Don Pedro; Miguel convokes the three estates; Don Pedro's abdication; Russian policy; establishment of the London University; agitation connected with the catholic question; state of Ireland; progress of the catholic question	121
Chapter IV.—Claimants on France satisfied; accepts an Embassy to Russia; honours rendered him by the Emperor; he is appointed Commander-in-chief of the British Army, and High Constable of the Tower; Mr. Canning becomes Prime Minister; the Duke declines to join his administration	33	Chapter XII.—Arrival of the Queen of Portugal in England; Don Pedro claims assistance from England; Great Britain remains neutral between Brazil and Portugal; opening of a new session of Parliament; catholic emancipation favoured by the government	141
Chapter V.—Schism in the Tory party; correspondence between the Duke and Mr. Canning; Wellington disclaims all idea of the Premiership; Mr. Canning becomes Prime Minister	39	Chapter XIII.—Mr. Peel announces that the law is to be vindicated, and the Catholic Association put down; Mr. Huskisson supports, the Earl of Winchilsea condemns, ministers; a bill for suppressing dangerous associations is introduced and passed; Mr. Peel brings forward a bill to relieve Roman catholics; after strong opposition, the second reading is carried in the House of Commons	153
Chapter VI.—Wellington resumes the command of the army; Lord Goderich resigns; the Duke of Wellington becomes Prime Minister; exclusion of Lord Eldon; debates on the battle of Navarino; Mr. Brougham and the Duke of Wellington; opposition of the Irish catholics; Mr. Huskisson defends the Duke	52	Chapter XIV.—The Earl of Winchilsea attacks the Duke of Wellington; a hostile meeting ensues; Sir Charles Wetherell is deprived of his office; the Emancipation Bill passes the Commons; in the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington moves the second reading, which is carried	171
Chapter VII.—Causes which led to the battle of Navarino; the Earl of Carnarvon's motion respecting it; Mr. Hobhouse's motion for a vote of thanks; Turkish policy and manifesto; Lord Hill appointed commander-in-chief; committee of finance; amendment of laws relating to lunatic asylums; disavowal, by Wellington, of personal hostility to Mr. Canning	65	Chapter XV.—Qualification of Irish Freeholders' Bill; the Relief Bill in committee; Wellington repels a charge understood to be preferred by Lord Eldon; distressed state of George IV.; affronts offered to the Duke of Wellington; speeches on the third reading of the Relief Bill; the Catholic Emancipation Bill is passed; appeal to the House of Lords by the Marquis of Anglesey; a statue of the Duke of Wellington proposed to be erected in Dublin	185
Chapter VIII.—Lord John Russell introduces a bill to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts; it is passed by the House of Commons; the Earl of Eldon opposes it in the Lords; it is defended by the Duke of Wellington; the bill passes into a law; inquiry into the state of the police; motion on the subject of the Corn-laws	77	Chapter XVI.—Motion for an inquiry into the state of the silk trade; disturbances in Spital-fields and other places; bill to improve the	
Chapter IX.—The Corn-law Bill is passed; interference on behalf of Greek captives; Mr. Huskisson resigns the seals of the Colonial			

police of the metropolis; the budget; Mr. O'Connell claims a seat in the House of Commons; state of Portugal; motion respecting it; prorogation of Parliament; policy of Russia	PAGE 204	Chapter XXV.—Call for the abolition of slavery; bill for the disfranchisement of East Retford, and demand for parliamentary reform; prorogation of Parliament; opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway; death of Mr. Huskisson; effects of the French revolution in England; opening of the new Parliament	PAGE 316
Chapter XVII.—Agitation is continued in Ireland; the Catholic Association reassembles under another name; O'Connell again offers himself to the electors of Clare; he quarrels with Cobbett; an extraordinary festival scene; new charges against the Duke of Wellington; libels prosecuted	216	Chapter XXVI.—Attacks on the government policy in the House of Commons; reform called for; disturbed state of London; Mr. Alderman Key's letter to the Duke of Wellington; the king and queen decline visiting the city on Lord Mayor's day; riotous proceedings	333
Chapter XVIII.—Libels on the Duke of Wellington; the king and the government; trials and convictions of the libellers; growing disaffection in France; French expedition to Algiers	229	Chapter XXVII.—The grounds on which ministers advised the king not to visit the city explained in the House of Lords; alarming circumstances stated in the House of Commons	339
Chapter XIX.—The King of France is addressed to put aside the charter; ordinances are framed for the government of the nation; they are successfully resisted	236	Chapter XXVIII.—The causes of the postponement of the royal visit to the city are called for in the House of Lords; it is justified by the Duke of Wellington; the new civil-list is brought forward in the House of Commons; regency question; motion to refer the civil-list to a committee; ministers are left in a minority; they resign office; a new administration is formed	345
Chapter XX.—The new Parliament assembles; amendments proposed to the address; distress declared to be universal; parliamentary reform called for	238	Chapter XXIX.—General distress and monster processions; bitter complaints against the late ministers; the Shoreditch petition; great contest on the question of parliamentary reform	351
Chapter XXI.—Mr. O'Connell continues to agitate; the Catholic Association is revived; riot at Limerick; Greek and Turkish affairs; Sir James Graham calls for a reduction of salaries; retrenchment; angry debate on the estimates	251	Chapter XXX.—The Duke of Wellington successfully opposes the Reform Bill; he complains of the conduct pursued towards Holland; a second Reform Bill fails, and ministers resign; Wellington fails in attempting to form a new government; a Reform Bill is passed; the Duke is personally assailed; he returns to office, and again withdraws; he takes part in various debates; his death and public funeral	360
Chapter XXII.—Designs of Russia; Lord Aberdeen's commentary; case of the shipping interest; the king's health declines; a bill to authorise the use of a stamp for the sign-manual; Brunswick clubs; death of George IV.	281		
Chapter XXIII.—Opening of the reign of William IV.; the king's first message to Parliament; addresses on his accession; debate in the House of Lords on the proposed dissolution of Parliament; debate in the Commons on the same subject; serious altercation	293		
Chapter XXIV.—The Beer Bill in the House of Lords; debate on the regency question; financial prospects of the country; Appropriation Bill	308		

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. III.

PRINCE ALBERT (<i>Frontispiece.</i>)	
STRATHFIELDSAYE (<i>Vignette Title.</i>)	PAGE
CHARLES JAMES FOX - - - - -	- 1
WILLIAM PITT - - - - -	- <i>ib.</i>
TALLEYRAND - - - - -	- 23
ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON, EARL OF LIVERPOOL - - - - -	- 26
GEORGE CANNING - - - - -	- 37
THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART. - - - - -	- 153
THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT - - - - -	- 185
DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. - - - - -	- 209
EARL GREY - - - - -	- 368
LORD MELBOURNE - - - - -	- <i>ib.</i>
OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION - - - - -	- 371
TRIAL OF DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., M.P. - - - - -	- 372
THE DUKE'S STUDY AND BEDROOM AT WALMER CASTLE - - - - -	- <i>ib.</i>



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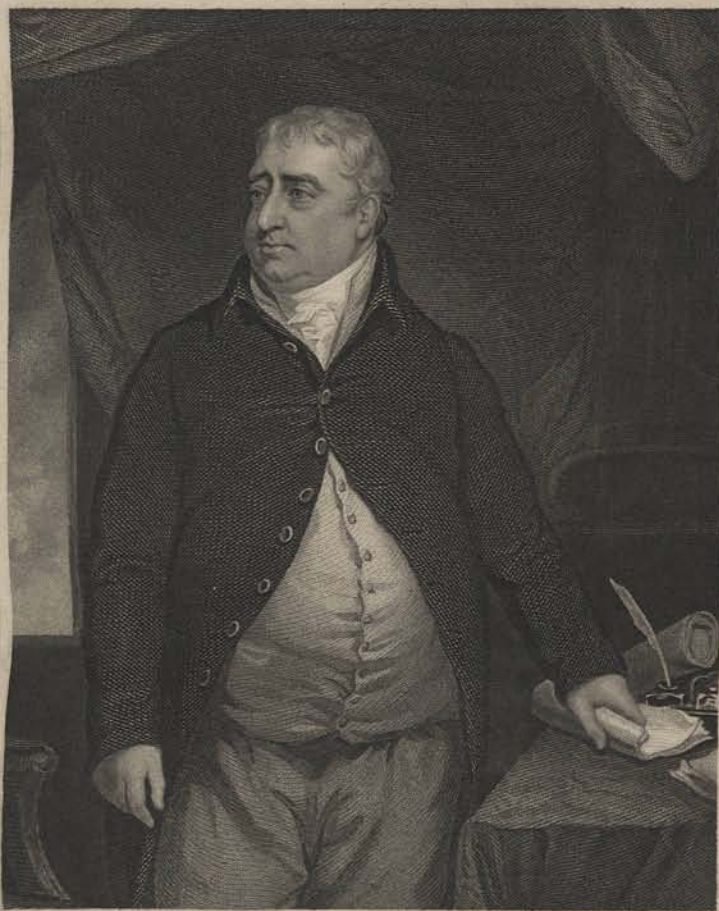
WILLIAM PITT.

OB. 1806.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY HOPNER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^{BLE} LORD CARRINGTON.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

CHARLES JAMES FOX

OB. 1806.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY OPPE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS WILLIAM COKE ESQ^{MR}

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF WELLINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY PROMISE OF ARTHUR WELLESLEY; HE OPPOSES REVOLUTIONARY VIEWS IN PARLIAMENT; HE, AS CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND, INTRODUCES A MEASURE FOR TRAINING THE MILITIA OF IRELAND; HE DEFENDS HIS CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO THE CONVENTION OF CINTRA; HE RESUMES HIS DUTIES AS CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON may be said to have passed through two lives, each essentially differing from the other. Though it cannot be denied no inconsiderable degree of administrative talent is required in the commander-in-chief of a great army, engaged in a series of protracted operations, the duties which devolve on a minister of state are so various, and so frequently in direct opposition to those feelings which ought to animate the warrior, that the faculties required in the two high situations, can only in rare instances be combined in the same individual. To trace the entire range of a chief so distinguished is a heavy task for one writer. To a military man, that of describing battles and sieges may not be difficult; to another hand the care of delineating the politician and the statesman is almost of necessity confided.

Of the duke's family, education, and early life little need here be said, as these have not been neglected by colonel Williams. A kind and powerful brother greatly assisted his studies, and advanced his fortunes in his younger days. This was the late marquis Wellesley, then lord Mornington. A letter written by his lordship to the marquis of Buckingham, while Arthur was but a lad, has really a parental character. It was sent in acknowledgment of his younger brother's appointment to be an aid-de-camp at

Dublin-castle. His lordship wrote—"I am persuaded that under your eye he will not be exposed to any of those risks, which in other times have accompanied the situation he will hold. I can assure you sincerely that he has every disposition which can render so young a boy deserving of your notice; and if he does not engage your protection by his conduct, I am much mistaken in his character. My mother expects him every hour in London, and before this time I should hope that he had himself waited on you. Once more, my dear lord, before I close this part of my letter, let me thank you most warmly for this flattering instance of your friendship."

In this place it is of course unnecessary to trace the upward course of Wellington as a soldier; it is sufficient to state that in 1790, when he was an aid-de-camp attached to the staff of the earl of Westmoreland, then viceroy of Ireland, he became a member of the Irish parliament, having been returned for the borough of Trim. Mr. Wesley, which was then his name, we find in 1793, the seconder of the address moved in answer to the opening speech, which recommended the parliament to give their consideration to such measures as might be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects,

in support of the established constitution; and with this view his majesty trusted that the situation of his majesty's catholic subjects would engage their serious attention. In performing the task assigned to him—Mr. Wesley standing forward in defence of monarchy—he said—“that at a time when opinions were spreading throughout Europe inimical to kingly government, it behoved them, in a particular manner, to lay before their gracious sovereign their determination to support and maintain the constitution; he took notice that under the present reign this country had risen to a state of unexampled prosperity. He added that the augmentation of the forces, as mentioned in the speech, had, from the circumstances of the times, become necessary. He reprobated, in very severe terms, the conduct of the French towards their king, and their invasion of the territories of sovereign princes, and their irruption into the Austrian Netherlands. He applauded the conduct of the administration of England for the course which had been pursued in regard to the French revolutionary principles; and he condemned the attempt of a set of men styling themselves the National Guards, and appearing in military array—a set of men unknown in the country, except by their attempts to overthrow the government; the conduct of the administration on that occasion entitled them to the confidence of the people. In regard to what had been recommended in the speech from the throne, respecting our catholic fellow-subjects, he could not refrain from expressing his approbation on that head; he had no doubt of the loyalty of the catholics of this country, and he trusted, that when the question would be brought forward, respecting that description of men, they would lay aside all animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans.”

This is all that need be told with respect to his opinions as a politician at that period. Other cares soon engrossed his attention, and for many years, in many countries, it was as a soldier only that he was known. A brief exception may be noticed; after his return from the expedition to Copenhagen, in 1807, in which he acted a somewhat important part; and after his first visit to the Peninsula and the convention of Cintra. we find him then sir Arthur Wellesley, and secretary for Ireland, again taking part in the deliberations of parliament.

On the 27th of January, 1809, having

that day acknowledged in person the thanks of the commons, which were communicated by the speaker, he took part in the subsequent proceedings. That was a memorable day in the history of the person; on that day Mr. Wardle brought forward his celebrated motion relative to the official conduct of the duke of York, who was charged with permitting promotions in the army to be obtained by Mrs. Clarke, a female who was under the protection of his royal highness, but who subsequently became the mistress of his accuser. On the subject of the motion sir Arthur Wellesley rejoiced that the honourable gentleman had at length brought forward facts, to which a specific inquiry might be directed; and he rejoiced also, that the character of the commander-in-chief would not be the subject of that general sort of discussion, which sometimes took place in that house; but that every fact would be fully and fairly sifted. It had fallen to his lot to know how promotions were conducted in the office of the commander-in-chief, and he knew that it was regularly recorded in that office who recommended the promotion, and the documents would be found there; so that all these transactions might be completely traced. With regard to the produce of the half-pay fund, the mode in which the money came into the office, and the mode in which it was issued, were recorded. Under these circumstances, he rejoiced that a committee was to be appointed, and he hoped it would make a special report—so much with regard to the alleged facts; but he must observe, with regard to the removal of the barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope, that such removals were circumstances of common occurrence. The instance in question related to the establishment at Ceylon; and in foreign establishments, though the facts stated by the honourable gentleman should be true, it constituted no ground of charge; for it was in the ordinary course of the service. With respect to the exchange between an officer going to the West Indies, and one remaining here, the commander-in-chief would be in a most extraordinary situation, if it was to be made a ground of accusation, that he had not consented to an arrangement tending to the convenience, perhaps to the benefit, of individuals. As to one of these gentlemen dying here, and the other in the West Indies, if these general charges were to be listened to, it would be impossible for a person in his royal high-

ness's illustrious station, to conduct the business. The circumstances stated by the honourable gentleman went to show, that his royal highness, with a view to put a little money in his own pocket, had encroached upon the half-pay fund. The house would recollect that this fund was established by his royal highness, and the money furnished from the produce of commissions, which he might have given away, without any sale at all. But the commander-in-chief gave up his own patronage, and saved to the public an immense sum, and yet he was charged with an embezzlement of this sort! But he was glad that a full inquiry was to take place. There was still one topic on which he would be to blame if he did not say a few words—he alluded to the state of the army under his command last summer. He must say, that never was there an army in a better state, so far as depended on the commander-in-chief, and he must further say, that if the army had not performed the service for which it was destined, the blame would not have rested with the commander-in-chief, but with him; and whatever enthusiasm they had felt, was the result of the example and discipline afforded by the illustrious person at the head of the army."

To trace the progress of that inquiry would be foreign to the object of this work. With the result, the acquittal, and subsequent resignation of the duke, every reader of history is acquainted.

Sir Arthur, before he served in Portugal, had held the situation of secretary for Ireland, in which character he now appeared. This caused enquiries to be made, whether he had received his salary as Irish secretary while he was absent from England. On the 2nd of February, one of the leading opposition members rose to repeat a question he had asked on a former night, in the absence of a gallant officer, sir Arthur Wellesley, but to which he was not then able to obtain any satisfactory answer. He wished to learn from the gallant officer opposite, whether, while he was fighting the battles of his country, on the continent, he still continued to hold the appointment and salary of secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland?

Sir Arthur Wellesley said it undoubtedly was the wish of the noble personage at the head of the Irish government, that no one should be appointed to that situation during his absence. It was certainly in the power of the noble duke to appoint some other

person, if he had chosen, during his absence; and he was prepared to expect it would have been done, had his absence continued much longer. But, from personal kindness to him, the noble duke retained his name in that situation while he went abroad with the army; and, during the two months he was absent, he certainly received part of the salary of that office; but then there was some part of that time for which he did not receive the full pay attached to his military situation; and every man who considered the nature of that situation, must be aware that it was liable to a very heavy increase of expenses, which he did not feel himself in a condition to afford.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, in pursuance of notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill for amending and reducing into one the several acts for raising and training the militia in Ireland. The first act respecting the militia in Ireland had been passed in the year 1793, but the provisions which were found efficient for the raising and training the then first-raised militia in that country, afterwards proved inadequate, when the militia had once been embodied. Consequently, several acts had been passed in the Irish parliament, and since, in the imperial parliament, to amend the act of 1793. In these acts there were many provisions which were inconsistent and contradictory; and, in bringing forward the measure he proposed, his object was to reduce them all into one, and to amend and class under proper heads the different provisions they contained. Another object he had in view, was, to amend the law, as it at present stood, respecting the oath taken by militia-men upon their enlistment. A doubt was entertained, whether the men who took the present oath were bound to serve only for five years, or during the war; and this doubt his measure was to remove. Another object contemplated by the bill, related to the ballot. As the law at present stood, the governors and deputy-governors of counties had no power of compulsion to alter the lists. That he proposed to amend, by giving such power, whenever the lord-lieutenant shall call for the alteration of them. Another provision he meant to introduce was, to enable the lord-lieutenant to substitute the mode of parish assessments for the ballot; and also to authorize the governors to raise men for the militia by volunteering. These were the principal provisions of the bill he proposed to bring in, and which he had, since last session,

submitted to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and country gentlemen of Ireland, and taken their sense upon them; it was his intention, after the first and second reading of the bill, to suffer it to lie over for a month, in order to give gentlemen time to form a judgment on its contents. Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

On the same evening, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion, calling on the house to declare that the office of chief secretary for Ireland is an office of the highest responsibility, which ought not to be held by any person absent from the realm, and that the emoluments of it ought not to be paid to any person unable to perform the duties. In the speech which introduced it, the honourable gentleman said, though he was convinced that no person was better fitted for either office than the gallant officer, he could never admit, that while fighting the battles of his country in Portugal, he was a fit person to retain the office of chief secretary for Ireland.

Sir A. Wellesley begged leave to repeat what he had said on a former night upon this subject, and more especially as what he had then said had been misrepresented. When first appointed to the office which he now had the honour to fill, it had been clearly understood by the noble chief of the Irish government, by his noble and honourable friends near him, and by the illustrious person at the head of the army, that his appointment should not preclude him from accepting any military employment in the service of his country. Under these circumstances, when the expedition to Zealand took place, he was employed in it, and also in the expedition to Portugal; and, on both occasions, it had been clearly understood, that he had relinquished all claims to the civil office, if a successor should be appointed. He had retained the office solely at the desire of the lord-lieutenant, who thought that he could assist him effectually, as he had already done, by the regulations which he had suggested. The resolution of the honourable member went to declare, that a certain efficient government should, at all times, exist in Ireland. He was not disposed to dispute the truth of the abstract proposition; but he would ask the house to pause before it voted such a proposition, and to inquire whether any inconvenience had resulted from his absence, and whether, in consequence, there had not been an efficient

government in Ireland. He would ask the honourable gentleman, whether any public business had been delayed even twenty-four hours, or whether all the affairs of the government had not gone on without interruption? Had not the regulations which he had arranged with the duke of Richmond, for the various departments of the state, been carried into effect, and the public service thereby promoted without intermission? Under these circumstances, he would ask the house to pause before it should vote this abstract proposition, particularly as no inconvenience had resulted from his absence. As to the salary of chief secretary, he allowed it to be large—more, even, than the salary of a secretary of state. But, then, the Irish secretary had not the same rank for situation, character, and consideration, as a secretary of state; and, consequently, the salary was given to him not so much for performing the duties, as to enable him to maintain the situation and the character that belonged to it. When he proceeded to Portugal, the lord-lieutenant was desirous that he should retain the office of secretary, at the same time declaring that if he did not return within a certain time, a successor would be appointed. It was at that time uncertain whether he should ever return; but when he did return, and no successor had been appointed, he considered himself entitled to the emoluments of the office. The honourable gentleman had said, that if, on returning, he had found another had been appointed, he would not have received the emoluments, and inferred from that, as he had not performed the duties, he should not receive the salary? Unquestionably, if another had been appointed, he should not have received the salary; but then he would not have had the establishment to maintain, and as, whether absent or present, the expense of that establishment was defrayed by him, he had taken the salary. He had trespassed too much on the attention of the house; but if he had ever supposed that the circumstance would have attracted attention, or that he had not a right to the salary, he should never have received it. The example of his gallant friend, he most certainly approved, but he had not thought it right to return the emoluments he had received, because he would not have it supposed that he would shrink from the discussion of any act of his in that house. He could assure the house, however, that he should, in no future instance, consent to

hold his office in the event of his being appointed to a military command. Sir Arthur then withdrew from the house. After a few words in concurrence with the explanation of sir Arthur, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the previous question, which was carried without a division.

The story of the duke of Wellington will be imperfectly told, if the feelings manifested by the statesmen of other days are not distinctly brought before the reader with the answers which, in certain cases, they called forth. The indignation and disappointment caused by the convention of Cintra has been related. Though thanks were voted to sir Arthur Wellesley in parliament for his triumphs in the field, there, as in the nation generally, bitter disappointment was expressed at the result to which they had led. On the second day of the session, a notice was given by lord Henry Petty, afterwards marquis of Lansdowne, that he would submit a motion to the house of commons on the subject; and, accordingly, on the 21st of February, his lordship brought forward two resolutions, which in substance declared, that "the convention of Cintra had disappointed the hopes of the country, and that the causes and circumstances which led to that conclusion appeared to that house to have arisen from the neglect and misconduct of his majesty's ministry. In the speech which prefaced them, lord Henry Petty went over the circumstances of the late campaign; and forcibly argued that if valour and victory only led to misfortune and disgrace, it was desirable to ascertain to whom belonged the discredit of rendering them unavailing. The motion was resisted by lord Castlereagh, and supported by general Tarleton, who could not agree with the decision which had been come to by the court of inquiry—a decision which to him appeared most extraordinary. After general Tarleton, sir Arthur Wellesley spoke. He said, before he proceeded to make any observations on what had fallen from the gallant general who had spoken last, he hoped he might be allowed to advert to some particulars in the speech of the noble lord who had proposed the resolution. What the noble lord had said, related partly to the government and partly to the officers who had the conduct of the expedition. For the plan and equipment the government was answerable; for the execution and the result, the officers, in his opinion, were alone responsible. He had given it as

his opinion, and it was still his opinion, that the operations in favour of Spain could only be carried on with any chance of success, in conjunction with, and by the consent of the people and public authorities of that country; and therefore it was necessary to come to a right understanding with the juntas, before commencing the campaign. When he communicated upon the subject with the juntas of Galicia and Asturias, it was conceived that the expulsion of the enemy from Portugal would be a valuable object, not only with a view to the naval station which this would procure for us, but also with a view to support the operations in Spain. When he arrived at Corunna, they had heard of the defeat of their army at Rio Seco; and he then thought it his duty to offer to land his troops and to assist general Blake in covering the seat of their government. They said, in reply, that they did not want men; but that the best service which could be done to them and their cause, would be to expel the French from Portugal. He had stated to the board of inquiry, and he now repeated it, that he had received a species of requisition, if it might be so called, from the junta of Asturias, through sir Thomas Dyer, to drive the French from St. Andero. This letter he begged leave to lay on the table. (Here sir Arthur read the letter, which expressed a desire that he would land near St. Andero, unless their situation should be soon altered; it was dated the 31st of June.) It did not appear to him that this was a requisition of a nature that ought to induce him to relinquish the design on Portugal. He understood from the junta of Galicia, on mentioning this subject to them, that measures had been taken to expel the French from St. Andero, and that they considered it a point of no importance, with a view to the possession of Asturias, which must have been his great object; and, in answer to all that he said on the occasion, they repeated that the best service that could be done to the cause of Spain, by the British troops, would be the expulsion of the French from Portugal. The view which they took of the matter was this—that if in possession of Portugal, the British army might be a link between the northern and southern armies of Spain, which had then no point of union. In order to show what importance they attached to this service, although threatened by the enemy from two points after the defeat at Rio Seco, they sent two thousand men to

Portugal, to assist his operations in that quarter. The expulsion of the enemy was not only therefore an immediate British object, but a British object of great consequence, with a view to the future operations in Spain. The next view that had been taken of the subject, respected the equipment of the corps sent out on the expedition. Upon this head it would be recollected, that his majesty's ministers had received intelligence from admiral sir Charles Cotton, that there were only four thousand French in Lisbon, the rest having proceeded to Spain; and it could scarcely be alleged as a charge against them, that they acted upon the information of one who had been eight months on the station, and might be supposed to have the best means of ascertaining with accuracy, the real situation of the enemy in that quarter. He had then been ordered to go to the Tagus, and when the equipment was considered with a view to an attack under the information which he had just stated, it might be regarded as amply sufficient. But, at the same time there might, no doubt, be other reasons for the choice made of horses for the commissariat and the artillery. It was obvious, however, that without the operations in the Tagus in view, such an ample equipment was not necessary, as would be required for those which he afterwards undertook. He must also state that when he embarked at Cork, he was to proceed to the coast of Spain without any certainty whether he should be allowed to land at all, or if he should, where he might land; and it was therefore considered that the horses must suffer considerably from being kept a long time on board; and, consequently, those of an inferior description were chosen, which, under all the circumstances, might be best fitted for a service of this nature. The next point to be adverted to, respected the operations which he himself undertook, on which the noble lord had said nothing. The gallant general, however, who spoke last, had said that he (sir A. Wellesley) had been hurried forward by an honourable ambition to undertake an operation of considerable risk. Now, he wished to call the attention of the house to what had passed at the board of inquiry. He conceived, as he had stated to that court, that he had a larger British force than any which the enemy could bring into the field against him; he was, indeed, inferior in cavalry, but he expected to be joined by some Portuguese cavalry, which, together with the British, would form a respectable corps; though then, no doubt, he might in one respect be inferior to the enemy. But, under all these circumstances, he asked whether general Tarleton himself would have hesitated, if he had been in his situation, to act as he had done? He assured the gallant general that he would much rather follow his example in the field, than his advice in the senate. He had the choice of two lines of march when he landed in Portugal, and, for obvious reasons, had chosen that along the coast. Besides the troops which he had under his command at the time, he had reason to expect reinforcements under general Ackland, sir Harry Burrard and sir John Moore. Now, in order to show how well satisfied he was of the sufficiency of his own force to execute his object, he did not intend to have employed the corps under general Ackland in the field at all, but proposed sending it to besiege Penichi. When sir Harry Burrard arrived, he (sir Arthur) had no longer the command, but he recommended to him a plan of operations for the corps of sir John Moore, and if that had been adopted, he should not this night have had the mortification to hear the noble lord propose a resolution, that the expedition to Portugal had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. That plan was, that sir John Moore should advance upon Santarem, with a view to intercept the enemy. He thought the French would endeavour to cross the Tagus. That plan was feasible, not only in his opinion, but in the opinion of all the general officers who had given evidence at the court of inquiry, and even of the court itself, which the gallant general would find, if he would be so kind as to read the report. Sir Harry Burrard, however, thought proper to call that corps to the assistance of the army. It was not necessary now to enter into any discussion on that subject, but it was material to observe, that this circumstance altered the whole system of operations. With respect to the change of commanders when he left England, he never expected to be continued in the command, after large reinforcements had arrived, to the exclusion of many valuable officers. But, at the same time, he did not think that the command ought to be changed in the middle of expeditions. In the course of a campaign, the command might be changed without injury; but these expeditions were not campaigns, they were only operations. But, as, by the

change of commanders, the whole system had been altered, this circumstance necessarily governed him in his subsequent views. His original plan was to have engaged the enemy as near Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up the advantage, which he undoubtedly expected, with the utmost expedition; by which means, he trusted, he would have got to Lisbon nearly as soon as themselves, and prevented their crossing the Tagus. His opinion still was, that if they had been followed closely, after their defeat at Vimiera, on the 21st, they would not have been enabled to cross the Tagus. He was no party to the question, and had never come forward as the accuser of sir Harry Burrard, but, as he had conducted the previous operations—as he had commanded at Vimiera, and held himself responsible for that action, he thought his opinion ought to have had some weight on that occasion; and also with the court of inquiry; especially as that opinion had been supported by all the general officers whom he had then under his command. It had been said, indeed, that a gallant general (Spencer), a friend of his, had given a different opinion; but, notwithstanding the caution with which that gallant officer had spoken, a close examination of his evidence would show, that he was, in fact, of his opinion; and, in answer to one of the questions, that opinion had been strongly expressed. It was upon the principle which he stated, that he had advanced from Montego Bay; and he never could understand how the court of inquiry, which had approved of all he had done up to the close of the battle of Vimiera, could decide that those troops, which had been constantly beaten in the field, ought not to be pursued when beaten. He would certainly have pushed them so hard, after that battle, if he had retained the command, that it would have been impossible for them to have crossed the Tagus. But there was one part of the report of the board, with respect to the question of advancing, after the action on the 21st, to which he must refer. The passage was this:—"This very circumstance of a superior cavalry retarding our advance, would allow the enemy's infantry, without any degree of risk, to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner, till they should arrive at any given and advantageous point of rallying and formation; nor did sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 17th of August, when the enemy had not half the cavalry, as on the 21st, pursue a more inconsiderable and

beaten army with any marked advantages; for, he says (Gazette Extraordinary), 'The enemy retired with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry, was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain.' And, again: 'He succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry.' Here, in the first place, although he meant to impute no blame to the court of inquiry, they must have thought him at least very inconsistent, if not very incorrect, in his statement: now, he apprehended, he was neither incorrect nor inconsistent. The fact was, that there were two parts of the action of the 17th—the one in the mountains, the other in the plain. In that part of the action which took place in the plain, the enemy had retired in good order. After the battle of the 21st, they had retired in great disorder. And the good order in the retreat in the one case, and the disorder in the other, made all the difference. Although it might not be proper, without an adequate force of cavalry, to pursue the enemy closely, when they retired in good order on the 17th, it by no means followed, that they ought not to have been pursued on the 21st, when they had been completely beaten, and had retreated in great disorder. The disorderly retreat of the enemy, on the 21st, was the ground of his opinion, that they ought to be hard pushed; and, if they had been vigorously followed up, on that day, he was satisfied, in his own mind, that there would have been no reason for concluding the convention, which had given so much offence. Now, as to this convention, it was rather hard to charge it upon the government, when, if a certain plan of operations had been followed, the reason for it would not have existed. The necessity for concluding the convention had been ascribed to want of artillery; of horses; of equipment of various kinds: but he was bound to state, that, in considering the propriety of concluding an armistice, and afterwards the convention, these circumstances had never been taken into account by him, nor by any of the officers concerned in the negotiation on that subject. The only question at all connected with the state of the army, in point of equipment, was as to the difficulty of supplying it with provisions, when the whole of the troops should be collected. The next point to which it was necessary to advert,

was, that which respected this armistice and convention. Here, it was proper to consider the situation of the two armies at the time when the armistice was concluded. The French, after the battle of Vimiera, had occupied a strong position, in which they would have been enabled to stop the progress of a superior force for three or four days. The advancing army, after being occupied for three or four days, in dislodging them from that position, would have further to drive them from two or three other lines which lay between the main position and Lisbon.

During the whole of this time, the French might have been employed in preparations for the passage of the Tagus, which it would have been impossible to prevent.—An honourable and gallant general had adverted to the situation of lord Cornwallis, in the American war. Without entering into any comparison between Junot and lord Cornwallis, he had only to observe, that the situations in which they stood were very different. Lord Cornwallis was shut up in a town, and actually besieged; but Junot, instead of this, might be said to have military possession of the country. Then the gallant general said, "How was it possible to cross a rapid river, from four to six miles broad, in such a situation?" Why, that was matter of opinion; and it was the opinion of all the officers who were there at the time, and of all the members of the board of inquiry, that it was impossible to prevent their crossing the Tagus. He had heard that it was the opinion of a high military authority (the earl of Moira), that if the French had been driven to cross the Tagus, they would have been reduced to extreme distress. His answer to that was, in the first place, that it was the duty of Junot to have suffered that distress, however severe, rather than have surrendered at discretion; and there was no reason to believe that he would not have done his duty in that respect. But, in the second place, he did not allow that the French would have been reduced to that extreme distress. General Loison had crossed the Tagus, quelled the insurrection in Alentejo, returned again, by repassing the Tagus, and, by this means, removed the difficulties which the French might otherwise have experienced in their retreat to Elvas. It had been said that Junot would have been obliged to surrender at last. This was true; but at what time of the year? After our

army should have got possession of the forts on the Tagus, it would have been necessary to put it in a situation of equipment fitted for reducing the fort of Elvas, by a regular siege, and for this a considerable length of time would have been required. He (sir Arthur), affirmed, that the British army would not be in a condition to reduce the fort till the beginning of December, and then it might have been thought advisable to give the French army the same, or nearly the same terms, as those which were granted them in August. Considering the relative situation of the armies, he did not think it disgraceful to allow the French to embark. He thought the gaining of time also an important object with a view to the operations in Spain. He was aware that the presence of a British army there might be of the greatest consequence, in order to give the Spaniards strength in their own union, and to prevent their being cut off in detail. The same noble lord to whom he had alluded, a high military authority, had said that the officers in the command of the expedition ought to have attended more to the great advantages which, in the then situation of affairs, would have resulted from compelling the army to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. But no such object had been prescribed in the instructions to the officers commanding the British forces. Undoubtedly, as it was the duty of every officer to endeavour to oblige a hostile force opposed to him, to lay down their arms, there was no need of such instructions. But the question was, whether, to prosecute that object, they ought to have given up other material points in time and circumstances, and to risk the advantages they had gained. It would not be as honourable to the British arms, if, after pursuing the enemy into Alentejo, and the consequent loss of time and blood, the same, or nearly as good terms, were to be granted to the enemy. If it was not disgraceful to allow the French to evacuate Cairo and Alexandria, in Egypt, the convention for the evacuation of Portugal could not be disgraceful. He allowed that the circumstances of the two cases were different, as was also the state of Europe; though he contended that the result in both was equally free from disgrace. There was one topic more to which he was anxious to advert with regard to the court of inquiry. He perfectly agreed with the noble lord in the wish that this might be the last court of

this kind which should ever assemble. It was not a court before which any officer would desire to be tried. A general impression had gone abroad that this court had been instituted by his noble friend out of friendship to him. It was rather hard upon him to be subjected to such a reflection; as, if he had been tried in any other manner, he must have been acquitted. As far as he was concerned, he must say, without meaning to blame any of the members, that this court had been a source of injustice, and he, therefore, hoped it would be the last court of the kind to which the investigation of the conduct of officers should be submitted. As to the letter sent by his noble friend, desiring his superior officers to consult him particularly, had he been aware of the existence of such a document he should have felt his situation very uncomfortable. But, he must say, that from the first hour these officers landed, nay, even before they had landed, he perceived that he was not in possession of their confidence. He, however, had done everything he could to forward their objects, though he differed from them in opinion. This was what he considered as the great distinction between military and civil inferior situations. If, in a civil office, the inferior differed materially from the superior, he ought to resign; but, in a military appointment, it was the duty of the inferior officer to assist his commander in the mode in which that commander might deem his services most advantageous. If he thought himself capable of giving advice, and of suggesting plans, should they be adopted, it was his duty to endeavour to carry them into execution. But, if the commander did not think proper to listen to his advice or suggestions, it was his duty to assist his superior in that way which, to that superior, might appear most eligible. This was the principle which, in his opinion, ought to regulate the conduct of military officers. It was a principle on which he had on that occasion, as ever before, acted, and on which he ever would act.

In this speech, the discreet but determined course which was subsequently remarked on many occasions will be noted. Sir Arthur did not fail to show that the decision of the court of inquiry had done him wrong; but of that court, as of the general from whom he had differed, he spoke with great respect; at the same time, he hesitated not to declare, that had the enemy, when defeated, been pursued in conformity

with his advice, the convention which had so greatly disappointed the nation, would never have been concluded. The debate was continued till near six o'clock on the following morning, when the previous question having been moved, there appeared in favour of it, on the house dividing, two hundred and three, and in favour of the resolutions of lord Henry Petty, one hundred and fifty-three, giving a majority of fifty against the motion.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's defence of the course he had pursued, or of the opinions he had advanced on the subject of the operations which preceded the convention of Cintra, furnish points of some importance as a military character; but it is to be borne in mind, that speaking as a member of parliament, his main object was to defend the policy of the government. Though, in some quarters, the voice of complaint and even of censure was loud that more had not been done, it could not be denied that the great enemy of England had been signally foiled. The intrusive king Joseph felt his throne tottering beneath him, though he tried to keep up the spirits of his adherents and his own, by putting forth boastful proclamations, which described the English to be flying before the French army in all directions, and by roads which had till then been deemed impracticable for artillery. He, no doubt, deemed it politic to hold the language of exultation, and to represent the English as utterly discomfited. In this spirit, he added—"Soldiers! you have saved my capital; the king of Spain thanks you: you have done more—the brother of your emperor sees flying before your eagles the eternal enemy of the French name." This sounded well; but Europe soon saw the French eagles too happy to fly before those who were called "eternal enemies;" and the capital saved for the king of Spain, was not saved for Joseph Bonaparte.

As chief secretary for Ireland, sir Arthur Wellesley actively laboured to promote the internal improvement of the country. On the 28th of March, he was seen moving that the house should, in committee, take into consideration the act of the 40th of George III., for the further extension of inland navigation in Ireland. The motion being agreed to, sir Arthur Wellesley said, that the benefits which had been experienced by the late extension of inland navigation in Ireland, in consequence of the act of the Irish parliament to which he desired to call

the attention of the committee, were so evident and striking to every one who was acquainted with the progress of internal improvement in Ireland within the last seven or eight years, that it was unnecessary for him to expatiate on it: he would venture to assert, that no other species of internal improvement, nor any other medium through which public bounty might be bestowed, could produce such marked and decided national advantages as had arisen from the operation of the act to which he had referred. The increase of agriculture in Ireland (the prime object of inland navigation) was a benefit, not merely bestowed upon that country in the spirit of liberality, but a measure of sound and necessary policy for this country to adopt, and one upon which, if any man could heretofore have doubted, the present political and commercial state of Europe and America, would furnish sufficient arguments to bring conviction to his mind. It was an uncontroverted fact, that the agriculture of Great Britain had not, for many years, been equal to the production of grain sufficient for her own consumption; and that we had, for several years past, most lavishly and improvidently expended millions in improving and extending the agriculture of foreign and hostile nations, by purchasing their corn, while we suffered the fertile lands of Ireland to remain untilld, for want of a cheap and easy conveyance of their produce to market. It was also admitted, that the deficiency of capital in Ireland was so great, as to render it impracticable to obtain an extensive inland navigation without considerable parliamentary aids; and, if he were well founded on these points, the only thing that remained to be considered was, in what manner, and under what regulations, these bounties should be administered, and the system which had proved so beneficial should be further extended? He professed himself to be unacquainted with the detail of the business; and, indeed, the other necessary avocations of any man holding his office, would render it completely impracticable for him to enter into the inquiries necessary to form a correct judgment on matters of this nature; and therefore he conceived himself justified in bringing forward the measure of continuing the present board of directors of inland navigation, whose duties it would be to examine and inquire into the different

lines of navigation that were already, and might hereafter, be proposed, and to state their opinions on their respective advantages, in order to guide the judgment of his majesty's government as to which of those lines they ought to recommend to parliament to be carried into execution by public aid. He therefore moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the further extension of inland navigation in Ireland."

Sir John Newport admitted that it was necessary to secure at home, even in unfavourable seasons, the certain means of subsistence, or, shut out as England was from continental Europe, and even from America, it might be in the power of her enemy to dictate terms to her. Inland navigation, he considered, was desirable and necessary; but the right honourable gentleman (sir Arthur Wellesley) seemed to think that nothing more was necessary to be done, than to appoint a board, with salaries, and then everything would follow. He was of opinion that a board without salaries would be preferable, and that a board with salaries would not only not advance the business, but would retard it. As the whole amount of the chief secretary's famous motion, he sarcastically added, was to insure their having officers to pay, whether there was any employment for those officers or not, he would vote against the motion.

Mr. Wyndham was among the opponents of the motion, who remarked that the gallant mover had been better employed in the last summer than in superintending canals; it was ably defended by lord Castlereagh and Mr. Percival, and finally carried, in a very thin house, by forty-one to twelve.

The bill, to which no serious objection was entertained, passed; and thenceforward little or nothing, for some years, can be reported of sir Arthur Wellesley, as a legislator. The important scenes acted in the peninsula, in France, and in Belgium, which have already been recorded, supply the glorious explanation of his long absence from parliament.

The remarks offered on his performance of his duty as chief secretary for Ireland, like those which were called forth by his conduct in the peninsula, deserve some notice, as they show that there was no disposition unduly to favour sir Arthur Wellesley from respect for his birth or his family connexions.

CHAPTER II.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY SUGGESTS A REFORM IN THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ARMY; THE VICTORY OF TALAVERA IS LIKENED TO A DEFEAT; THE HONOURS GRANTED TO LORD WELLINGTON ARE JUSTIFIED BY MR. CANNING AND EULOGISED BY THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY; EQUANIMITY OF THE DUKE; LORD CASTLEREAGH'S CONFIDENCE IN HIS JUDGMENT.

If the name of sir Arthur Wellesley ceases, from 1809, to be found among the movers and debaters in the house of commons, during his personal absence it was often the subject of debate. Though, in describing the various operations which he conducted, the language of panegyric was exhausted by his friends and by many impartial observers, there were still not wanting those who believed his earlier triumphs were but of moderate value, and were swelled into extravagant importance by powerful and interested connexions. It will be found there were occasions in which political opponents at home, were not slow to disparage his labours, and their hostility was not to be repressed till he had more than once triumphed over the enemy abroad.

One feature in the general policy of Wellington deserves especial notice for its wisdom and humanity. Soldiers in a foreign land, thoughtless and cruel, are prone to commit shocking outrages on the inhabitants of such places as are for the time being in their power. In case of a reverse, these are awfully avenged by the aggrieved peasantry and others who have suffered from their violence; and even continued success cannot save the offenders from severe privations in consequence of supplies being intercepted or withheld, by those who have thus been rendered hostile. On commencing his splendid career in the Peninsula, sir Arthur saw this was one of the great evils against which he had to guard. Anxious to save his followers from themselves, he would not wink at their misdeeds, but as a military lawgiver he thought it his duty to check the evil propensities of his followers by just severity. In a letter to lord Castlereagh, dated Abrantes, June 17th, 1809, he offered the following interesting suggestions, equally creditable to the commander, the statesman, and the man:—

“Notwithstanding the pains that I take, of which there will be ample evidence in my orderly books, not a post or a courier comes in, not an officer arrives from the rear of the army, that does not bring me accounts of irregularities committed by the soldiers who have been left behind on the march, having been sick, or having straggled from their

regiments, or who have been left in hospitals.

“We have a provost-marshal and no less than four assistants. I never allow a man to march with the baggage. I never leave an hospital without a number of officers and non-commissioned officers proportionable to the number of soldiers; and never allow a detachment to march, unless under the command of an officer; and yet there is not an outrage of any description which has not been committed on a people who have uniformly received us as friends, by soldiers who have never yet, for one moment, suffered the slightest want, or the smallest privation.

“In the first place I am convinced that the law is not strong enough to maintain discipline in an army upon service. It is most difficult to convict any prisoner before a regimental court-martial; for, I am sorry to say, the soldiers have little regard for the oath administered to them; and the officers, who are sworn ‘well and truly to try and determine, *according to their evidence*, the matter before them,’ have too much regard to the strict letter of that administered to them. This oath to the members of a regimental court-martial, has altered the principle of the proceedings of that tribunal. It is no longer a court of honour, by the hands of which a soldier was certain of receiving punishment, if he deserved it; but it is a court of law whose decisions are to be framed according to the evidence principally of those on whose actions it is constituted as a restraint.

“But admitting the regimental or detachment court-martial as now constituted, to be a control upon the soldiers equally efficient with that which existed under the old constitution of a court-martial, which my experience tells me it is not, I should wish to know, whether any British army (this army in particular, which is composed of second battalions, and therefore but ill-provided with officers) can afford to leave with every hospital, or with every detachment, two captains and four subalterns, in order to be able to hold a detachment court-martial. The law, in this respect, ought to be amended; and when the army is on ser-

vice in a foreign country, any one, two, or three officers ought to have the power of trying criminals, and punishing them *instantly*, taking down all proceedings in writing, and reporting them, for the information of the commander-in-chief, on their joining the army.

"Besides this improvement of the law, there ought to be in the British army a regular provost establishment, of which a proportion should be attached to every army sent abroad. All the foreign armies have such an establishment; the French, their *gendarmerie nationale*, to the amount of thirty or forty with each of their corps; the Spaniards, their *police militaire*, to a still larger amount; while we, who require such an aid more than any of the other nations in Europe (I am sorry to say,) have nothing of the kind, excepting a few sergeants, who are taken from the line for the occasion, and who are probably not very fit for the duties which they are to perform.

"Then the authority and duties of the provost ought in some manner to be recognised by the law. By the custom of the British armies, the provost has been in the habit of punishing on the spot, even with death, (under the orders of the commander-in-chief) soldiers found in the act of disobedience of orders, of plunder, or of outrage. There is no authority for this practice, excepting custom, which, I conceive, would hardly warrant it; and yet I declare that I don't know in what way the army is to be commanded at all, unless the practice is not only continued, but an additional number of provosts are appointed.

"There is another branch of this subject which deserves serious consideration. We all know that the discipline and regularity of all armies must depend on the diligence of the regimental officers, particularly the subalterns. I may order what I please, but if they do not execute what I order, or execute it with negligence, I can't expect that British soldiers will be orderly or regular. There are two incitements to men of this description to do their duty as they ought—the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward. As for the first, it cannot be given individually; for, I believe I should find it very difficult to convict any officer of doing this description of duty with negligence, more particularly, as he is to be tried by others probably guilty of the same offence. But these evils of which I complain are committed by whole corps, and the only way

in which they can be punished is by disgracing them by sending them into garrison, and reporting them to his majesty. I may and shall do this with one or two battalions, but I cannot venture to do it with more, and then there is an end to the fear of this punishment, even if those who received it were considered in England as disgraced persons rather than martyrs."

It will be seen from this what dangerous spirits he had to control, and how unostentatiously he sought the means of effectually quelling them. For undertaking such a task, he could expect no credit at the time: and, as already stated, there were politicians of that day, leaders of renown too, who were little disposed to look on his doings with a favourable eye.

When, in 1810, it was proposed to call for a vote of thanks for the victory of Talavera, earl Grey remarked, in the house of lords, that their lordships ought to have before them the nature of the information communicated by lord Wellington respecting the action of Talavera, there being strong reason to believe that ministers, at the time they held out that battle as a victory, knew, from what was stated by lord Wellington in his dispatches, that his army must retreat; and that this battle, said to be a victory, must be followed by all the consequences of a defeat. His lordship further said, let the case be put hypothetically, of a commander advancing into a country, fighting a battle, claiming a victory, and, in two days afterwards, being obliged to retreat before those whom he had defeated, and to leave in the hands of the enemy his sick and wounded; surely their lordships must feel the necessity of having some information as to the circumstances attending this battle, and those which led to it. He then moved for certain despatches and correspondence with the Spanish government. The motion was resisted by ministers, and was not pressed to a division.

The disposition exhibited to examine closely, and soundly to criticise the operations directed by sir Arthur Wellesley, must strike many readers of the public journals and parliamentary debates of the period. On the 16th of February, a message from the king was brought down for extending assistance to the Portuguese government for the maintenance of a body of troops not exceeding thirty thousand men; and the same day, in a committee of the whole house on the proposed grant of an annuity of two

thousand pounds per annum to his lordship, after the subject had been opened by Mr. Perceval, the motion was opposed by Mr. Howard, on the ground that the battle of Talavera was followed by none of the consequences of victory, and rather displayed ill-judged rashness than deliberate and skilful valour.

Mr. Calcraft said, he could never think to compare the battle of Talavera with the victories of Nelson. Did the right honourable gentleman mean to say that the claims of lord Wellington were equal to those of sir Ralph Abercrombie, who closed a long life of eminent and meritorious service by crowning it with a signal and brilliant victory? For himself, he could not consider either of the actions for which lord Wellington was to be rewarded, as a victory: neither had they been followed by any of the consequences of success; neither had they any one characteristic of victory; but, on the contrary, both exhibited every symptom of a defeat! Examine the battle of Talavera. Did you advance? Did you not, on the contrary, retreat in the most disgraceful manner, and under the most calamitous circumstances? Did you not leave at Talavera one-tenth part of your army? As to the amount of loss in battle, that could be no proof of victory or defeat. But he should ever contend that the advance of lord Wellington to a situation in which his army was in danger of starving, unless he should fight against superior numbers, or make a disgraceful flight, was a great military error. The battle had not been of his choice. He was obliged to fight; and if it had not been for the steadiness, bravery, and discipline of the columns which he sent forward to support the advanced divisions, he could never have escaped with an army. Would any gentleman look to the circumstances of that action—would any one look to its immediate consequences—would any one look to what was the state of the army at present, and say that a victory had been gained at Talavera? It was, in truth, no victory. It had been swelled into a victory only by the influence of political connection, in order to get lord Wellington advanced to the peerage. It was a piece of ministerial foppery. It was an object with the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) and his majesty's ministers, to obtain the support of marquis Wellesley, and consequently they were anxious to pay court to that noble lord. He would congratulate, not the right honour-

able gentleman (for he was no longer in office), but his majesty's ministers, on having secured the support of that noble lord. But still, he must contend, that it was with a view to pay court to him that lord Wellington had been advanced to the peerage; and it was now proposed to add a pension to that honour. If they were to look to the interests of the country for examples in which such honours and rewards were conferred, they would not find a single case of a peerage or a pension granted upon such disputable grounds.

In the house of commons, though justice was done to the valour of the army, many similar attacks were made on the general. Sir Francis Burdett, then the popular orator of the day, remarked—one honourable member (Mr. Herbert) who had lately spoken, seemed to think that the battle of Talavera was important, only because it was calculated to do away with the sarcastic, injurious remarks of the French emperor; but he could not believe that the character of the country, or of its army, was indeed sunk so low, as to render the escape from sarcasm of such importance as to compensate for the havoc of that day. A comparison had been instituted between the battle of Talavera and the battles of Dettingen and Agincourt; but there was no resemblance whatever between them: besides, he did not hear that either of them was followed up by pensions. The battle of Agincourt was occasioned by the successful entrance of the British army into the French territories; and though we retreated afterwards, it was a retreat in which much booty was carried off, and great glory was derived from the battle to the British name. In the present case, the advance was injudicious—the retreat was precipitate and confused; and instead of bringing off booty, we had left our wounded behind, to the mercy of the enemy. But an honourable gentleman had mentioned the liberality of lord Wellington as a ground for agreeing to the motion; that, surely, could not be allowed to be a claim to the vote which ministers demanded. If lord Wellington's liberality had brought him into difficulty or debt, who was it they called upon to free him from the incumbrance? The people—who already owed debts enough, and owed them, not in consequence of any prodigality of their own, but by, and in consequence of, the impositions of their representatives. Surely, when such was the case, they ought to be cautious that

not a sixpence should be demanded without establishing the claim of a strong necessity. With respect to the military part of the question, he had no opinion; he could only say that the result was failure—failure as complete as could be. The advance to attack was made on the part of our general: the object was to drive back the French; instead of which, after certainly a splendid display of courage and bravery on the part of the British troops, our army retired itself.

No member of the opposition was at that period more formidable to the government than Mr. Whitbread, the eminent brewer. He was powerful in debate; and the unsparing severity of his attacks, caused his speeches to be looked for by the public with much eagerness. He was slow to recognise the transcendent genius of the great captain who had commenced to illustrate the annals of England. The rewards bestowed on him, he thought, were too liberal. He said—On this present occasion, ministers had conferred a double peerage on lord Wellington; and yet the immortal Nelson, for the battle of Aboukir, was only created a baron. He believed every one would allow that the battle of Aboukir was much more glorious and decisive than that of Talavera; and if the former services of lord Wellington were to be thrown into the scale, he would ask, had not lord Nelson also performed great services, before he had been selected for his merit, to command on that occasion? Was he any more an adventurer for reputation at that time than lord Wellington at Talavera? Had not he also achieved splendid exploits? Was not his shoulder, at that time, adorned with the red ribbon; and was not his body mutilated by honourable wounds received in his country's battles? Although the house could not control the granting of peerages, still they were bound to control the expenditure of the public money. In the case of earl St. Vincent, the pension was not given till a considerable time after the peerage; not, indeed, until it was ascertained that the circumstances of that noble lord were such as to require it. As to the situation of lord Wellington, there was nothing stated in the house which should induce them to presume that he was not able to support the honour of the peerage. Had he not been to India, and in lucrative situations? If, in his manner of living, he had contracted debts which made him poor, he agreed with the honourable baronet (sir

F. Burdett) in asking, has not the nation debts also? When this subject was brought before parliament, there were two things to be considered. The first was, whether the peerage was properly granted or not? And the second was, supposing that it had been properly granted, was the pension necessary or not? Now, as to the first point, he thought the peerage was not improperly granted, but that the double peerage was very improper. But even supposing the peerage was deserved, what occasion was there for coming to the people for money to support it? Had not the crown abundant means of rewarding services of this nature? Although he differed from many persons in his idea of the particular merits of the battle of Talavera, yet he thought highly of the general merits of lord Wellington as a soldier, and hoped that he would in future do services more important than those for which he was made a peer.

It is interesting to mark how public men change their positions from the course of events; that is to say, how varying circumstances cause the admiring defender of one day, to become the cold friend or resentful adversary of another. Mr. Canning was at this period eloquent in Wellington's praise. In the course of this debate, he observed, comparisons had frequently been made between the battle of the Nile and the battle of Talavera. It had been asked, in a tone of triumph, why have you given two steps in the peerage to lord Wellington, when lord Nelson, for the proudest victory that adorns your naval annals, only obtained a barony? To this he would answer, that it was then, as it is now, his opinion, that lord Nelson had not been sufficiently rewarded on that occasion. He thought that lord Nelson deserved a higher honour; but he would not degrade the honours of lord Wellington, to meet the scanty portion which that noble admiral had obtained. Should the flag of France, which for years had not been able to look that of England in the face, by any hazard obtain a partial victory, or even offer a successful resistance, would the person at the head of that country, be blamed for exalting the admiral who had acquired it to a dukedom or principality, or any other transcendent dignity? Let the house consider, that it was only two years ago that it was said within those walls, that we could never meet France in the field with an army. The battles of Roliça and Vimiera—the operations against Soult—the glorious conflict at

Talavera—disproved this imputation upon our valour and spirit. They had re-established our military character, and retrieved the honour of the country, which was before in abeyance. If the system of bestowing the peerage was to be entirely changed, and the house of lords be peopled only by the successors to hereditary honours, lord Wellington would certainly not be found there. But he would not do that noble body the injustice to suppose that it was a mere stagnant lake of collected honours, but that it was to be occasionally invigorated by fresh streams. It was the prerogative of the crown to confer the honour of the peerage; it was the duty of that house to give to honour, independence. The question was, whether they would enable lord Wellington to take his seat with the proudest peer in the other house, or whether they would send him there, with the avowed intention that it was only to the crown he was to look for support. If the war were to be prosecuted, we had a proud assurance in the talents and services of lord Wellington, and the bravery of our armies, that we were competent to contend with the enemy on his own element; if peace were to be established, we should come out of the war with the consciousness of having obtained—not a partial triumph, as it was said—but complete and unqualified glory.

Every honour, every reward, won by new successes, called forth hostile strictures. It required no small share of moral courage in the ministers of that day, to encounter the sarcasms any acknowledgment of the services of lord Wellington—splendid as they were—failed not to provoke. When, in February, 1812, a message from the prince regent had recommended the grant of an annuity of £2,000 per annum, in consideration of his achievements in Spain and Portugal, it was opposed by sir Francis Burdett, who told the house he had always understood that the merit of a military commander consisted in the being able to accomplish a great object with inadequate means. In his opinion it was impossible to conceive less done with such ample means than that which lord Wellington had achieved. A murmur of dissent here ran through the house. He had no wish to detract from the well-earned reputation of any man; but marks of disapprobation were no proof of the fallacy of his statement. Let the committee recollect the force which lord Wellington had commanded. In the

first place, fifty-four thousand English troops of the line, and thirty thousand regular Portuguese troops in British pay, and said to be equal in discipline, making in the whole eighty-four thousand troops of the line. To these were afterwards added thirty thousand more regular Portuguese troops in British pay, making one hundred and ten thousand troops of the line. It had also been stated that the Portuguese government maintained ten thousand troops, being in the whole above one hundred and twenty thousand regular soldiers. To these were likewise to be added the Portuguese militia, consisting of eighty thousand, forming the grand aggregate of an army of above two hundred thousand men. It must also be recollected, that the ordinanza of Portugal amounted to fifteen thousand men. Under such circumstances, and with such a force at his command, he was really at a loss to conceive how lord Wellington could be justly entitled to the praises bestowed upon him. Did the committee recollect the entrance into Portugal of general Massena with sixty thousand men, who advanced three hundred miles in an enemy's country, the most difficult and inaccessible in the world, who maintained their ground for such a considerable period of time; whom famine alone compelled to retreat, and who, when they did retreat, although they retired in the face of a superior army, and through a hostile population, lost no single advantage, but maintained themselves unbroken and untouched? Was there much cause of triumph on that occasion? And in the present campaign what had been obtained? Ciudad Rodrigo! He had been informed by military men, that this was a fortress which any army preponderating at the moment, must inevitably reduce; that the outworks were of little avail, and that it required a garrison of four thousand men. The garrison which it contained, however, when attacked by the British, did not exceed fifteen hundred in number. The place was assaulted with twelve thousand troops; and, as a proof of its weakness, lord Wellington himself said, in his despatches, that the feint, which was not meant actually to operate, had really succeeded in taking the place. The honourable baronet was interrupted by cheering. Gentlemen cried "hear, hear." What he had stated might show valour in the troops; but it was a strong proof of the weakness of the place. To lay such stress on a victory like that—to ring the bells and

fire the guns for it—was to show the country to be in a most fallen and degraded situation. Badajos, notwithstanding the evident anxiety of the British general to relieve it, had fallen to the enemy. In the attempt to succour that place, twelve thousand men had been lost at the battle of Albuera. At any rate lord Wellington had been compelled to retreat. And yet of how much greater importance was Badajos than Ciudad Rodrigo! The former only one hundred and twenty miles from Lisbon, and the access to that city easy and unmolested; the latter three hundred and twenty miles distant from it, and the approach guarded by formidable passes. Badajos, however, had been left to its fate by lord Wellington, and we ought to balance accounts with him. A pension of two thousand pounds had been conferred upon him before the loss of that important place, but it had not been withdrawn since the loss. The joy manifested on the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo, was for the purpose of public delusion; but, even had that fortress been of much greater importance, he thought few would contend that its reduction would materially influence the final issue of the war in Spain.

Mr. Whitshed Keene had expressed himself in favour of a larger grant than that proposed.—Mr. Canning replied to sir Francis Burdett; and said, for greater rewards he might have voted, but for the opposition of the honourable baronet for that submitted to the house he was not prepared. He said, he did not pretend, any more than the honourable baronet, to be capable of judging, with the skill of a tactician, the conduct of military men and military measures; but it was impossible for any man, however ignorant of military affairs, to look at what had been, and what was—to consider the former and the present state of the peninsula—to recollect the existing feelings of the country, and those feelings when that eminent and distinguished commander, lord Wellington, was appointed to direct the energies of the British army—without paying him that homage of applause which his unrivalled talents and unwearied exertions so loudly demanded. Little would the observations of the honourable baronet prevail in persuading Englishmen not to reward one who had contributed so essentially to the advantage and to the honour of the empire. The honourable baronet had introduced into his speech several topics, on which, though he (Mr. Canning), owned

that they were but remotely connected with the question, the house would perhaps permit him to touch. He would begin with the allusion of the honourable baronet to the distresses of the manufacturers. "Good God!" exclaimed Mr. Canning, "let the state of commerce and manufactures be what it may, and no man laments the depression which they suffer more than myself, is this a period when Englishmen are to be advised—not to purchase military glory, for that is already our own—but to abstain from expressing gratitude for such services as lord Wellington has performed, because, forsooth, there is a class of the community whose distresses we pity, whose distresses we would most willingly relieve, but whose distresses, I believe from my soul, would be infinitely aggravated, if, by listening to the suggestions of the honourable baronet, we were to consent to degrade the national character." The honourable baronet had next contended, that if this grant was made at all, it ought to be made out of those funds which, according to him, government had abused. Was it so? Were these funds proper subjects of the jealousy and suspicion of parliament? If so, he, for one, would not agree that out of those funds such a man as lord Wellington should be rewarded; he, for one, would not agree that the baseness of the purpose to which (according to the honourable baronet), they had hitherto been applied, should be ennobled by such a dignified appropriation of them. The next subject on which the honourable baronet had indulged the house with his opinion, was the merit of Massena. The honourable baronet, after having (be it observed), disclaimed any military skill or knowledge, had placed Massena in a much higher rank as a general, than lord Wellington; and had blazoned out, with much apparent satisfaction, deeds which, as he said, extorted the applause and admiration of mankind. In answer to all this, it would be sufficient for him to observe, that Massena's military skill was not the subject of the present motion. As he was not yet aware that it was the intention of the honourable baronet to move an amendment to omit the name of Wellington and insert that of Massena, he would abstain from further observation on the subject; assuring the honourable baronet, however, that when he chose to bring forward such a proposition, he was prepared to meet him; disclaiming all ungenerous solicitude to diminish the deserved

reputation, even of an enemy. Generally, however, the honourable baronet characterised the exertions of the noble and gallant earl, as unworthy the reward which a grateful country was anxious to confer upon him; and he particularly described the immediate achievement in which the present question originated, as unimportant and unavailing. He (Mr. Canning), looked upon that great man in a very different light. He considered him as a pre-eminently able and successful commander. Let the committee recollect that lord Wellington was sent out to save Portugal, at a moment when Portugal was in extreme danger, and that at the present moment there was no question with respect to her safety. Let the committee recollect, that when lord Wellington was sent out to save Portugal, he was empowered, after that service, to extend his exertions to Spain, then in a state approaching to desperation, and that, after having performed that first service in Portugal, the noble and gallant lord did extend his operations to Spain. To the one country he had given salvation, to the other, hope. When such homage had been paid to this distinguished individual by the countries which he had so essentially assisted, was it becoming in his own country to doubt his desert? For his part, he could not persuade himself that there was a second man in the house of commons, who, when he saw the first act of those prerogatives, which had lain dormant so long, (how properly, he would not now argue), was to mark with distinguished honour the individual, whom, by a singular and illustrious coincidence, it had been the last act of those prerogatives particularly to distinguish, would hesitate to hail with joy the opportunity afforded him of sharing in that general sentiment of applause and gratitude which pervaded the whole community. The honourable baronet grudged the noble and gallant earl the paltry sum of two thousand pounds per annum. Far different was the conduct of the countries who had the most immediate means of ascertaining his merits. In addition to the title of Conde de Vimiera, granted him in Portugal, was a revenue of five thousand pounds a-year; as captain-general of Spain, lord Wellington had a salary offered to him of five thousand pounds a-year; and as marshal of Portugal, seven thousand pounds per annum. These sums, amounting to seventeen thousand pounds

a-year, were granted for services by the foreign countries in which those services had been performed. It was proposed to give him two thousand pounds a-year in his own country, and the honourable baronet lifted up his hands and eyes at such a gross violation of public economy! These rewards, however, offered by foreign gratitude, were declined by the distinguished person on whom they were bestowed. "No," said that truly noble lord, "in the present situation of Spain and Portugal, I will not receive these rewards. I have only done my duty to my country; and to my country alone I will look for recompense."

Earl Temple, in concurring with the vote, said, that for the importance of the recapture of Ciudad Rodrigo, he would refer to the opinion manifested of it by lord Wellington's opponent. That officer said, it had been so fortified, that the outworks alone might have stood a ten day's siege; and he pronounced its rapid reduction an incomprehensible event. The motion was agreed to, with the single negative of sir F. Burdett.

In the speech of Mr. Canning a very remarkable coincidence is mentioned. The last exercise of his prerogative by George III. was to honour Wellington. He became incapable of attending to affairs of state, and George, prince of Wales, acted for him as prince-regent. When he assumed the reins of government, in 1811, there was some hopes that the king would recover, and restrictions were imposed upon him by parliament. These having ceased in 1812, the first use he made of the power, now his, was to grant a title of honour to the great captain who had been so distinguished by his royal father.

The speeches of the opposition began to take a milder tone after the fall of Badajos. That great achievement was deservedly held to be of vast importance; and indeed the language held respecting it, when thanks were voted for the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, rendered it difficult for those who were least sanguine to refrain from owning satisfaction and surprise on this occasion. The earl of Liverpool, in bringing the subject before the house of lords, did justice to the genius and gallantry of the great military chief. The noble earl said, their lordships had already had an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. That place had been

taken with a rapidity altogether unparalleled, and utterly astonishing even to the enemy, whose commander, had calculated that he would have been in sufficient time to relieve it, if he arrived there at a period which turned out to be nine or ten days subsequent to the date of its capture. The exertions made in the siege of Badajos were not less extraordinary. Their lordships had seen the proofs of the strenuous resistance made on that occasion—of the difficulties encountered in the course of the siege; but, notwithstanding every opposition, in twelve days from the opening of the trenches the place was in possession of the British army. In looking at the circumstances attending this noble effort, it was impossible for any heart not to feel a glow of admiration at the skill and decision of the commander, and the gallantry of the officers and troops. It appeared that three practicable breaches had been made; that the enemy had expected the attack to be made by these breaches, and had employed every imaginable means for effectual resistance. That resistance (he had this from an eye-witness) was one of the most formidable efforts that had perhaps ever been made in any war. After commenting on the gallant conduct of generals Picton and Walker, who had entered the fortress by escalade, he referred their lordships to the public despatches for a fuller account of the officers who had distinguished themselves on that occasion, as it would be in vain to particularize, when all had performed the most glorious acts. There was one circumstance, however, he must not omit to mention, as it was worthy of particular observation. It happened that, owing to the indisposition of some other officers, the command of a most important division of the troops—the light division—fell upon a young officer, not above the rank of lieutenant-colonel. This was colonel Barnard, whose conduct had been spoken of with the admiration it deserved. He mentioned this circumstance with the important view of calling their lordships' attention to the race of young officers that were rising under the auspices and command of the distinguished leader of the combined armies. Here was a body of officers, forming under lord Wellington, which would constitute a shield of strength, such as had perhaps never before existed in any other country, or indeed in this, on any former occasion. He felt it impossible not to touch on the loss which our army had sustained, but he

hoped the friends and relatives of those who so gloriously fell were consoled to know that they had died in a glorious cause, under a commander who was regarded by the army with the most enthusiastic admiration. In looking at this part of the subject as a parliament and a nation, they must have observed, that there was no point of lord Wellington's conduct more remarkable, than his anxiety, on all occasions, to spare the lives of the men under his command as much as possible. He had had an opportunity of knowing more fully than most others, that it was the ruling principle of his conduct, never to endeavour to gain by a battle that which he could gain without it. In the operations at Torres Vedras, his language was this: "I have an opportunity of attacking the enemy, with a full confidence of success; but I think I can accomplish my purpose without it, and therefore I shall not expose the lives of my men to unnecessary hazard." After again adverting to the loss sustained on the present occasion, by proving that, under the circumstances, it was far less in comparison to those suffered by the allied armies under Marlborough at the sieges of Lisle, Douay, Aire, and Toulon. The earl concluded by moving the thanks of the house, in the usual manner, which was agreed to unanimously, after a few words from lord Holland, who said that he was one of those who considered that all the hope we had of ultimately succeeding in driving the enemy from the Peninsula, depended upon the skill and activity of lord Wellington. In no operation of the war had the skill, judgment, and decision of lord Wellington been more marked, both as to mode and time of action, than in this. He felt, and all must feel, the afflicting loss with which it had been attended; but though the loss in actions of this kind was more apparent, it was not usually greater than the losses suffered in protracted sieges. He took it for granted, that it was necessary either to storm the place, to abandon it, or risk an action with Soult. The time, then, was exactly that in which it was most desirable for the British that the place should be attacked. He heartily concurred in the motion.

The warm tribute of praise offered by the earl of Liverpool to Wellington for his anxiety to save the lives of his men deserves to be embalmed in memory. The confident expectation of success would not induce him to risk a sacrifice of his followers for all the

éclat of victory. If, in some quarters, the successes of lord Wellington were imperfectly appreciated, and in others contemptuously disparaged, it is right to mention that he had one powerful, uncompromising defender, in his brother, the marquis of Wellesley, then a distinguished orator in the house of lords. On the opening of the session of parliament, November 30th, 1812, though he disapproved of the policy of the government, he eulogised, in no measured terms, the wisdom and firmness of his brother. There are passages in the noble marquis's speech in every way remarkable: for the estimate he formed of Napoleon Buonaparte; for the view which he took of the then state of the war; and for the anticipations of future triumphs so boldly uttered. His lordship, reviewing the events which had occurred since lord Wellington was before Badajos, said—It had always appeared to him, from the very commencement of the struggle in the Peninsula, that the only solid ground of success, the only reasonable hope of ultimate victory, the only practical system of resistance which could be adopted, was to awaken in the people of Spain a spirit of hostility to France, and to succour and aid that hostility upon a broad and extensive scale of operations. With our force and resources properly directed in that way, great advantages might be expected, and final triumph be fairly calculated upon. It was, indeed, perfectly clear, that the measureless ambition of the leader of France never would desist from its object, till some strong and energetic force should check its progress on one side or another. If the Spanish nation could once bring themselves to feel that there was no evil, no human evil—scarcely, indeed an evil beyond the verge of humanity—to be put in competition, for a moment, with that of submission to the government of France; that loss of property, loss of relations, loss of all that was dear to them, loss of life itself, was small and insignificant compared to that tremendous and overwhelming calamity—submission to France; if they could be brought to this pitch of patriotism and resistance, everything might then be hoped from the contest. It was true, indeed, that the perseverance he had described was a species of which philosophy afforded no definition, nor history any record; but it was by that spirit alone that anything great could be achieved in the struggle between Spain

and France. Our assistance co-operating with this general feeling, might have been productive of the utmost benefits. The great person who now ruled over the destinies of France (for great he could not hesitate to call him) would, it might be presumed, were such a system pursued, find himself, by the success of our arms, reduced to the necessity of abandoning the cause; or, his ambition, leading to the exertion of all his means and energies in this one quarter, would open the way for other enemies in other parts of Europe, who would be eager to seize the opportunity of his reverses in Spain, to shake off the yoke of his subjugation, he would be compelled to divide his forces, and thus present a prospect of more easy success to our combined efforts in the Peninsula. Such was the view he had always taken of the contest in Spain; and, with regard to the spirit of universal hostility in the people, which he deemed so essential, he would assert, without fear of contradiction, that it had been produced, in its fullest extent, in the course of the last year. He was not speaking of anything which it might be thought he had no liberty to express; he was not alluding to anything which had come to his knowledge merely through an official channel: he asserted only what every one might know who had directed his attention to what had occurred in the Peninsula during that period. He also knew it as a fact, which no one would venture to deny, that the success of the British arms in Spain, had been felt and considered in Russia as the salvation of that country; and, if it had not been for our triumphs there, the leader of France would have been able to direct a military force against Russia, so vast and overwhelming, as to preclude the hope of that power resisting it with any prospect of success. But, was not all this foreseen; and was not this the very basis on which the system to be pursued in our present situation, should be founded? What, then followed the fact? The moment it was known that such efforts were taking place; the moment it was known that the desired action was commencing on the one side, ought we not to have pushed every effort on the other side? Ought we not to have strained all the resources of the country, he would say, to their very utmost? And, if we were honest in our exertions in behalf of the cause, ought we not to have seized this momentous crisis as it occurred, to

strike one grand and decisive blow? In these preliminary views of the question which he had ventured to offer to their lordships, his great purpose was to inquire, and to instigate their lordships to inquire, whether the system which had hitherto been pursued, was founded upon just and extended principles; whether an able and efficient exertion of our resources had been made; and whether such means as the country possessed had been fully employed: whether, upon the whole, the result had been such as the nation had a right to expect from the possession of those means, and the right application of them. He could wish, also, that it were possible to fix in the minds of their lordships something like a definite and precise object as to the issue of the contest in the Peninsula. His own idea as to the only true and legitimate object of that contest was, that it involved the expulsion of the French armies from Spain: this, he considered as the plain and practical object; it was intelligible to all; and he would detain their lordships only a few moments, while he inquired what had been done in the course of the present year towards its accomplishment, compared to what might have been done; if our resources had been properly, wisely, and efficiently employed. His own opinion decidedly was, that the war in the Peninsula had been carried on in a way totally inadequate to the production of that result, which he had stated as the only true and practical one, of the contest. He would carry his inquiries back, (and with as much brevity as possible) to the period a little before the reduction of Badajos, somewhere about the beginning of April last. At that time the great general who commanded our armies in Spain, having reduced that important fortress, his next step, it was natural to suppose, especially at that season of the year, would be to expel the French from the south of Spain. But why did he not do so? Because his means were deficient; because he was under the necessity of abandoning his object—that of marching against Soult and raising the siege of Cadiz, from inadequate resources; he was under the necessity of marching northward, with his army; because, in the north of Spain, he had no force which he could leave, sufficient to check and resist the progress of Marmont. To the north he accordingly did proceed, and there he was, from the operation of the same causes, compelled to remain on the frontiers of Spain

till the 13th of June, and, by that time, Marmont's army was in such a state, from the accession of reinforcements, that it became doubtful whether the British commander could advance or not. But why did he remain so long? Because his means of advancing were insufficient; because he wanted money and supplies of every sort; because he had not the common means of transport for his artillery. These were stubborn facts, which he defied any one to contradict. At last, however, lord Wellington advanced without a battering train, not because he thought it unnecessary for the purpose of his military operations, but because he literally had not the means of transporting it. But then, after lord Wellington did advance, what state was he in? He found Marmont's army much stronger than he expected: and he also discovered another circumstance—his object in advancing (and here he begged leave distinctly to assert that he spoke from no other knowledge of lord Wellington's plans than what any person might acquire, who had attentively watched the whole course of the proceedings in Spain,—for, not one syllable concerning them did he derive from any communication with that great general on the subject)—his object in advancing was, he maintained, in expectation of a powerful co-operation on the other side of the Peninsula, and which co-operation had been concerted with him, even at the time he was before Badajos. He therefore must have expected the assistance of this force at the time of his advance into Spain; for, had he not so expected it, he would venture to say that his advance into that country would have been unjustifiable, even though success had ultimately attended his progress. It was certain, however, that he remained a considerable time on the frontier, waiting for intelligence of the looked-for arrival of this co-operating force, but waiting in vain; he then proceeded forward, still confident in his hope, that it would arrive sufficiently early to make a strong diversion in his favour, and found, as their lordships were already informed, that the army of Marmont was much stronger than he had expected to find it. The noble marquis showed, that for five days before the battle of Salamanca lord Wellington had found it necessary to retreat, because his means were inadequate. The battle of Salamanca, he said, brought him to a period full of glory and renown; but, did that arise

out of the general's efficiency, or out of his necessity. It arose from the magnificence, the splendour, the greatness, of his talents. Notwithstanding these, the marquis could not conceive how any calculations could be entertained of future success while lord Wellington's means were confessedly inadequate, according to all the established rules of war.

His fortitude and self-possession were severely tested, not only in the vicissitudes of his campaigns, and in the heat of parliamentary conflict, but even in moments when it might be thought he could serenely repose upon his laurels, from causes within his knowledge which would have disturbed ordinary minds. Of him it has been remarked, that, under all the varying circumstances of his life, his firmness remained unshaken.

"During a part of his long career," writes one of his biographers, "the duke of Wellington was alternately the object of popular disparagement (to use the mildest term), and of popular respect. It is well to know that public men in England are so constituted that, without hardening their hearts towards their countrymen, when they believe them to be ungrateful, they can maintain their equilibrium alike amidst adulation and censure, popularity and unpopularity, love and hatred. It was the natural privilege and advantage of Wellington that he was physically and mentally so organized as to be, we will not say insensible, but impervious to all such influences. His common-sense protected and shielded him alike against flattery and odium. He best knew, better than his eulogists, in what he had really done good and served his country; so that he could afford to weigh and test the praises awarded for his deeds; and equally, when later in life the current turned against him, he was the fittest judge of his own motives and principles of action. His adamant nature stood by him through all trials; and when, at last, his conduct proved that, in obstructing the public will, he had not acted from pure obstinacy, but rather from his own ideas of his duty and of the philosophy of statesmanship; and when he once more received the long-suspended ovations of his countrymen, he showed himself as little moved in the one case as he had been in the other."

When peace had been concluded, in 1814, the duke of Wellington was sent in quality of ambassador to the court of Louis XVIII.

French pride had been wounded by the events which closed the war (though there was nothing in the strife dishonourable to the military character of the nation), and Wellington, as having mainly contributed to the final triumph of England and her allies, became an object of hatred in France, and many plans are known to have been formed for effecting his destruction. When peace had been restored to Europe, England was still at war with the United States. The government had some idea of prevailing on the duke to accept a command there. From the discontents which then manifested themselves, a new revolution was expected in France, and for the duke, in such a case, there was no personal safety. He would willingly have withdrawn from Paris, and had been well content to go to America, but was prevented by a sense of duty. Calmly reviewing all circumstances, he was averse to being suddenly withdrawn. His feelings were thus communicated to the earl of Liverpool:—

"Paris, November 7, 1814.

"My dear lord,—I have received your letter of the 4th, and you will have seen, by that which I wrote to lord Bathurst on the same day, that I feel no disinclination to undertake the American concern. But, to tell you the truth, I think that under existing circumstances you cannot at this moment allow me to quit Europe. You might do so possibly in March next, but now it appears impossible. You already know my opinion of the danger at Paris. There are so many discontented people, and there is so little to prevent mischief, that the event may occur any night, and if it should occur, I don't think I should be allowed to depart. I have heard so frequently, and am inclined to believe it. But, I must confess, I don't like to depart from Paris; and I wish the government would leave the time and the mode at my own discretion. To go to Vienna is a bad pretence; there is no good reason for going; and it would be better to be called to England for a few days to attend the court-martial, and afterwards to be detained. It must likewise be observed that, to go at all, at the present moment, is, in the opinion of the king's friends, to allow him and ourselves to suffer a defeat, and we must not do that. I would likewise observe, that I flatter myself I am daily becoming of more use to lord Castlereagh here, and am acquiring more real influence over the govern-

ment: and it would not answer all at once to deprive him of this advantage. All these considerations induce me to defer to perform a promise which I made to lord Harrowby to write to you and lord Castlereagh upon this subject; and I confess that, although I entertain a strong opinion that I *must* not be lost, government ought to take care that, in withdrawing me, they do not afford ground for suspicion that they do so because they apprehend the consequences of leaving me: they must not withdraw me in a hurry, and must not sacrifice the advantages which they would derive from leaving me here a little longer. I send lord Castlereagh a copy of this letter with those you have written him.—Ever, my dear lord, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

Another letter, written shortly afterwards, on this subject, is worth quoting, for the disclosure of the estimation in which he held British troops, and the statesmanlike view which he took of the state of Canadian affairs at that moment:—

“I have already told you (lord Liverpool) and lord Bathurst that I feel no objection in going to America, though I don't promise to myself much success there. I believe there are troops enough there for the defence of Canada for ever, and even for the accomplishment of any reasonable offensive plan that could be formed from the Canadian frontier. I am quite sure that all the American armies of which I have ever read, would not beat out of a field of battle the troops that went from Bourdeaux last summer, if common precautions and care were taken of them. That which appears to me to be wanting in America, is not a general, or general officers and troops, but a naval superiority on the lakes: till that superiority is acquired, it is impossible, according to my notion, to maintain an army in such a situation as to keep the enemy out of the whole frontier, much less to make any conquest from the enemy, which, with those superior means, might, with reasonable hopes of success, be undertaken.”

Lord Castlereagh was a leading member of the government of that day. It was through him that sir Arthur Wellesley was nominated to command in the Peninsula; and to him the duke confidently communicated his most important plans. The name of Castlereagh has been assailed by rancorous hostility, which the opponents of his

policy can now hardly justify. He manifested the same imperturbable calmness in trying occasions, which it has been seen distinguished the great commander. How highly his lordship appreciated the capacity of Wellington will be seen from a letter, written by him in March, 1815, after Napoleon Buonaparte had returned to France from Elba, and when that campaign was about to open which closed with the great day of Waterloo.

“My dear lord,—I have nothing material to add to my letter. We wait with impatience for intelligence from all quarters. The great question is, can the Bourbons get Frenchmen to fight *for them* against Frenchmen? If they can, Europe may soon turn the tide in their favour; and, the process of fermentation once begun, they may create real partisans, instead of criers of *Vive le Roi!* and doers of nothing. If we are to undertake the job, we must leave nothing to chance. It must be done upon the largest scale. With Mayence, Luxembourg, and Lille, you start on solid grounds, and no fortresses in the rear to blockade as before. But you must inundate France with force in all directions. If Buonaparte could turn the tide, there is no calculating upon his plan; and we must always recollect that Poland, Saxony, and much Jacobinism, are in the rear. I wish you would turn in your mind the principles to be acted upon in France. The applying those you acted upon in the south to the force you will now command of all nations, is out of the question. The utmost we could attempt would be to be honest ourselves, and this would only make our allies more odious. My notion is, that France must pay the price of her own deliverance—that the king should consider the allied troops—that every corps should be accompanied by a French ordonnateur, through whom all requisitions for forage and subsistence should be made, the value to be paid in bons, the liquidation of which should be assured upon a peace, either in a whole, or in the greater proportion, at the expense of the French government. Unless some system of this kind is agreed upon, the war will either degenerate, as it did last year, into an indiscriminate and destructive pillage, or *we* shall be bankrupts, and driven out of the field in three months. I know the difficulties of what I suggest; but the alternative in the less objectionable sense, leads at once to impossibilities and ruin.”



Engraved by W. H. Wood

TALLEYRAND.

O.B. 1888

CHAPTER III.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON APPEARS AS PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE CONGRESS AT VERONA; HE OPPOSES CONTINENTAL DESPOTISM; BECOMES TRUSTEE FOR THE CLAIMANTS OF THE DECCAN PRIZE MONEY; HIS CONDUCT IS ATTACKED, AND TRIUMPHANTLY VINDICATED.

ONE of the great evils of foreign warfare is, that it throws obstacles in the way of any considerable improvement of the social system at home. A parliamentary reform was generally desired, but, while threatened invasions and battles distracted and divided public attention, the call for it proved ineffectual. The duke of Wellington, who had found many of his fiercest assailants among the champions of reform, and who, with all the defects of the English constitution, and all the alleged corruption of its government, had seen mighty undertakings for the emancipation of Europe carried out, was no friend to the coveted change. The political system of England, if objectionable in its parts, he considered, looking at its results, almost perfect as a whole. A considerable time, however, elapsed after he had quitted the tented field before he began to take any prominent part in home politics. He attended with tolerable regularity in parliament, and voted with the tory ministry of the day, but rarely took any part in the debates. In 1818, he was appointed master-general of the ordnance, an office which he continued to fill until several years after, when a great schism arose in the tory party. In 1819, the duke made a speech in the house of lords, which is worthy of notice, as embodying one of a series of energetic protests against catholic emancipation. On the 17th of March in that year, a motion having been made in the house of lords founded on the petitions of the Roman catholics, the duke of Wellington said, he considered that the whole of this question turned on the expediency of removing the disabilities from the Irish Roman catholics, and upon what grounds concessions could be safely made to them. As a means of inquiry a committee was proposed. The whole question turned upon the degree of security which could be given to the Protestant religion, as by law established, in Ireland. To ascertain this, it was necessary to consider how the reformation had been established in Ireland. It was not necessary for him to call to their lordships' remembrance that the reformed religion had been established in Ireland at the point

of the sword, and by means of confiscations. All this was repeated at the revolution, and was fresh in the recollection of the people of Ireland. Keeping in view that the Irish Roman catholic church, under all oppression, continued in the same state—the pope having the same influence over the clergy—the clergy the same power over the people; in this state of things, he would ask whether it was possible that Roman catholics could be safely admitted to hold seats in parliament? The influence of the priesthood over the people was fostered by the remembrance of the events to which he had alluded, and the idea of unmerited and mutual suffering; and no doubt could be entertained, from their present feelings, that if the Roman catholics were admitted to the enjoyment of political power, their first exertion would be to restore their religion to its original supremacy, and to recover the possessions and property of which they had been stripped at the time of the Reformation. It was, however, said, that securities were offered on the part of the Roman catholics. The pope, it seemed, had, in the appointment of bishops, relinquished all to the crown, except the mere conferring of a spiritual blessing. But how had that concession been received by the people of Ireland? It had excited the utmost discontent,* and was regarded as an abandonment of the essential principles of their religion, and an attack on their national independence. Did that arise from the people of Ireland having a less clear idea of national independence than other people? No, but they felt that if the executive power possessed any control over the appointment of the Roman catholic bishops, some security would be thereby obtained for the Protestant church. Considering, then, that the whole question turned upon the degree of security which could be given, and looking at the various securities which had, at several times, been proposed, he had never yet seen anything that came up to his notion of that which ought to be required. As to what had been said of the domestic nomination of bishops, he did not see how the laws of the country could operate upon it, so as to make

it an adequate security. Then, as to the oath of allegiance which the bishop was to take—of what avail could it be, that the law required this oath from a bishop who was appointed—God knows how, or by whom? When all these circumstances were considered—the state of the Irish catholic church—the way in which the reformation had been effected—the rivalry and enmity between the catholics and the established church, and the inadequacy of all securities which had been proposed, there was, in his opinion, enough to decide the question: for the first and greatest duty of the legislature was to secure the establishments as settled at the revolution.

On the blasphemous libel, which came before the house in the same year, his grace, on the question that it should pass, defended the policy of the government in bringing forward the measure, which, he said, was founded on the course which Carlyle, a bookseller, in Fleet-street, had thought proper to pursue. The duke remarked, the question their lordships had to decide upon was not whether the law of libel was sufficient with regard to a first offence, or whether the government ought to have instituted more prosecutions, but whether it was proper now to pass a law for inflicting a severer punishment on persons convicted a second time, of the same offence. What had given occasion to the introduction of the present measure was, as he understood, the case of Carlyle. That person had not only continued the sale of the libel for which he was prosecuted, after conviction, but had published other libels, and had also published the same libel for which he was tried, in another form, before sentence was passed upon him. No person who considered the circumstances of that case, could avoid seeing that the law was not strong enough to prevent the repetition of the offence. The question, therefore, was, whether their lordships would enable the judges to inflict an additional punishment in such a case; whether they would not adopt a measure which had for its object to prevent the repetition of so atrocious an offence.

In many of the leading, and, as they were termed, "all-engrossing" questions of the period, the duke took no part, or was careful not to make himself conspicuous. When the trial of queen Caroline caused the whole nation to experience the most violent agitation, his name seldom came before the public. In 1821, while the public

mind was still much occupied with her case, he was incidentally brought forward. The name of her majesty had not been inserted in the liturgy, and many petitions in favour of its appearing there, and some in opposition to it, were poured into both houses of parliament. A petition of the former character, from the county of Hants, was presented by the earl of Carnarvon, who remarked that attempts of a very extraordinary kind had been made to prevent a county meeting being called on this subject. Among those who had endeavoured to obstruct such a constitutional expression of the opinions of the county, were persons, he said, holding high official situations under government, and members of that house. They had put forth a counter-requisition, and stated that they had already sent an address to the king, which rendered any further expression of the sentiments of the county unnecessary. Notwithstanding this attempt to prevent it, he added, the meeting had been held, which was numerous and respectably attended. Upon this the duke of Wellington rose, and said he supposed the noble earl alluded to him, as one who had signed the counter-requisition. Now he did not sign that counter-requisition, and the reason of his refusal to sign it was, that being lord-lieutenant of the county, and besides, a member of the government, he thought his signature, under these circumstances, would have been improper. He must say, however, that he entirely concurred with those who signed the counter-requisition, as to the impropriety of assembling the county. As an address had been presented to his majesty, signed by nine thousand names, he considered the opinion of the county already expressed, and that it was not necessary to go through the farce of a county meeting. At the meeting which took place, only one side was allowed to be heard. The member for the county, whose view was different from the requisitionists, attended, and wished to state his sentiments, but could not procure a hearing. The earl of Carnarvon, while he admitted the validity of the noble duke's reasons for not signing the second requisition, confessed that he heard with some dismay a declaration by a member of his majesty's government, that a county meeting, called for the purpose of addressing the king, and petitioning the parliament, was a farce. If anything were more essential to the preservation of the constitution than another, it was that county meetings should

be free and open. But it seemed that it was not this popular part of the constitution which it was the object of ministers to support. The phrase, "the farce of a county meeting," was eagerly laid hold of by the opposition, and was often afterwards thrown in the teeth of his grace. The marquis of Lansdowne remarked on it. The constitutional meeting of the county had been stigmatised as a farce. It was with astonishment that he heard this term of reproach applied to the exercise of one of the most valuable rights of the subject—the more valuable because it was exercised in the face of day, and gave every individual in the county, the opportunity of canvassing freely and independently the state of public affairs. This right had not only been long exercised in this country, but was a right, the exercise of which was encouraged when the sentiments expected to be expressed were agreeable to those in power. That kind of assembly which was now called a farce, was, a year ago, the only regular and constitutional mode through which the throne had been approached with addresses of congratulation. Did any of his majesty's ministers then call those meetings a farce? Such meetings would never be so stigmatised, when their proceedings accorded with their opinions and wishes.—The duke of Wellington said, he had not stated that the county had been called before, but had given it as his opinion, that its sentiments had been sufficiently expressed in an address which had been publicly circulated and signed. With respect to the word "farce," he did not use it out of any disrespect to county meetings generally. He certainly did not view them with any disapprobation, when so conducted that all sides could be heard; but when they were called by one party only, and when every man who wished to say anything in opposition to the opinions of that party, had to ask the protection of some noble lord, or some other person, in order to obtain a hearing, he did not conceive that such a meeting expressed the sentiments of the county. He was willing to allow that county meetings, if properly regulated, were a fair and constitutional mode of taking the sense of the county; but this could not happen when they were attended by a mob for the express purpose of supporting one side.

The explanation thus given, which ought to have been considered satisfactory, was in a great measure disregarded, and his grace

was commonly spoken of as unfriendly to popular meetings, because in some cases, under certain circumstances, he regarded their proceedings as little better than a farce.

Mr. Canning accepted the seals of the foreign office in 1822, and in a short time gained a degree of popularity which his great talents had not previously secured to him. It was believed that the government, since he had joined it, was likely to be more favourable to internal improvements, and less friendly than in former days to foreign despotism. He had scarcely been in office eight and forty hours, before the duke of Wellington was employed on a foreign mission. A congress was to be held at Verona, and the duke was appointed to represent England there. The designs of France on Spain, had awakened grave suspicions in England of the ultimate designs of the French monarch. The course which it became his duty to take, will be best explained by relating what passed in parliament on the subject of the congress at Verona.

On the 17th of April, 1823, on a motion made by lord King, for an account of the extraordinary expenses of foreign missions, lord Holland wished to ask whether there was any treaty or stipulation in any treaty between this country and France, or any other country, by which it was provided that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under one head, and he wished to know in what capacity the duke of Wellington had attended the congress at Verona? To the latter question the earl of Liverpool replied that his grace had attended as his majesty's plenipotentiary, and was entitled to take part in all the points which might be brought under discussion.—Earl Grey reminded their lordships, that in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, there was a provision that a special congress should not take place respecting the affairs of states not being parties to the alliance, except on the invitation of those states. He wished to know whether the duke of Wellington had been instructed to observe on that article, and if not, on what ground the noble duke attended at the congress on the affairs of Spain? It appeared singular that up to that moment the duke of Wellington seemed in complete ignorance of the affairs of that country. This was most extraordinary, because from April, 1820, his majesty's government had communicated to

his allies every instruction, which his majesty had sent to his minister at Madrid; and all the communications made, by his majesty's commands, to the minister of Spain residing in London—all in the same spirit of good-will to the king of Spain, and to the Spanish nation. But to what purpose were these communications made to the French government, except his majesty's ministers knew something of the intended course of proceedings in France? In the first despatch or memorandum of the duke of Wellington from Verona, he had stated that since the month of April, 1820, the British government had availed themselves of every opportunity of recommending his majesty's allies to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of Spain, and yet it was pretended that ministers had no intimation of the intentions of France against Spain. But the memorandum of the duke of Wellington spoke of the results of the consultations of congress. Was it possible to suppose that at the previous conferences, nothing of the objects were stated, of which ministers were apparently in such complete ignorance? When the earl of Liverpool vindicated the general policy of the government, the duke of Wellington replied to the observations which had been made on his conduct, that in answer to the questions of the French government, he had referred to the principle laid down by the late secretary of state, in a document, dated May, 1820, of non-intervention with the internal affairs of other countries. It was impossible to deny that that was the intention of the second part of the answer, commencing with the following words—"Without adverting to those principles which his majesty's government must always consider the rule of their conduct with relation to the internal affairs of other countries." The principle was carried still farther, in the answer which he had given upon receiving the despatches which the allied sovereigns had resolved to send to their minister at Madrid. He had then declared, that to "animadvert on the internal affairs of an independent state, unless those transactions affected the essential interests of his majesty's subjects, was inconsistent with those principles on which his majesty had invariably acted on all questions relating to the internal affairs of other countries." Now, he really did not know how he could have expressed the opposition of his government in stronger terms than those which he had made use of.

In the following week, a motion being made by lord Ellenborough respecting the late negotiations affecting Spain, the duke of Wellington, in the course of the debate, gave a more formal explanation of his conduct. He said, "he stood before their lordships, not only as the individual who had carried on the negotiations at Verona, but also as a member of the cabinet which had drawn up the instructions upon which those negotiations had been conducted, and he called upon the noble lords opposite to state to him, whether at the commencement of those negotiations, they would have taken measures of war or of neutrality, for the basis of their future proceedings? As yet, they had not declared whether they meant peace or war. Their arguments would lead to war, but they still seemed to lean to pacific measures; and he called upon them, therefore, to adopt one line or the other. The government, however, of which he formed a part, had determined on preserving a strict neutrality. They sent him to Verona with instructions to that effect, and in conformity with the spirit of those instructions, he had carried on the negotiations, the merits of which their lordships were that evening assembled to discuss. With such instructions, he had entered into conferences with the ministers of the other powers. Into the details of those conferences he would not enter at any length; indeed, it would not be his duty to do so. His majesty's government had furnished the house with such parts of them as it thought necessary; and upon those alone he would consent to rest his defence, merely premising that the arguments which he had used at Verona, were not addressed to a British public, or to a British parliament, but to the ministers of powerful and independent states. He would proceed to the charges which had been brought against him. He had been blamed for not having placed in a more prominent point of view, the principles laid down in the state-paper drawn up by the late marquis of Londonderry, in 1821. Now, he appealed to the papers themselves, as affording a decisive refutation of this charge. He had alluded to that very paper on three or four distinct occasions; though, in point of fact, it was very immaterial whether he had done so or not, as the principles which that state-paper contained had never been admitted by any one of the allied powers. He had not been sent to Verona to argue the correctness of those

principles, but to refuse, on the part of the British government, to interfere at all in the internal affairs of Spain. On that principle he had stood, during the whole course of the negotiations; and, from first to last, he had endeavoured to dissuade the allied powers from interfering in them, by urging, at one time, those difficulties which his own experience in Spain suggested to him they must meet, if they persisted in such a design, and by stating at another, the embarrassment which it was likely to create to the French government, if it should pertinaciously determine to carry it into execution. Another view had also been taken of his conduct at Verona. At the time that he went to the congress which was held there, the French government offered to the consideration of the allied powers three propositions, all of which were declared by it to rest upon the single ground of defensive operations. It had been stated that by those propositions, he had been completely duped. Such a statement he begged leave most positively to deny. If noble lords would only take the trouble of reading over the papers, they would discover not only that he had foreseen, but that the government at home had also foreseen, the probability of the French cabinet resorting to offensive operations. But even though such had been the case, was it his duty to go and insult the sovereigns and their ministers who formed that congress, by telling them that he disbelieved the grounds on which they stated their readiness to enter into discussion? Was it his business, wishing, as he did, to preserve tranquillity in Europe, to seek an occasion of bringing forward topics, which, when brought forward, must excite difference of opinion at least, if not the greatest irritation? Was it his business, acting as he did, almost in the capacity of a mediator, to use arguments of menace and of force—arguments which the noble lords knew that he was by no means instructed to support? He was thankful to the noble lords opposite, for the desire they had expressed that he might come out of this discussion with an untainted reputation; but he should have felt more confidence than he now did, in the sincerity of that desire, if he had seen no inclination in those noble lords, to pervert and misquote, and misrepresent his language; and to attribute to it meanings which it did not naturally bear, and which, if it did, they must have been certain were never intended.

The first of the misrepresentations of which he complained, was contained in a charge made against him by the noble baron who had opened the discussion. The noble baron had accused him of disobeying the orders which he had received, because in the note which he delivered to the allied powers on the 30th of October, he had not fully stated the instruction which he had received from Mr. Canning on the 27th of September. That instruction was of this nature:—"If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, I am to instruct your grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his majesty will not be a party." Now, he would ask whether, at the period at which he delivered in the note in question, there was any reason to believe that any determined project was in agitation, to interfere by force and menace in the affairs of Spain? At that period he was asked to give his opinion upon three propositions of a defensive nature, made by the French government; and, he must say that no appearance of force or menace was to be found in those propositions. As soon as a disposition was evinced to interfere by menace or force of arms in the affairs of Spain, that very moment he had declared, without reserve, his majesty's opinion upon the subject of interference."

It will be seen from the explanation submitted to parliament, that, acting on the instructions he had received, the duke firmly resisted the proposed interference with the affairs of Spain. His representations did not prevent the French army under the duke d'Angoulême from crossing the Bidassoa; but they were greatly approved by the English public, to whom it appeared that the conduct of France had been marked by much duplicity. When preparations were made for putting down by force the Spanish liberals, the minister of Great Britain was assured that no offensive measures were intended; but, as a contagious fever had broken out in Spain, it had been thought right to establish an army, as a sanitary cordon on the frontier. Taking this step, such a course was pursued as favoured the views of the absolutists; and at length, on various frivolous pretexts, the *cordon sanitaire* was converted into an army of observation—soon, as has been related, to become one of invasion. When the great powers of the continent were induced to

concur with France, and the other powers resolved on isolating themselves from Spain, the duke of Wellington refused to withdraw the British ambassador, but left him there, in the hope that he might, by his good offices, abate the annoyance and irritation occasioned to the proud Spanish people by the holy alliance. Subsequently, Mr. Canning requested the duke to become the medium of a special communication, which he desired to address to the Spanish government; and, selecting his grace, he proposed to pay a compliment to him personally, and at the same time to increase the probability of his wishes being acceded to, from their being conveyed through one who had rendered such great services to the Spanish nation.

As in the case of most eminent men, lampoons and caricatures were plentifully lavished on Wellington. His well-proportioned features and form were not spared by satirists. He was described as the chief "whose nose is like a tower on the road as thou goest to Damascus." The public were told by Harriet Wilson, that in his blue sash he looked like a rat-catcher, and in the picture-shops his grace and the frail libeller, were exhibited as "the rat-catcher" and the "flat-catcher." In some of Mr. O'Connell's speeches he was sneered at as a "stunted corporal;" and in France, those who could not render homage to the hero of Lodi and Marengo for being tall, were amused with a squib at the duke's moderate height, on so grave an occurrence as an attempt to assassinate him. When he was in Paris, in 1816, a pistol having been fired at him, without effect, a would-be wit furnished on the incident an epigram, which was thus anglicised:—

"The shot has missed—I'll tell you why—
Our laurelled Chief no danger ran;
The erring marksman aimed too high—
He thought the duke a greater man."

These trifles, if he condescended to bestow upon them a glance, probably entertained him for a moment—but vigilant malice was ever on the watch to make a more serious attack on his fame, if the slightest materials could be found to sustain it. An instance of this may be found in the virulence which pursued him on the subject of his conduct as a trustee for the claimants of the Deccan prize money. The real circumstances of the case, so far as the duke was concerned, may be thus stated:—When the Pindarrees, a horde of desperate freebooters, encouraged

and protected by the Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Scindiah, had made irruptions into the British territories, Holkar and Scindiah, as well as other Mahratta chiefs, secretly engaged in a conspiracy to expel the English from India. A grand military plan was in consequence formed by the marquis of Hastings, in 1817, for the purpose, not only of annihilating the Pindarrees, but of putting down all hostile confederacy throughout India. This plan consisted of two parts. The marquis of Hastings, with the Bengal army, advanced to the Sinde, which river he reached on the sixth of November, 1817, while the army of the Deccan (or South) commanded by Sir Thomas Hislop, advanced to the Nerbudda, which river was crossed on the fourteenth of the same month, by sir J. Malcolm, second in command. Scindiah was easily compelled to sign a treaty, renouncing the Pindarrees—and these freebooters, alarmed and indignant at his conduct, fled to Holkar, who, being unable to protect them, they either dispersed, or threw themselves on the mercy of their conquerors. Thus the first object of the war was completed, without producing any particular results in the way of booty. But it was not so with the second object. Scindiah had at once subscribed to the terms required of him. Similar terms were offered to Holkar, but refused, and the battle of Maheidpōor was the consequence, which forced him to make a treaty, placing him in a state of dependence on British power. Some inferior chiefs continued in arms, while others voluntarily placed themselves under British protection. The Peshwah of the Mahrattas, who had been for years carrying on secret negotiations against England, was induced, in June, 1817, to sign a treaty renouncing communication with the other native powers. This treaty was no sooner signed than he resolved to violate it. On the fifth of November, 1817, he broke out into open hostilities. The rajah of Nagpore pursued a similar conduct, and, in the beginning of December of that year, it was found necessary to proceed to extremities. The operations against these two sovereigns, as well as those against Holkar, produced the capture of much valuable booty. Notwithstanding this property was taken in 1818, or 1819 at the latest, yet it could not soon be collected into one mass, or brought to a common account. False notions were entertained of what was booty. Some persons thought that public buildings were to be valued, and

that debts owing long before by the native princes, were to be exacted, for the benefit of the captors. Time was required to get over these difficulties: and then arose a great question whether the property which might fairly be deemed booty was to be divided among all the British forces in the field, or only among the army of the Deccan. This point was solemnly argued in 1823, and was at length decided in favour of the latter army.

Thus far the duke of Wellington had nothing to do with the case; but when it was settled that the army of the Deccan should alone share the booty, it came next to be considered that among the individuals of that army there were a great variety of conflicting claims, and that some trustees ought to be appointed, with power to determine all questions which might arise. On the part of the Deccan army, sir Thomas Hislop and sir John Malcolm applied to the duke of Wellington, to take on himself that gratuitous and laborious charge. His grace declared that his personal wish was to avoid the burthen, but that he would sacrifice every consideration of that kind if he could serve an army to whose bravery he was so much indebted. Accordingly, in 1823, the duke and Mr. Arbuthnot undertook this office. Many questions arose. The object of the trustees was to put an end to them as speedily as possible; and they were drawing to an end, when the complaint of delay was brought forward in parliament. Not a day nor an hour had the trustees loitered: and it was stated as a positive fact, that his grace, with his own hand, *had written above one thousand one hundred folio pages on the various claims.*

But even the performance of labours so Herculean could not save his grace from being angrily assailed as the cause of the delays which, from the circumstance just mentioned, it must be seen were unavoidable. In 1825, the case was brought before parliament.

A very bitter attack was made on the trustees by Dr. Lushington. He did not scruple to declare, that from the time they entered upon their duty, they acted in a manner calculated to injure the best interests of those whom they were bound to protect. In every case of the kind that occurred for the last thirty years, the trustees held free communication with the parties interested. To refuse information, as had been done in the present instance, amounted

to a positive denial of justice. [Here the honourable member read a letter to sir Thomas Hislop, which had been alluded to, which he characterised as one of "unparalleled insolence."] The tone of this letter showed the spirit in which the trustees were acting. When the right honourable gentleman denied that they could derive any personal advantage from this transaction, he would ask him whether it was not proposed to make Mr. Arbuthnot's son, who, as he understood, was not yet twenty-one years of age, an agent for the distribution of this prize-money; whether the profits of the appointment were not calculated at ten thousand pounds; and whether it was not decided that the crown was to confer it on this individual, though it could only be done conformably to the provisions of an act of parliament, with the consent of the captors? Was this the manner in which sir Thomas Hislop should be treated? Was it consistent with decorum, with usage, or with ordinary justice?

The chancellor of the exchequer regretted the absence of Mr. Arbuthnot from indisposition. Had he been present, he would have answered the questions which had been put. He believed the information furnished to Dr. Lushington was not correct.

The petition was ordered to be printed, and the matter dropped, but a few days afterwards, it was again brought on the *tapis* by colonel Lushington, who presented a petition from the parties interested, praying that the proceedings of the trustees might not be disturbed. The colonel said, it had been attempted to cast some blame on the trustees, the duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot, for the delays that took place. There was no ground for attributing any blame to them. The warrant was dated March, 1823, and the moment it was received, the trustees lost no time in proceeding with the business. It ought to be recollected that the question was one of a very complicated nature; that a great variety of claims was to be considered; that lists were to be made out, and legal opinions taken. All this necessarily required time. He was in India when an account arrived there of the warrant appointing the noble duke one of the trustees; and it gave the greatest satisfaction, as well to Europeans as natives. Some of the claims put forward were of the most unreasonable nature, amounting to not less than two million pounds. Even a valuation of the public buildings was insisted upon,

as well as a debt due to the Nizam before the war. The petitioners relied upon the wisdom and justice of the trustees, and prayed that the house would entertain no proposition for disturbing the present proceedings.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he heard with pleasure from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, both the statement of the sentiments of the petitioners, and his own view of the subject. He must say that the duke of Wellington and his colleague (Mr. Arbuthnot), had been most unjustly and unfairly dealt with. The illustrious individual undertook this duty, not from an idea that it could be of the slightest advantage to himself, but hoping to bring it to a satisfactory termination. His only object was to benefit the army, for whose interests no person was animated with a more ardent zeal. The trustees were well aware that high expectations existed, and that if they could not realise them, they must necessarily subject themselves to the injurious rumours and calumnies which disappointed individuals would not fail to circulate. Were he in a situation to offer an opinion, he most certainly should not have advised them to undertake such a duty. But the high mind of the duke of Wellington was above every personal consideration, and he devoted himself most anxiously and laboriously to the business, from a love of that army of which he formed so bright an ornament. When such injurious calumnies had been circulated with regard to their conduct, he felt himself bound to take this opportunity of refuting them. The principal charge against the trustees was, that they declined holding any communication with the law agents of the army. He did not see how it was incumbent on the noble duke to communicate with them. He had communication with the general who commanded the army upon the occasion, and obtained from him all the information he could. The interests of the army were more likely to be consulted by communicating with those who could give useful information, than with the attorney of the captors. The calumnies so industriously circulated, had their rise in disappointed expectations. The duke of Wellington could have no object in view, but to benefit the army, whose interests were always dear to him, and of which he formed the brightest ornament.

This explanation, all sufficient as it must appear, was treated as by no means satisfactory. Dr. Lushington remarked, that the

conduct of the trustees was unprecedented. There was no instance of the kind in any similar business. He did not deny that the noble duke was prepared to enter into explanations with the officer who commanded the army; but there were expectations raised in various quarters, and some of them, as it appeared to him, founded on sound principles. All these persons had a right to have their claims considered, and to have their communications on the subject attended to. This petition looked as if it was got up after what took place the other night, for the purpose of giving the chancellor of the exchequer an opportunity of making a speech.

The taunt thus thrown out caused sir Henry Hardinge to rise. He warmly asserted that the delay which was the subject of complaint, had been caused by the captors themselves. It was impossible for him not to feel the utmost indignation at the foul and calumnious rumours that had been circulated. From 1817 to the issuing of the warrant in 1823, it was quite clear the trustees had nothing at all to do with the business. From the moment of their appointment, they regularly reported to the treasury the whole of the proceedings. In January, 1825, sir Thomas Hislop was required to send in lists of the army, which were not delivered till the 1st of the present month. For this delay, therefore, sir Thomas Hislop was to blame, and not the trustees, who had been most foully traduced. He must say, that in looking at what passed the other night in the house upon this subject, he observed that the honourable and learned gentleman opposite (Dr. Lushington) acted in a manner most unprecedented and most unworthy. The honourable and learned gentleman, in allusion to the conduct of the duke of Wellington, made use of the words "unparalleled insolence." Was this language that should be employed towards any individual, and particularly one who could not be present to defend himself? He should be the last one in the world to limit the right of members of that house to declare their mind freely, but the privilege should not be extended so far as to insult even any member of that house in his absence, much less a person who could not be there to refute a charge that might be brought against him. The noble duke was too high in character and in station to enter into any personal altercation with the honourable and learned gentleman, but it required much patience

on his (sir Henry Hardinge's) part, not to retort upon the honourable and learned gentleman, the expressions he had used.

Here sir Henry was called to order, and a very tumultuous scene ensued. He, however, would not be deterred from defending the conduct of the trustees, and he asserted the duke of Wellington was ready to give every explanation that could be required, to the parties interested. In the course of the altercation to which his speech gave rise, a doubt was expressed as to whether the words said to have been used by Dr. Lushington, had really been uttered. Sir Henry Hardinge assumed them to have been used, as they had not been denied by the learned gentleman. With difficulty he obtained a further hearing, when he commented with severity on the statements contained in a recently-published pamphlet.

He again declared the duke of Wellington was willing to enter into any explanation with the parties interested; but, in consequence of the calumnious nature of the insinuations thrown out in the pamphlet, to which he before alluded, some degree of caution was necessary in his communications. Nothing could be more false than the statements it contained. It was asserted there, that Mr. Arbuthnot was about to appoint his son, a person under twenty, as agent. The fact was, that Mr. Arbuthnot had no son under twenty, and the person whom he proposed to appoint was his eldest son, twenty-five or twenty-six years old, and a major in the army. He hoped Mr. Arbuthnot would not be deterred from the appointment by anything that had hitherto passed on the subject. The claimants required that even the materials of the palaces should be sold, and demanded compensation for such parts of their territories as the native princes were allowed to retain. In all, their demands amounted to something near two millions. He must repeat, that nothing could be more honourable, disinterested and praiseworthy in every respect, than the conduct of the trustees; neither had they converted any of the money to their own purposes. On the contrary, they were ready to give up every penny.

It was urged by Mr. Brougham that Dr. Lushington could not be expected to recall the offensive expressions which had been remarked upon, after the angry remarks which had been made. Sir Henry would own no regret for what he had said, while the words in question were not withdrawn.

The claimants were still dissatisfied, and some of them having become extremely impatient, were evidently well disposed, right or wrong, to condemn the trustees for their dilatory proceedings or their negligence. On the 28th of June, 1825, Mr. Hume presented a petition to the house of commons on the subject, from lieutenant-colonel Fitzsimon and others, praying the house to institute an inquiry into the case. It was stated, though his grace the duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot had been appointed trustees in 1823, the claimants were not able to obtain from them any satisfactory account of what was doing, or intended to be done on the subject. Public attention had been drawn to it, and, as must naturally be the case, under such circumstances, hints were thrown out not at all favourable to the trustees. In answer to a letter which Sir T. Hislop addressed to the duke of Wellington on the subject, in October, 1824, the noble duke said, that they (the trustees) were ready to receive information from the claimants, but that it was no part of their business to communicate any. An explanation was immediately afforded by the chancellor of the exchequer, from which it appeared that the property in question was peculiarly circumstanced. It did not come immediately within the operation of the prize acts. It was booty, the whole of which became the property of the crown. There were contending claims among the captors. The arguments on both sides were heard, and the lords of the treasury decided that the captors alone of the Deccan were entitled to share. In 1823, the duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot were appointed trustees to the captors; and he believed the house would admit that there were no two individuals living less likely to make use of the appointment for any personal object. Immediately on the receipt of the treasury warrant, in 1823, appointing them trustees, they proceeded to the discharge of their duties. The whole business was managed by them without any expense to the captors, except what was necessary in taking the opinion of counsel. The duke of Wellington wrote with his own hand every paper connected with the inquiry, and in fact took more trouble, and manifested more zeal in it, than if it were a business in which his individual interest was concerned. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) complained that in his letter to sir T. Hislop, the noble duke refused to communicate

any information. He would endeavour to explain this circumstance. The information the trustees wanted was information from the captors, that might enable them to make out a list of distribution. Now the information the other party wanted was this—they desired that the trustees would communicate to them the legal opinions they had obtained on the subject from the law officers of the crown. No person had a right to demand from them an account of what they had done, and in refusing it they were influenced by prudential motives. By some means or other, detached parts of the proceedings, only calculated to mislead the public on the subject, had found their way into the newspapers during the inquiry. Under such circumstances he thought the trustees acted prudently in returning the answer they did. It was impossible that the duke of Wellington, or Mr. Arbuthnot, the East India Company, or any of its servants, could derive the least advantage from the property claimed by the captors. The property was not in their hands, or in any way under their control. As to the time when this business was likely to be adjusted, he added, the trustees had already satisfied themselves as to the nature of the different claims and their extent. All that was wanted was a scheme of distribution; and it was not until the first day of that present month of June, that the duke of Wellington had been furnished by the claimants with such a list as could enable the trustees to decide who the persons were that were entitled to a share of the prize-money.

The subject was yet again brought before the house, by a petition presented by Mr. Abercromby, from sir Evan M'Gregor. This petitioner maintained, that no needless or expensive litigation had been incurred regarding the prize-money. In the course of his intercourse with the law and prize agents he had never seen any indication of such a disposition. In making this representation he had been governed by a strong sense of duty, being anxious that the house should not be misled. He was ready to verify the allegations of his petition. The honourable member was authorized in stating that the petitioner had acted only from his own impulse upon this subject. In the petition of sir J. Malcolm there was a distinct insinuation that there was a general desire on the part of the counsel and agents to increase litigation. The former petitioners professed to vindicate the duke of

Wellington by making unfounded charges against other individuals. As men of honour they were bound to speak out plainly, and say to whom they referred. Either the charge should not have been made, or it ought to have been more tangible and specific.

Sir Henry Hardinge once more vindicated the trustees, and complained of the aspersions cast on the duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot. The claims of the captors he showed to have been extravagant, and in some cases ridiculous. He quietly noticed the sensibility and delicacy of the gentlemen of the learned profession upon the subject. He would be the last person in the world to speak disrespectfully of the profession, as many of his connexions were engaged in it, but he thought the sensibility and delicacy of the gentlemen of the long robe were but badly illustrated by the fact of the law bills amounting upon the transaction to fourteen thousand pounds, whilst the expenses of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot, after two years of hard labour, were but one hundred and fifty pounds. It appeared that garbled extracts from the evidence supplied to the trustees had got into the newspapers. It was to such publications that the duke of Wellington was opposed, and sir Henry Hardinge thought that in this his conduct was marked by prudence and caution, and had prevented a waste of money. The duke of Wellington had every right to complain of the infamous calumnies uttered against him in pamphlets. He despised them all, and disdained to make any reply. His constant answer to all the officers who applied to him on the subject was, "If you wish for inquiry, here are all the papers; consult them, but they must not be published in a garbled state." Sir Henry added, he wished that all the law bills should be produced, that the house might know what the agent received, and thus the public would ascertain how much of this plunder had been obtained by the gentlemen of the long robe.

Mr. Brougham took part in this memorable conversation, and put in a word for the lawyers. Not denying that men wearing black coats were as willing to plunder as men who wore red: he observed, with respect to the litigation which had taken place, that though expensive, it was not unnecessary. By going to law, the parties interested secured three hundred thousand pounds for the army; the suit was decided in their

favour. Was not this a fair account of profit and loss? Was it not a good thing to obtain three hundred thousand pounds by the expenditure of fourteen thousand pounds? Was there not a considerable balance in favour of the successful party? He had no interest in the cause. He was applied to to be concerned for the marquis of Hastings and the grand army, but finding it inconvenient, he declined the duty. It was by this very litigation the Deccan army

beat the grand army, carried the day, and obtained more than three hundred thousand pounds.

Amicable explanations afterwards took place between Dr. Lushington and sir Henry Hardinge. The former being applied to more courteously than before, qualified the harshness of the expression applied to the duke of Wellington, whose conduct was held to be triumphantly vindicated, as regarded his trusteeship.

CHAPTER IV.

CLAIMANTS ON FRANCE SATISFIED; ACCEPTS AN EMBASSY TO RUSSIA; HONOURS RENDERED HIM BY THE EMPEROR; HE IS APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND HIGH CONSTABLE OF THE TOWER; MR. CANNING BECOMES PRIME MINISTER; THE DUKE DECLINES TO JOIN HIS ADMINISTRATION.

THAT a great commander should also be a good, plodding, pains-taking man of business, was little to be expected; but such, in truth, was the duke of Wellington. The same care, perseverance, and decision which we note in connexion with the distribution of the Deccan prize-money, had previously been witnessed in his labours to satisfy the claims on France after the conclusion of a general peace. That was a task of no small importance. In 1814, France had engaged, by treaty, to pay all the debts due from her to foreign countries. In virtue of this stipulation, every nation in Europe sent commissioners, but charged with claims so enormous in amount, that France could not possibly discharge them; while, from the difficulties thrown in the way by the French authorities, the liquidations were in fact stopped, and discussions of the most angry and hostile nature had become very frequent among all the parties concerned, with the exception of the English commissioners, who prosecuted their claims successfully and amicably with the French government. In this state of difficulty, all the powers of Europe, as with one accord, fixed their eyes on one man, as alone able to effect such an arrangement as might be satisfactory; and, at their repeated request, in which France joined, the duke of Wellington undertook to examine, generally, into the nature and probable amount of the claims, and to appor-

tion to each country such sum as he thought just. For this purpose he met, at successive times, the Austrian, Prussian, Dutch, and other commissioners, with frequently, their ministers and ablest men to assist them; and the object of all these gentlemen was, of course, to lower as little as possible their respective demands. After great labour, he made his award.

His success in the performance of this delicate and important duty was quite extraordinary. The appropriations, he sanctioned, not only gave general content to the various anxious claimants, but it was boldly declared that he had "satisfied them all, without even a single exception; nay, what is more extraordinary still, even France herself was satisfied. The sum allotted for the Bordeaux claimants did not, in the issue, turn out to be sufficient to pay all the claimants in full, because the claims were, in general, substantiated, and few rejections took place. The per centage received by these claimants, however, amounted to rather more than eighty-eight per cent., and from the money appropriated to them, the government directed that no deduction should be made for the expenses of the commission."

The duke was again employed in a diplomatic capacity in 1826, when he was sent as ambassador from England to Nicholas, the new emperor of Russia. Great honours were rendered to him in his progress, as

well as when he reached his destination. At Berlin, his reception was most flattering. A letter, written from that capital, which he reached in February, gave the following gratifying particulars:—"On the 17th inst., about eleven, A.M., the duke of Wellington arrived in this city, on his road to St. Petersburg, attended by lords Fitzroy Somerset, Douglas, and Fincastrale, captain Cathcart, the honourable Henry Bligh, and his physician, Dr. Hume. The duke alighted at the hotel of the City of Rome, before which a guard of honour, consisting of thirty grenadiers and an officer, were waiting to salute him. In the drawing-room fixed for the duke's use, his majesty the king of Prussia had directed a reduced copy, in bronze, of the statue of Blucher, in Breslau, to be placed; so that the duke, at his entrance, might be greeted by the features of his old military companion. The original statue, it may be mentioned, was modelled, in 1823, by professor Rauch; the drawing of the pedestal was by Langhaus, of Breslau; and the execution, in bronze, by Messrs. Lequene and Cone. The pedestal, in Breslau, is eighteen feet, and the statue itself eleven feet high. The statue was presented to the duke by the king. At twelve o'clock, all the generals and field-officers in the town assembled, and proceeded, with field-marshal Gneisenau and the duke Charles of Mecklenburgh at their head, to the duke of Wellington's hotel, in order to be presented to his grace. After taking some refreshment with lord Clanwilliam, the British ambassador, the duke proceeded to pay his respects to his majesty; and then to the other members of the royal family; and, on the same day, called on Blucher's widow. On the following day, (the 18th), a large parade of all the troops garrisoned in the town took place in the Linden. The duke himself repaired to the king at eleven, and, in company with his majesty, rode by the troops, and afterwards saw them defile before them. The duke wore, on this occasion, as he has in general done during his stay here, the Prussian uniform, and the decoration of the order of the black eagle; the number of troops present amounted to about fifteen thousand; they were in good order, and well disciplined; but in the cavalry the horses were not, in general, good, and were of different colours, which tended very much to lessen the effect which they otherwise would have produced. After the parade was finished, the populace fol-

lowed the duke to his hotel, some huzzaing, others merely staring at him, but all apparently gratified at his presence. In the afternoon the duke dined with his majesty, where all the field-officers were invited, and, in the evening, visited the Opera-house, on which occasion one of Spontini's operas, *Nurmahal*, was performed, with which his grace appeared extremely delighted, and, contrary to the custom in the German theatres, the audience cheered him several times. After the opera, the duke attended a splendid ball given by prince Augustus of Prussia, at which upwards of six hundred persons were present." The inhabitants of Berlin were congratulated on such a presence. "Berlin," it was exultingly told, "which had the good fortune to see within its walls the greatest English general of the last century, the duke of Marlborough, has had now the satisfaction of welcoming the greatest English general of our times, the duke of Wellington." The *Vosses Gazette* published, by command, a poem to compliment the duke of Wellington on the day of his arrival in Berlin; and afterwards an English translation of it, accompanied with a note, stating that Dr. F. Forster, the author of the poem, had received the duke's thanks for it in a very flattering letter. The king, it was said, pointed out the poem to the duke's attention.

Having left Berlin, a somewhat curious incident occurred on his road to St. Petersburg. The emperor of Russia was anxious to pay every respect to the duke of Wellington, on his approach to the Russian capital; and, for this purpose, he ordered relays of Cossacks to be on the road, to escort him on his journey. A party was accordingly stationed on the frontiers to obey the orders of their monarch; but the noble duke being in advance of his suite about four miles, in a light brischa, was not recognised, and was suffered to pass without notice. The main body of the suite, in several carriages, shortly afterwards came up, when inquiry was made for the *great man*, on which the mistake was discovered, and the poor Cossacks, apprehensive of personal consequences, rode after his grace with the utmost fury, anxious to repair their error. "How the noble duke felt," a contemporary journalist wrote, "on seeing himself thus pursued, we know not; but on receiving an explanation, he was highly amused by the confusion which the simplicity of his equipage had produced."

It is needless here to enlarge on the politics of that day. The Greek question then occupied the minds of all observant politicians. On this subject the views of Russia were not at variance with those which were entertained in England. The duke, on his arrival at St. Petersburg, met with every gracious attention from the emperor Nicholas. To mark his esteem in the strongest possible manner, the emperor addressed the following letter to the British chief:—"To our field-marshal, the duke of Wellington. —In order to testify to you my particular esteem for your great qualities, and for the distinguished services which you have rendered to all Europe, it will be highly agreeable to me if one regiment of my army bears your name. On this day, the 19th (31st) of March, on which Paris was taken, twelve years ago, and an ever-memorable contest, in which the good cause, indebted to you for such splendid triumphs, successfully terminated, I have given orders that the Smolensko regiment of infantry, formed by Peter the Great, and one of the most distinguished of my army, which was formerly under your command in France, shall henceforth be called 'the duke of Wellington's regiment,' as I wish hereby to give you a proof of my constant and sincere regard.

"(Signed)—NICHOLAS."

It has since been surmised, that the sympathy manifested by Russia for the sufferings of the Greeks, had its origin in hostility to Turkish power. After the return of the duke from St. Petersburg, it was believed that Russia was about to interfere in behalf of the Greeks. "At all events," a Prussian journal remarked, "it would seem that the eternal question respecting Wallachia and Moldavia is again to be agitated, if not brought to a conclusion. The Porte, we are told, has six weeks to form its resolution in; at the end of which period, it is to be understood, the emperor Nicholas means to take by force what negotiation may fail to obtain." Then, as on every occasion when opportunity seemed to favour the design, Russia showed herself anxious to possess herself of the Danubian principalities, which, at a later period, she invaded.

On the 5th of January, 1827, the death of the duke of York left the situation of commander-in-chief of the British army vacant. All eyes were now turned to the duke of Wellington, as the chief who ought to succeed the departed prince. Public feel-

ing was soon gratified by the issue of the following general order:—

"Horse-guards, January 22nd, 1827.—The last duties having been paid to the remains of his royal highness the duke of York, the late commander-in-chief, the king deems it right to convey to the army an expression of the melancholy satisfaction which his majesty derives from the deep feeling of grief manifested by every class of the military profession, in common with his people at large, under the great calamity with which it has pleased the Almighty to afflict the nation and his majesty; a calamity which has deprived the crown of one of its most valuable and distinguished servants, and his majesty of a beloved and affectionate brother. The king does not think it necessary to dwell upon the pre-eminent merits of the late duke of York; his majesty knows that they are impressed upon the minds, and engraven on the hearts, of his majesty's soldiers. His majesty desires it may merely be observed, that the able administration of the command held by his late royal highness for a long course of years;—his assiduous attention to the welfare of the soldier;—his unremitting exertions to inculcate the true principles of order and discipline;—his discernment in bringing merit to the notice of the crown;—and the just impartiality with which he upheld the honour of the service—have combined to produce results that identify the army, as a profession, with the glory and prosperity of this great country; and which will cause his virtues and services to live in the grateful remembrance of the latest posterity. The king feels that, under the present afflicting circumstances, his majesty cannot more effectually supply the loss which the nation and the army have sustained, than by appointing to the chief command of his majesty's forces field-marshal his grace the duke of Wellington—the great and distinguished general, who has so often led the armies of the nation to victory and glory, and whose high military renown is blended with the history of Europe.

"By his majesty's command,

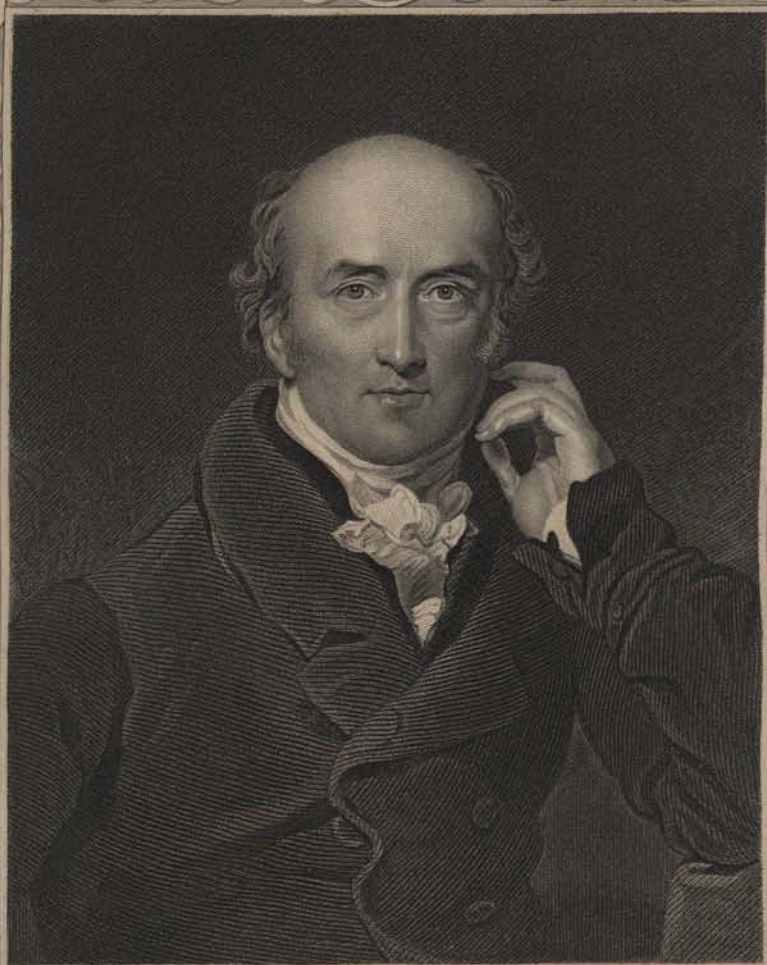
"HENRY TORRENS, Adjutant-general."

The time was now fast approaching when the duke of Wellington was to become much more conspicuous as a politician than he had ever been. It was rumoured that his views were directed towards the premiership. The earl of Liverpool was un-

equal to its duties. He had been attacked by that illness from which he never recovered; Mr. Canning's health was far from being in a satisfactory state; and, under these circumstances, it was assumed, in various quarters, that his grace was ambitious of being placed at the helm. That he had any thought of the kind at that time, however, was discountenanced by the government paper. In the *Courier* of February 20th, the following notice appeared:—"The *Times* is sneering and insinuating imputations against the duke of Wellington, as if his grace were intriguing to become prime minister. The duke's whole character and conduct through life contradicts such imputations; and the *Times* itself betrays its malignity by its inconsistency. To-day, it accuses his grace of exerting characteristic activity in pursuit of his supposed object; yesterday, it objected to him, that he was so indecently inattentive to the awful state of affairs, that he, *proh scelus!* was seen at the Opera on Saturday night. We do not play *Paul Pry* on his grace's movements: we neither know nor care whether he was at the Opera on Saturday—nor whether he showed more or less activity in the discharge of his duties yesterday; but we know, as all Europe does, by a long and glorious experience, the candour, frankness, and generosity of his character; and we venture to predict, if ever the ministerial discussions of the present day come to public notice, it will be seen that the duke of Wellington has conducted himself with the same sound judgment, clear honour, and disinterested magnanimity, which have already illustrated his name."

To this not very conciliating commentary the *Times* made no answer. The inquiries, however, which it was thought right to make, it is proper to say, produced, in a short time, the following complete retraction of the offensive matter. "Nothing, as we are assured from a quarter which leaves no doubt on our own minds, can exceed the manliness, the disinterestedness, and good feeling of the duke of Wellington, throughout the whole of his conduct, since the death of the duke of York and the affliction of lord Liverpool. Much as we differ from the duke on many subjects, and particularly on the all-important question of Ireland, we owe it to ourselves, no less than to his grace, to own, that we believe him to be perfectly honest and straight-forward, however mistaken or deceived in his views."

To his other honours was added the appointment of high-constable of the Tower of London. His formal inauguration took place on the 7th of March. On the morning of that day, the garrison were drawn up at an early hour in the morning to receive the high-constable with the usual honours. The warders were also mustered to receive his grace. The governor expected that the noble duke would honour them with his company to breakfast. The garrison were drawn up in the parade-square of the Tower, and, at a quarter before ten o'clock, the marquis of Graham, accompanied by Mr. Marsh, the deputy-chamberlain, arrived in his lordship's carriage. At a quarter past ten, the commander-in-chief drove into the parade in his cabriolet and pair, his grace's groom leading his white charger. His grace alighted before he reached the spot where the garrison were drawn up. He was dressed in the uniform of field-marshal, wearing his star and other orders, and appeared in good health and spirits. He walked in the front of the ranks, and in the centre of the square was received by the marquis of Graham, major Elrington, and several other distinguished officers. His grace continued in conversation for a short time, after which he took from his portfolio three small leather cases containing his patents of office, which he handed to the marquis of Graham, who carried them to the governor's house, and, in a few minutes, he returned, accompanied by all the officers of the Tower, and a warder bearing the keys. The warders formed a circle round his grace, the high-constable, when Maurice Thomas, Esq., deputy-steward, read the letters patent; the first appointing "our beloved councillor and cousin, Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington, high-constable of the Tower of London," with a salary of one thousand pounds per annum, to commence from the 29th of December last, and further appointed to all offices within the said Tower, and all profits arising from such appointment, save and except the appointment of lieutenant of the Tower; the second patent, which recited the preambles of the first, appointing the duke of Wellington the *custos rotulorum* of the hamlets of the Tower, enumerating the places. This appointment is held under the act of Charles II., amended in the 42nd of George III. By this patent his grace was possessed of great immunities and privileges, and was invested with a considerable civil jurisdiction. The amount of



MR. CANNING.
OB 1827

the salary exceeded that which he received as constable of the Tower. The third patent was that appointing his grace the commander-in-chief, which was brought through mistake, and which was read; it was but a very short one, with the preambles of the former ones, empowering his grace, at any time and place within the British dominions, in case of insurrection, rebellion, or insubordination, to raise, levy, command, and control any army deemed necessary for the service of the state; and bore the signature of his majesty. The patents being read, his grace retired, and partook of breakfast with the governor; after which, having changed his field-marshal's dress for the undress mourning worn for his royal highness the duke of York, he, accompanied by major Elrington, the master of the fort, and captain Smith, the engineer, visited the engineer's office, where a model of the St. Katharine's dock was submitted to his grace's inspection. The erection of this dock was so immediately connected with the Tower, that it was deemed necessary to submit the plan for the approbation of his grace. His grace next visited the armoury in the Tower, and then the barracks, after which he returned to the governor's house.

The report which has been noticed, that the duke coveted the premiership, and seemed to have been set at rest, was soon revived. Hopes had been held out that the earl of Liverpool might regain health and efficiency; but this proved vain; and it was soon known in political circles that the friends of the duke wished to see him prime minister of England; while another section of the tory party was anxious to see that distinction conferred on Mr. Canning. In any case, the necessity of reconstructing the administration was confessed. The catholic question was the great bone of contention. Mr. Canning had long been favourable to emancipation; the duke was opposed to it. Mr. Canning, seeing a cabinet could not be formed favourable to the catholics, advised the king, at all events, to avoid the injurious divisions which had formerly prevailed, while catholic emancipation was an open question; to form an administration, if it were practicable, unanimously opposed to it; and to facilitate such an arrangement, he was willing to retire from office. Such advice, it was thought, could not be acted upon with any chance of the new government being firmly established. Nothing that could be suggested,

in which Mr. Canning was not included, promised to be satisfactory to the nation. He openly aspired to the office of prime minister. The duke of Rutland, and a number of noblemen and gentlemen, made known to the king that they could not support Mr. Canning if he should be the new premier. The duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning had several meetings on the subject, in order, it was understood, to remove from the mind of the latter all idea that any feeling of hostility towards him, personally, was entertained by his grace or his friends. The real object in view is said to have been, to draw from Mr. Canning the expression of a wish that the duke should be placed at the head of the new government. Mr. Canning having uttered no such wish, Mr. Peel, after some delay, was commanded by the king to wait on him, and to mention the duke of Wellington's name as that of the future premier, and to urge that his appointment would solve all difficulties. This led to no favourable result. Mr. Canning expressed himself decidedly adverse to the appointment of a military prime minister. The king at length laid his commands on Mr. Canning to submit the scheme of a new administration; and that right honourable gentleman consented to undertake the important task.

From this time, it may be said, the active political life of the duke of Wellington really commences. Though, on various occasions, he had spoken on important questions, he spoke but as an individual, or as a subordinate member of the party whose opinions he approved. The favourable disposition of Mr. Canning towards catholic emancipation, precluded the duke from joining his administration, and soon produced a personal coldness between them. Though he had gained the object of his ambition, the new premier was greatly embarrassed from losing the duke's co-operation, on which he had calculated, and that of his political friends. The distressing position in which he found himself, and the course he thereupon determined to pursue, Mr. Canning thus described:—"I was willing to retire from office with the other members of the former government; but I was willing to remain with them, had I not held the opinions that I did hold on the catholic question. I have only to repeat here, in reply to another charge which some have preferred against me, (though in coarser language, and in a manner, I confess, much

less interesting to my feelings)—‘that the new government which has been formed consists chiefly of catholics,’ (that is, of members friendly to the question of emancipation)—as if there had been a breach of faith on my part, in dealing with the late cabinet, for not having proposed to my sovereign a plan for a new cabinet, that should have embraced an equal portion of the supporters of both sides of that question. I have to make only this reply. The honourable secretary who makes the charge is himself well informed, that I did suggest, and did endeavour and intend to execute such a plan of a new administration. But that honourable secretary is equally well informed, that when, upon the 12th of April last, I went to the chamber of my sovereign, intending to propose a plan and arrangement which should comprise all the members of lord Liverpool’s government, and embrace, therefore, an equality of protestant and catholic votes, or rather, I should say, a preponderancy of protestant voices—he is well informed, that a circumstance occurred which prevented that intention from taking effect. And was it my fault, sir, that—by any sort of concert I certainly will not venture to say, but by a singular coincidence, undoubtedly—at that very time, on that very day, and in that very chamber, six protestant resignations (I call them protestant only in the parlance of this house) were put into my hands? The charge against me is, that I have organized a government all catholic, as to its views upon that question, having promised to form one that should be half-and-half; and my honourable accuser sinks the indisputable fact, that the protestant half of the administration contemplated withdrawing themselves. I think that it is rather too hard to charge that resignation, upon their parts, as a breach of faith upon mine.—Mr. Peel here observed, that the right honourable gentleman did not state the matter quite correctly. There were not so many resignations.—Mr. Canning: I certainly did take four of these resignations in my pocket, and the other two I received, as I said before, in the presence of my sovereign.—Mr. Peel observed, that one of them was not an enemy to catholic emancipation.—Mr. Canning: I beg pardon; I have unwillingly included in the number of these resignations my lord Melville, and am well reminded,

that his resignation, also, was not upon the ground of the catholic question, of which he has always been a supporter. Lord Melville’s resignation I did not mean to include in this enumeration; so that, instead of six, I should have said five, protestant resignations. However, five protestant resignations, at all events, came into the king’s hands within twenty-four hours; and thus five of the members on whom I had reckoned for the new cabinet were at once withdrawn: and, upon this statement, I do again ask, whether it is fair to impute to me a wilful non-execution of the orders of my sovereign, in the formation of that cabinet? But did the matter rest here? I received these resignations about the middle of Thursday, and within some two hours of the meeting of this house. I had already given directions for the moving of the new writ for the borough of Newport, when I received these resignations. Upon receiving them, I said to my sovereign, ‘Here, sire, is that which disables me from executing the orders I have received from you respecting the formation of a new administration. It is now open to your majesty to adopt a new course, for no step has yet been taken in the execution of those orders that is irrevocable; but I must fairly state to your majesty, that if I am to go on in the position where you have been pleased to place me, my writ must be moved for to-day; for if we wait until the holidays, without adopting any definitive steps, I see that it is quite hopeless for me to attempt to persevere in the objects I have undertaken.’ I need not repeat to the house the words in which my sovereign graciously replied to this representation; but I may state that he gave me his hand to kiss, and confirmed me in the office to which I had been named. These are the steps which I have taken; these are the means by which I have been placed in the station I at present fill.”

The unlooked-for change which a few weeks had produced had the effect of throwing the duke of Wellington into opposition. Under present circumstances he thought it right to resign his offices of commander-in-chief and master-general of the army. It was soon seen that he could be formidable to the minister; but other changes, not less important than those which have been described, were at hand.

CHAPTER V.

SCHISM IN THE TORY PARTY; CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DUKE AND MR. CANNING; WELLINGTON DISCLAIMS ALL IDEA OF THE PREMIERSHIP; MR. CANNING BECOMES PRIME MINISTER.

THE earl of Liverpool was not distinguished by shining talents. Good sense and amiable manners reconciled men who were held in higher estimation by the public, for statesman-like qualities, to serve under him while he filled the office of premier, who, when he was removed by the hand of Providence, were not content to be subordinate to another. Hence the schism in the tory party which now formed itself into two sections, one regarding the duke of Wellington as its chief, the other claiming the premiership for Mr. Canning. Catholic emancipation was the subject on which their differences were supposed to be irreconcilable. No one could foresee that its eloquent advocate would not be permitted to witness its triumph; and that the great question would eventually be carried by its opponent, the duke himself.

In the house of lords, on the 2nd of May, he and the other ministers who had resigned, were called upon to explain the motives which had induced them to take that course. The earl of Eldon first spoke, and stated the reasons which had caused him to decline remaining in office under Mr. Canning. With respect to the charge of conspiracy which had been brought against him, he declared before his God, that it was perfectly unfounded. The communications sent to the premier by his noble friends were without any concert with him.

The duke of Wellington followed. He was much cheered when he rose, and in many parts of his speech, which was frequently quoted against him in after-days, as his frank, unequivocal confession of unfitness to hold the office of prime minister. He said—"I do not rise for the purpose of offering any observations upon the petitions that have been presented to your lordships, but with the intention of explaining the grounds upon which I thought proper to retire from his majesty's government. I feel, my lords, as strongly as any man can feel, the impropriety of entering into any explanation here. I feel that I cannot reveal anything that has occurred in con-

fidence between his majesty and myself, or anything that has occurred at his majesty's councils. I feel that it is not competent to this house to inquire into the causes of the recent change in the administration—but I likewise feel, that I have been most unjustly and calumniously treated. I have been charged with crimes of the grossest nature, by a press, which I believe to be under the influence of the government. I repeat, my lords, that I have been most grossly calumniated. And shall I not then, as a man, be anxious to vindicate myself? The more especially, as I shall be able to do so without violating private confidence. On the 10th of April I received a letter—and here I shall trouble your lordships with some details, which I think I am fully at liberty to do. There are two points on which I am anxious to vindicate myself, the one is my retiring from his majesty's councils, the other for vacating my situation as commander of his majesty's forces. (His grace here read the letter, which was to the following effect):—

'Foreign Office, April 10th, 6 P.M.
'My dear duke of Wellington—The king has, at an audience from which I am just returned, been graciously pleased to signify to me his majesty's commands, to lay before his majesty, with as little loss of time as possible, a plan of arrangement for the reconstruction of the administration. In executing these commands, it will be as much my wish, as it is my duty to his majesty, to adhere to the principles on which lord Liverpool's government has so long acted together. I need not add how essentially the accomplishment must depend on your grace's continuance as a member of the cabinet. Ever, my dear duke of Wellington, your grace's sincere and faithful servant—GEORGE CANNING.'

"This letter" (continued his grace), "did not contain one word respecting the person who was to be placed at the head of this government. I was not desired by the right honourable gentleman to come, nor was I referred to anybody for explanation. To me

the right honourable gentleman neither came nor sent: but I have since heard that explanations were given to others of my colleagues. The right honourable gentleman either invited all to call upon him, or else he waited upon them, or sent a friend. But, with respect to me alone, no explanation was given, nor was I referred to any other person. Having been for a length of time upon friendly terms with the right honourable gentleman, I was something astonished, at his departing, in this instance, from the observance of those forms of intimacy which had hitherto regulated our intercourse. I was, however, determined not to be prevented from communicating with the right honourable gentleman in a fair and friendly manner, and, therefore, I wrote to him on the 11th of April, this letter—

‘London, April 10th.

‘My dear Mr. Canning—I have received your letter of this evening informing me that the king had desired you to lay before his majesty a plan of arrangements for the reconstruction of the administration; and that in executing these commands, it was your wish to adhere to the principles on which lord Liverpool’s government had so long acted together. I anxiously desire to be able to serve his majesty, as I have done hitherto, in his cabinet, and with the same colleagues. But, before I give an answer to your obliging proposition, I should wish to know who the person is whom you intend to propose to his majesty as the head of the government. Ever, my dear Mr. Canning, your’s most sincerely.—WELLINGTON.’

‘In answer to this letter I received one from Mr. Canning, which ran as follows:—

‘Foreign Office, April 11th.

‘My dear duke of Wellington—I believed it to be so generally understood that the king usually entrusts the formation of an administration to the individual whom it is his majesty’s gracious intention to place at the head of it, that it did not occur to me when I communicated to your grace yesterday the commands which I had just received from his majesty, to add, that, in the present instance, his majesty does not intend to depart from the usual course of proceeding on such occasions. I am sorry to have delayed some hours by this answer to your grace’s letter; but from the nature of the subject, I did not like to forward it without having previously submitted it (together with

your grace’s letter), to his majesty. Ever, my dear duke of Wellington, your grace’s sincere and faithful servant—GEORGE CANNING.’

‘This letter certainly does not express a very earnest wish that I should continue in his majesty’s government, and I, on the same day, wrote a letter to Mr. Canning, in which I stated that I had previously understood that an arrangement of a different nature was contemplated.

‘London, April 11th.

‘My dear Mr. Canning—I have received your letter of this day, and I did not understand the one of yesterday evening, as you have now explained it to me. I understood from yourself that you had had in contemplation another arrangement, and I do not believe that the practice to which you refer has been so invariable as to enable me to affix a meaning to your letter which your words did not, in my opinion, convey. I trust you will have experienced no inconvenience from the delay of the answer, which, I assure you, has been occasioned by the desire to discover a mode by which I could continue united with my recent colleagues. I sincerely wish that I could bring my mind to the conviction that, with the best intentions on your part, your government could be conducted practically on the principles of lord Liverpool; that it would be generally so considered; or that it would be adequate to meet our difficulties in a manner satisfactory to the king, and conducive to the general interests of the country. As, however, I am convinced that these principles must be abandoned eventually—that all our measures would be viewed with suspicion by the usual supporters of the government—that I could do no good in the cabinet—and that I should at last be obliged to separate myself from it at a moment at which such separation would be more inconvenient to the king’s service than it can be at present, I beg you to request his majesty to excuse me from belonging to his councils. Ever, my dear Mr. Canning, your’s most sincerely—WELLINGTON.’

‘Having then, my lords, concluded that there was little probability of the new administration being conducted practically on the principle of lord Liverpool’s, or to the satisfaction of the country in general; and feeling that I could do no good, and that I

should be at last obliged to separate myself from the administration, I thought it better at once to send in my resignation; and before I proceed to speak about the command of the army, I shall say a few words with respect to the charges which have been brought against me, of having abandoned his majesty's government. I consider the prerogative of naming those ministers on whom the king can rely for advice, and for conducting the policy of the country, one of the most important with which he is entrusted by the constitution, and while under this conviction, I beg the house to judge of my conduct. I will suppose that a minister might unfortunately happen to differ from his majesty on some important subject, and it must then be evident that that minister cannot give the same cordial assistance as if holding the same opinion with his sovereign. Let us now, my lords, apply this principle to the case before us. I feel that I differ from his majesty's prime minister on a question most vitally important, and I feel that I could not, when called upon, give that proper and cordial support which a prime minister is entitled to ask and expect. Then, my lords, with what face could I give my support to a government founded upon principles diametrically opposite to my own? It cannot be an answer to say, that the present administration was to be founded on the same principles with that of lord Liverpool. The administrations are materially different. Those who formed part of lord Liverpool's cabinet knew well what it was to which they pledged themselves: for they knew that his lordship was conscientiously opposed to all changes in the existing form of government. But those who coalesced with the right honourable gentleman had no idea how far their coalition was to carry them; for the right honourable gentleman is the most able, and active, and zealous partisan of those changes with which the country is at present threatened. The principles of the noble earl were principles by which any man might safely abide: the principles of the right honourable gentleman fluctuate every day, and depend upon transitory reasons of temporary expediency. I am not surprised that the right honourable gentleman's friends should desire that no petitions should be presented on the subject of emancipation, and that they have come to a resolution to be silent if they were. The reason is clear—they know that the government,

constituted as it is, cannot stand, if it entered into a discussion on that subject. It is also evident that the government cannot remain neutral upon the question, and in proof of this I refer your lordships to Mr. Canning's speeches, in which he says, that the influence of the head of the government must be paramount."

The house listened with the most profound attention to the statement the duke now proceeded to make, in reply to what had been said of his desire to be named prime minister. "I have been accused of ingratitude towards his majesty, and of aspiring to the situation of prime minister, and that, in consequence of my disappointment, I threw up the command of the army. These charges are absurd. Every one who knows me is aware that my being prime minister was out of the question, and no man ever spoke to me to whom I did not express the same opinion. As to the other, is it likely that I who raised myself to that high situation which I have held, should on light grounds resign my late office?—I say raised myself: not because I forget the assistance I have received from the noble lords at my side—not that I forget the assistance I derived from the gallant officers and soldiers who fought under me—not that I forget, most of all, the gracious favours of his majesty—still, I say, I raised myself, because, whatever favours may have been lavished on me, or whatever support I have received, I should not have been raised to that situation if I had not done my king some service. Bearing in my mind these circumstances, it is little to be supposed, that when brought into the situation which I recently held, when called to the command of my old friends and companions, when I had again an opportunity of recommending to the favour of the sovereign those friends and companions, for the rewards which they undoubtedly deserved—it was, I say, little to be supposed, that I should lightly, or on insufficient cause, resign an employment so congenial to my habits and my wishes. I need not, I trust, assure your lordships that I am most sincerely anxious to set myself right in your minds, on a subject that so nearly affects my feelings and my character, at the same time, that I am fully conscious of my inability to address this house in the manner that I ought to do, and with the effect that I earnestly desire. I had no wish, no thought, of being prime minister.

I knew myself disqualified for that office; and knowing also my fitness for the one which I had the honour to fill, I must have been worse than mad could I have formed the insane project of placing myself at the head of the government. I am confident of receiving for my actions a fair and impartial interpretation; and I the more readily indulge this hope when I recollect that not one of my colleagues with whom I communicated—not one man to whom I spoke on the subject—entertained the slightest doubt as to the course that I ought to pursue; they felt to a man that I was placed under the necessity of tendering my resignation."

His grace continued, "we have been accused of forming a conspiracy for the purpose of embarrassing the councils of the crown. My noble friend, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, (lord Bexley), was amongst the number of those who, at the same time with myself, sent in our resignations—though he has since been induced to return to the service of his majesty. That noble lord, if there were a conspiracy, is as open to the accusation as I am—nor could grounds for such a charge have existed without his privity. Now, I call upon that noble lord to come forth, and state, whether or not there were any such proceedings on our part, or any intention of the nature implied with reference to the formation of a new government. My lords, I have no fear of contradiction on that point from him. It has been asserted elsewhere, but, whatever quarter it comes from, I hesitate not to pronounce it a foul falsehood. [His grace then read the letter which he had addressed to his majesty tendering his resignation. It expressed his grace's most grateful acknowledgment of the favour which his majesty had bestowed upon him in advancing him to the command of the army, and his pain and grief in feeling himself obliged to seek his majesty's permission to return that commission into his majesty's hands.] When I retired, I did so under the full persuasion that it would be impossible for me to remain in office consistently with a sense of public duty—in fact, that, filling the office of commander-in-chief, I must be in constant communication with the ministers of the crown, and even with his majesty himself—that no change could be made in the constitution of the army, in the nature or objects of its service, without that mutual understanding and cordial co-operation,

which, in circumstances such as my relation to the present government would necessarily place me, it would be visionary to hope for. The house knows that the supreme direction of the army is necessarily vested in the cabinet; that the army at present in Portugal could be continued there, or withdrawn, at the pleasure of his majesty's advisers—that in England, in Ireland, and in every other place where our troops are stationed, no order could be issued in reference to them contrary to the opinions and views of the responsible advisers of the crown. Could I, then, in such an administration as it was proposed to form, continue so to act as would become a public functionary? Could I, in common with such colleagues, follow in the footsteps of that illustrious and lamented predecessor, whose example it was my pride to follow; and, satisfied am I now, that if that royal personage had survived to hold the situation of commander-in-chief, up to the time at which I retired from it, he would have done precisely as I did. Again, I would repeat my conviction—and one very consolatory to my feelings it is, that, in offering my resignation of the two offices in question, I had acted in full conformity with what I think myself justified in assuming would have been the conduct of that illustrious personage, if placed in similar circumstances. My lords, when I did submit to his majesty my resignation of those two offices, I did so in consequence of the communication which I had with the right honourable gentleman himself, and I wish the letter which I wrote to him on that occasion, to be fairly examined, and this I do in the fullest confidence, that no ground of offence can be derived from it, for the object of it was nothing more than to learn who were to constitute his majesty's government, and who was to be placed at its head. Here I may take occasion to observe, that I had a conversation with the right honourable gentleman, in which he stated, that one of the plans submitted to his majesty's consideration was, to call the then chancellor of the exchequer to this house, conferring upon him the office of first lord of the treasury, and this he stated as one of the modes of keeping men together; but I had no difficulty in expressing my entire persuasion, that no scheme could be devised less calculated to produce the effect contemplated, namely, that of keeping a government together. Coupling this communica-

tion with the letter I received directly from the right honourable gentleman himself, was I not justified in inferring, that he, at the time he addressed to me the letter in question, was not at the head of his majesty's government. At one time a negotiation, the recollection of which must be in the minds of many noble lords, took place, and in which a noble relative of mine, now lord lieutenant of Ireland, took an active part. On that occasion, my noble relative waited on a noble earl, and a noble baron, for the purpose of stating that he had been commissioned by his royal highness the prince regent, to communicate with them and other eminent individuals, in order to form an effective and united administration. Now, those noble lords never once took it for granted that my noble relative was to be placed at the head of that government. They negotiated with him as one fully authorised to form a cabinet, without its ever appearing to enter their minds, that the fact of his being authorised to negotiate, made him, necessarily, and as a matter of course, a person to be looked upon as the head of the intended administration. If the noble lords of whom I have spoken, contemplated the powers with which my noble relative was invested in the light in which they certainly appear to have contemplated them, was I not justified in similarly viewing the situation of the right honourable gentleman? The marquis of Hastings was subsequently employed upon a negotiation of the same nature, and was certainly quite as unlikely to be placed at the head of the new ministry as my noble relative. He was, in fact, at the time, ignorant of the proposed head of the administration, yet he was freely negotiated with; nor was he, for a moment, regarded by the parties to whom he addressed himself in the light of the intended head. I have thus, my lords, shown, from the two cases to which I have referred, that none of the parties took it for granted that the negotiator was to be the premier. Now, I will show, from the conduct of the right honourable gentleman himself, that he was, in a similar case, governed by the same principles. When, upon the death of Mr. Percival, lord Liverpool waited on the right honourable gentleman, to propose to him to become a member of the administration then about to be formed, what, I will ask, was the very first question put to the noble lord? The first question was, 'Who is to be first lord of the

treasury?' The whole of this your lordships are, doubtless, aware, is recorded in a written memorandum still in existence. Now, my lords, if the right honourable gentleman was justified in putting such a question in 1812, might I not, without any great breach of propriety, take the liberty of asking a similar question in 1827? Your lordships will observe that, throughout my recent communications with that right honourable gentleman, I have, in no respect, departed from the example set me by himself. I believe that right honourable gentleman to be as entirely incapable of any unbecoming act, as any individual in existence; but I confess, the circumstances under which the reply to my communication was made, appear less satisfactory than I thought myself entitled to hope for. I put the simple question, 'Who is to be at the head of his majesty's government?' Doing this, I meant to give no offence, and conceived that it might have been promptly answered, yes, or no. It had been stated that on the 10th, the day on which I put this question, the right honourable gentleman was actually appointed to the office of first lord of the treasury; and, therefore, fully authorised to give that answer to my inquiry, which was ultimately given. Instead of that, however, he thought it necessary to communicate with his majesty on the subject. Then, am I not justified in supposing, that he was then not in that office; and, if not there, surely I was entitled to information as to the individual that was to fill it. From all the circumstances to which I have called your lordships' attention, I feel no hesitation in affirming, that, even on the 11th, that honourable gentleman had not received his appointment. I do not mean to deny that he was not fully authorized to send me the letter, which I had the honour of receiving from him; but really, it is too hard that I should now be told that my conduct on this occasion was peevish, ill-tempered, hasty, and so on. I simply confined myself to putting a single question, and when the reply arrived, I thought myself called on, for the reasons already stated, to tender my resignation; in doing which, I must take credit for being as little influenced by personal considerations as any man. During seven or eight years that I have sat in the cabinet, I have had the best reason for believing that I enjoyed the good will of all my colleagues; nay, even the good will of the right honourable gentleman himself;

and I fearlessly appeal to the noble lord opposite, in support of this assertion. I have been remonstrated with upon my resignation—those have been found who have said to me, “You did wrong, you should not have resigned; the letter addressed to you was not intended to produce your resignation.” But, can your lordships, after a review of the circumstances to which I have adverted, concur in such a view of the case? It has been supposed, that I, and my colleagues, had entered into a conspiracy to

impede the formation of a new government. But I entertain the fullest confidence, that this, the earliest, opportunity which I could command, of stating the truth to your lordships, and the public, I certainly entertain the hope that it will have the effect, totally and for ever, of removing this imputation. The facts have been faithfully stated to your lordships, and you will deduce from them such conclusions as you think they justify, but I take leave to say, that I entertain no apprehension for the result.

CHAPTER V.

MR. CANNING IS SUPPORTED BY HIS FORMER OPPONENTS; CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DUKE AND MR. HUSKISSON; MINISTERS ARE DEFEATED ON THE CORN BILL; NEW CORRESPONDENCE; THE DUKE AGAIN TRIUMPHS OVER MINISTERS; THE CORN WAREHOUSING BILL IS INTRODUCED.

THE object of Mr. Canning's ambition was gained. He found himself prime minister of England, and was promised, from the leaning he had recently shown in some instances, to measures favoured by the Whigs, the cordial support of Mr. Brougham, sir Francis Burdett, and many who had formerly been among the most active of his political adversaries. On the other hand he had to meet the hostility of those who had long ranked as his most intimate friends. The duke of Wellington now became a prominent member of the new opposition. A new corn bill had been prepared by the late cabinet. It provided for the admission of foreign grain at all times, on payment of a duty proportionate to the average market-price. This bill had been sent to the lords from the house of commons before the Easter recess, and, consequently, before the formation of the new government. It had been favoured by the earl of Liverpool, but in the present state of parties, the duke thought it right, on the second reading being moved, to propose an amendment, which went to prohibit the removal of foreign corn in bond, whilst the price of wheat should be under sixty-six shillings the quarter. Such a provision, it is obvious, changed the whole character of the measure. Before bringing it forward in the house, his grace sent his clause to Mr. Huskisson, with the following letter:—

“London, May 24th, 1827.

“My dear Huskisson—I beg you to look at the enclosed clause, and let me know whether you have any objection to its being inserted in the corn bill, after the clause permitting the entry. In my opinion, it will tend to diminish the apprehensions entertained that the system of warehousing may be for the purpose of facilitating and ensuring the results of frauds in the averages; and will tend to induce some to vote for the bill who would otherwise vote against it. Let me have your answer as soon as you can. Ever yours most sincerely,—

“WELLINGTON.”

(Enclosure.)

“Provided always, that no corn shall be entered for home consumption from any warehouse in any port or place in this kingdom, previous to the entry for home consumption, or to the exportation of every other portion or portions of corn previously lodged in warehouse, or such port or place, without the consent, in writing, under the hand and seal of the proprietor of such last-mentioned corn, so long as the average price of corn within this kingdom, as settled by virtue of this act, shall be less than seventy shillings a quarter.”

The amendment was one which Mr. Hus-

kisson could not approve. He returned this answer:—

“Somerset-place, May 24th, 1827.

“My dear Duke—I should certainly be disposed to acquiesce in any reasonable concession which would conciliate some of those who object to the corn bill in the house of lords, without risking the loss of the measure when sent back to our house. I cannot take upon myself to say, whether the proviso, which I return, would be open to this objection. On other grounds, I am afraid you would find great practical difficulties in the execution of the proposed measure. It would give, as I understand it, the power to any *one* proprietor of foreign corn, in any port, to lay a *veto* upon the sale of all corn warehoused subsequent to *his* in that port, until the price reached seventy shillings. This would put it in the power of *one* individual, by reserving a quantity, however small, of *old* corn, to stop any sale below seventy shillings, as effectually as it could be stopped by a positive prohibition under that price. Supposing this objection removed, how, at any of the great ports, can you hope to get the consent, in writing, of every proprietor? I have no doubt that the corn now warehoused in London is the property of at least five hundred firms or individuals, some living in London, some in different parts of England, some abroad. This corn, whilst in bond, is every day changing hands. How can it be satisfactorily certified to the custom-house, that *all* the consents have been obtained? Or how is any party to set about procuring them all, or to know when he has accomplished it? There are other difficulties of detail which occur to me. For instance, a party who cannot fulfil the conditions in the port of London, may not find any difficulty in doing so at Rochester, because of corn previously bonded at the latter port there is none. In that case, the London owner may either remove his corn to Rochester, or import fresh corn from the continent into that port; and the law would be different in different ports, though possibly very near to one another. Had your proposal been, that no corn bonded *after the passing of the present bill* should be allowed to be entered for home consumption, till the average had reached sixty-six shillings, and that thenceforward all corn so bonded, or thereafter imported, should come under the regulations of the bill, individually I should not object to such a proviso. It would en-

sure that *no quantity beyond that now in bond* should be thrown upon the market, unless, in spite of that quantity, the price reached a level which might fairly be taken as an indication of our being in want of a further supply from abroad. But I am afraid that even this amendment would prove fatal to the bill in our house. I remain, &c.

“W. HUSKISSON.”

On the 1st of June, the new administration being complete, viscount Goderich moved the second reading of the corn bill, which had been prepared before the break-up of the late cabinet. Several amendments were moved, which were successfully resisted by ministers; but the one moved by the duke of Wellington, met with a different fate. He supported the bill, on the ground that it would put an end to the warehousing system; and also, because he thought it would prevent the frauds which had been practised by the system of averages. He never saw the bill until it was printed, and therefore was not a party to the bill itself; but he supported it, being, in his opinion, a measure which would tend to the general benefit and welfare of mankind. His clause was then moved, which provided that foreign corn which had been bonded, should not be suffered to be taken out of bond until the price was above sixty-six shillings. In the course of his speech, the duke read a letter from Mr. Huskisson, which immediately afterwards became the subject of a new correspondence, and perhaps laid the foundation of differences between them at a later period. The amendment was carried by seventy-eight to seventy-four. This result caused Mr. Huskisson to write to his grace as follows:—

“Somerset-place, June 2nd, 10 A.M.

“My dear Duke—I have this moment heard with great surprise, that, in moving an amendment last night on the corn bill, you urged that amendment as having been *consented* to by me, and that to prove my consent you read a *private* letter which I had written to you, in answer to one which I had the honour to receive from you on the 24th ult. As I did not even keep a copy of that letter, and as your grace has felt yourself at liberty, without any subsequent communication of any sort with me, to make this *public* use of it, I feel it necessary to request from you, a copy of that letter, as, without it, I cannot enter upon that explanation of my own conduct, which the use that has been made of my letter renders

necessary. As I have only yet received a very imperfect report, (not from any peer) of what passed last night on your moving the amendment, this is not the occasion to make any further observations upon the subject. I must, however, be allowed to say, that, be the amendment what it may, it *had not* my consent; and that if my consent (as is, perhaps, erroneously reported to me) was urged in any way as a ground for pressing its adoption, I must protest against the authority of my name having been used for that purpose. Though I cannot recollect the wording of my private letter, I well know the feelings with which I wrote it. I considered it as strictly *private*, addressed to a colleague with whom I had sat in cabinet upon lord Liverpool's corn bill, who had concurred in that measure, and who was, therefore, considered by me as anxious for its success: and my recollection greatly deceives me if I did not convey to your grace that any amendment, such as I now understand to have been carried on your proposal, would be fatal to that measure,

"I remain, &c.—W. HUSKISSON."

The duke replied—

"London, June 2nd, 1827.

"My dear Huskisson—According to your desire, I send you a copy of your note of the 24th of May, in answer to mine of that date, in which I proposed for your consideration a clause to be proposed to be added to the corn bill, having for its object to prevent the use of the warehouse system to promote frauds in the proposed modes of taking the averages. My object in consulting you was to obtain your opinion and sanction for what I proposed to do; and having obtained, instead of your sanction to what I proposed, your suggestion of another measure, I adopted it. I showed your note, and the clause which I had drawn in conformity with your suggestion, to lord Goderich, who, I erroneously conceived, consented to what I intended to propose; and I stated the contents, only, when he stated his dissent from my proposition, which was, in fact, your own. In respect to the bill being thrown out in consequence of this or any other alteration, that is a matter that depends entirely upon the government. Ever yours, most faithfully.—WELLINGTON."

The same day produced the following answer and criticism on the amendment which the duke had carried:—

"Somerset-place, June 2nd, 1827, 11 P. M.

"My dear Duke—Your letter, which I received this evening, makes me regret extremely that you did not afford me an opportunity of pointing out to you, before the discussion of last night, the wide difference between what is stated in my letter of the 24th ult., as that to which, individually, I should have had no objection, and your amendment which, from mistake, you represent as being my own proposition. The proposition in my letter of the 24th ult., to which I stated that I should have no objection, was, in substance, this—to suspend the regulations of the present bill in respect to any foreign wheat that should be bonded after the passing of the bill, until the average price had reached sixty-six shillings, and to provide, that *thenceforward* (*i. e.* after the price should have *once* reached sixty-six shillings) the provisions of the bill should take effect in respect to all *such* foreign wheat; or, in the words of my letter, that 'it (such foreign wheat) should then come under the regulations of the bill.' The effect of your amendment is, that *at no time* shall the regulations of the bill come into operation, in respect to any foreign wheat bonded after the passing of the bill, whenever the price shall be below sixty-six shillings. My proposition obviously contemplates a measure, the extent and limits of which are as follows:—That the wheat now in bond, (upwards of five hundred thousand quarters) should be the only foreign wheat entitled to come into the market of this country, till the price should have reached sixty-six shillings; that this price *once* attained, the preference should cease; and that all other foreign wheat should *thenceforward* be equally entitled to come in 'under the regulations of the bill,' which regulations enact, that it may be taken out of warehouse *at all times*, upon payment of the duties specified in the schedule. Your amendment is not a *proviso pro hac vice*, qualifying for a special purpose, and, *according to all probability*, for a very limited time, the general regulations of the bill; but it is a *permanent enactment*, directly contravening those regulations. Having thus, I trust, made clear the difference between your amendment and the proposition contained in my letter of the 24th, it is only further necessary for me to state the reason which induced me to intimate to you, at the close of that letter, my apprehension that the giving effect to such a proposition would

be fatal to the bill. I conceived that you would think it better not to risk the fate of this important measure, by proposing any amendment, however much it might be agreeable to some parties, if you were aware that the necessary effect of its being adopted would be to put an end to the measure altogether. The amendment which you have carried cannot, I am persuaded, be acceded to by the house of commons. This is not a matter that depends upon the government; and you must allow me to add, that, were a new bill to be brought in, embracing that amendment, it would be no longer, *even in principle*, the measure agreed to in lord Liverpool's cabinet, but one of a very different character.—W. HUSKISSON."

On the 12th, when the bill was reported, lord Goderich made a formal stand against the duke's amendment, which, his lordship said, he was sure was not calculated to lead to the result which its framer intended, but, on the contrary, would have an opposite tendency. He called upon their lordships to reject it.

The duke of Wellington then rose and said—as he was the person who had proposed this clause to their lordships, he would trouble the house with a few observations in explanation of the circumstances and reasons which had induced him to do so. He had nothing to complain of in the sentiments addressed to their lordships by his noble friend who had just sat down, nor should he enter into a verbal criticism on the letter of his right honourable friend, to justify any misconception into which it might have led him. He was sorry if he had misconceived the meaning of the letter of the right honourable the president of the board of trade; but he certainly considered himself justified in what he had done. The noble viscount who had just sat down seemed, however, to have misunderstood the object he proposed by his clause. His object was to place some check upon the warehousing system, and such a check as would prevent the frauds in the averages, which, as the law at present stood, were liable to be committed. By referring to the minutes of the committee of that house, their lordships would find the grounds of his opinion; and he had no doubt that everybody who had perused these minutes must have come to the same conclusion. The system appeared to be, for the holders of the corn in bond, to buy up the British wheat in the market, thus raise the ave-

rages, and then get out of the warehouse just as much as suited their purpose. It was in the power of an individual, under the then existing system, to influence prices, and having raised them to the amount on which he speculated, he might go to the warehouse and get what he wanted. It was said the principle of the present bill was the same in regard to the warehousing system as that of the bills of 1773 and 1791. He did not remember the bill of 1773, but he did that of 1791; and he wished their lordships to look if they could be compared to the present bill, without the amendment. It was to put down the frauds he had described, that he had brought forward his clause. The object could be effected in no other way; and as it was an evil of great magnitude, he thought it well worth the trouble of putting down. These were the reasons which he considered himself bound to state for having proposed the amendment. His noble friend, the colonial secretary, had it in his power to adopt the principle of the old warehousing system. Why, then, should he not do so, and thus allow him to withdraw the clause? In the year 1791, warehoused corn was not only liable to the high, the low, and the middle duty, but, when bonded, was not let out of the warehouse until it had paid a further duty of half-a-crown a bushel. It was only by putting a duty on warehoused corn that a glut in the market could be prevented. He would be content to withdraw his amendment if any pledge were given to introduce a bill founded on the principle of the act of 1791.

The duke's clause and his conduct in reference to this bill, were somewhat unceremoniously handled in the course of the debate. On the last suggestion of his grace, lord Holland expressed surprise that it should have been thrown out, unless he wished to quash the original principle of the bill, which intention he disclaimed. He sarcastically added—"The noble duke and others, who so affectionately dandled this bill in its infancy, and so sedulously rocked it in the cradle, were now, in the excess of their fondness, determined to cram their child with candle, in a manner that would bring it to a premature death. How must the noble duke, who fostered this bill with so much paternal solicitude before its introduction into the house, have been startled, after he proposed the clause, when he saw that clause approved by a noble lord who

had, from the outset, faced the bill with the most open and warlike opposition—approved by the noble lord who opposed the bill, on the ground that it contained the seeds of those principles of free trade, the adoption of which that noble lord denounced as a revolution not less dangerous than that by which the bishops were excluded from their lordships' house—approved by that noble lord, who, in the course of the several discussions of its principle that took place under the administration of lord Liverpool—discussions which ought to have terminated long since in the adoption of the measure—how must the noble duke have been surprised and alarmed, when, recollecting that he was one of those who, in office, fostered the bill, he beheld his clause approved and supported by that noble lord, the well-known, open, and resolute enemy of the bill? He (lord Holland) expected, that when the noble duke observed these indications, he would this night have withdrawn his clause—a clause quite inconsistent with the resolutions on which the bill was founded.”

All these attacks were of no avail. The duke was resolute not to give way; and when the division took place, he again triumphed. The numbers stood thus:—Contents, eighty-five; proxies, forty-eight = one hundred and thirty-three. Non-contents, seventy-eight; proxies, forty-four = one hundred and twenty-two. Majority in favour of the duke of Wellington's amendment, eleven.

How embarrassing this was to the government, will be seen from what immediately followed. Lord Goderich said—“After the decision to which the house had come, it would be preposterous in him to oppose any of the amendments, to which he should, therefore, offer no objection.” The other amendments were then severally put and agreed to without any division. Earl Lauderdale “wished to know if, at the third reading of the bill, the noble lord would make any opposition to the amendments that had been now carried?—Viscount Goderich said, he really did not know how to reply to such a question. He was sure the noble earl would see, that, considering the state in which the question now stood, it would be necessary to take a little time to consider.—The earl of Lauderdale, it was understood, repeated the question.—Viscount Goderich: I do not know.—Lord Clifden: My lords, I am not in his majesty's

council, nor a member of his majesty's government; but if I were, I confess I would let the bill fail altogether, and so leave to your lordships the full credit and popularity of having achieved its overthrow.”

The success of the duke's amendment proved fatal to the bill; for when sent back to the commons, they rejected it altogether. A temporary scheme was then introduced, which proposed to admit every sort of foreign grain, meal, or flour then warehoused in the united kingdom, or which might be reported for warehousing before the 1st of July next ensuing, into the home market for consumption till the 1st of May in the following year. This measure having been carried in the house of commons, was forwarded to the house of lords, and, on the 25th of June, the second reading was moved by viscount Goderich. In the course of the long debate to which it gave rise, the earl of Malmesbury, who was unfriendly to the bill, said he could see no necessity for a permanent measure on the subject. This brought up the duke of Wellington, who told their lordships that he could not agree with his noble friend (the earl of Malmesbury) in the opinion, that it would be right to throw upon the government the responsibility of admitting foreign corn for consumption, and he fully agreed with his majesty's government, that it was expedient that some measure of the kind now proposed should be agreed to, after the disappointment which had been experienced relative to the other measure which had not been carried. He was therefore disposed to give the present bill his support, more particularly as he considered it to be the same in principle with that measure, and, in fact, with the amendment proposed by him, with the additional advantage of ascertaining, by experiment, what would have been the effect of that measure if carried; at the same time that it was limited as to quantity, so as to prevent any injurious effect. Under all the circumstances, therefore, he thought the present measure most advisable, and most strongly recommended it to the house; at the same time that he could not help expressing his regret that it was not accompanied by the other measure which had been before their lordships. Upon that subject he would say, that he never considered that what he did in any way militated against the principle of that bill; and would always contend, that that principle might be carried into effect, even if the system of warehousing were not

to be at all allowed. Having these views, he thought that any modification of that system might be safely introduced, when it was not inconsistent with the principle of the bill. The noble lords of his majesty's government, however, thought that a system of prohibition was inconsistent with that principle, although he begged the house to consider what was the difference, or whether the effect of a duty was not similar to what they contended against. If that were so, then, in fact, prohibition had existed during the whole period up to which corn was allowed for consumption. It had existed in 1773, and from 1791 to 1815, when what was done was by the imposition of a duty, and the same might be again done in such a manner as to afford satisfaction to the country. Under those circumstances, then, he should consider the noble lords themselves responsible for the loss of the bill, which, it had been said, was lost by his amendment. He had been accused, not only of proposing a measure which was inconsistent with the principle of the bill, but likewise of doing so from private and party motives. But he must say, that if ever there was a man who had proposed a measure individually, and without any knowledge whether he would be supported in it or not, he was the person. He would repeat, that he proposed that measure to the house, not only believing that it would have the support, but that it actually was the suggestion of one of the ministers of the crown. He did not mean to say that he did not labour, in that instance, under a mistake; but if he was so, he could assure their lordships that he was so mistaken with a great many others, who had, both before and since the amendment, read over the letters of the president of the board of trade, and who still attached to them the same meaning which he did when he proposed the amendment. He should observe, too, that if that measure were inconsistent with the principle of the bill, that it was not more so than others which had been admitted into it. He thought it right also to say, that during the discussions upon the subject, he had endeavoured to impress upon the government the necessity of taking it out of his hands, and of carrying it themselves; that he had done, not only by the correspondence, part of which he had before read to their lordships, but by other communications, not only with the president of the board of trade, (which he would then

read in his own justification), but with his noble friend the secretary of state, then present. His grace here read the following letters:—

“(Copy.) London, June 4th, 1827.

“My dear Huskisson—As you say that I misunderstood the meaning of your letter of the 24th, I must have done so. But I certainly never entertained a suspicion that I had misunderstood you; and even now, after referring to my letter of the 24th to you, and examining your letter to me, I cannot but think that I should have sought out for a difficulty, if I had affixed to your letter the meaning which you state that you intended to convey. I stated to you an evil, permanent in its nature, resulting from the operation of the warehouse system on that of the proposed corn law; and I proposed a permanent remedy. In answer, you stated very good reasons against what I had proposed; and you tell me, that, ‘had my proposal been, that no corn bonded after the passing of the present bill should be allowed to be entered for home consumption till the “average” price had reached sixty-six shillings; and that thenceforward all corn so bonded, or thereafter imported, should come under the regulations of the bill; individually, you would not object to such a proviso:’ and you add, ‘It (this proviso) would insure, that no quantity beyond that now in bond should be thrown upon the market, unless, in spite of that quantity, the price reached a level which might be fairly taken as an indication of our being in want of a further supply from abroad.’ It thus appears, then, that having stated to you a permanent evil, the existence of which is not denied, I was to consider the word ‘thenceforward,’ not in an unlimited sense, but applicable to time only, and having no reference to circumstances, notwithstanding what followed in the succeeding sentence of your letter; and I was to believe that you intended I should be satisfied, and that the public should be satisfied, with a temporary remedy for a permanent evil. However, I am ready to admit that I did not understand your letter as you have now explained it; and you may rely upon it, that if I could have entertained any doubt respecting your meaning, that I should have gone to you, or have written to you again. Lord Goderich must do me the justice to acknowledge, that I put into his hands the proviso which I had drawn, together with your letter. He did not, at first, understand

your letter, and he thought it related solely to corn now in bond; and I begged him to peruse it again. He did so; and he came to me and returned the papers without saying a word. I concluded, therefore, that he concurred in the proposition which I certainly considered as suggested by you, and I made it to the committee of the house of lords, in the mode and at the time most likely to be of service to the government, by preventing a division on a proposition of lord Rosslyn's, which had for its object to lay the duty upon corn upon introduction into warehouse. I shall be sorry if this proviso should be inconvenient to the government; and I must add, that if lord Goderich had expressed to me a wish that I should delay to propose it till on the report, I should have done so. In your letter of the 24th, you spoke with doubt whether the measure proposed by you would occasion the rejection of the bill. You write with more confidence on that which has been adopted by the committee in the house of lords in your letter received yesterday. But what do you say to the amendments agreed to by the government in the house of lords? Surely the omission of the word (British) in the second clause, with a view that the Scotch, Irish, and foreign corn may be included in the averages, and the alteration of the term of the averages from one to six weeks, will make a material alteration of the duties, and must equally occasion the rejection of the bill. You will recollect my opinion upon the measure proposed by lord Liverpool; to the principle of which, notwithstanding that opinion, I consider myself a party, and I have accordingly supported the government in every division that has taken place in the house of lords. I do not consider the amendment as proposed by me to be at all contrary to the principle of lord Liverpool's measure, which was to protect home agriculture by the levy of a duty on foreign corn imported, and to regulate this duty by the price of corn in England, discovered by averages taken weekly, and not by six weeks' averages. Since lord Liverpool's plan was formed and agreed upon, a committee has sat in the house of lords, before which it has been proved that nothing can prevent frauds in taking the averages, nor the abuse of the existing warehouse system, for the purpose of carrying into execution the objects of those frauds. The warehouse system then must be reformed; and as lord Liverpool's principle might exist

even if the warehouse system were abolished in relation to corn, or under whatever modification it may be allowed to continue, it is no departure from that principle to adopt a moderate prohibition, applicable only to corn in warehouse, as 'the' modification. I declare that this impression is so strong upon my mind, and, considering the subject in all its bearings, it appeared to me that the proviso agreed to by the house of lords so completely met the evil, and was so just towards all parties, that you must have calculated it exactly upon the 'basis' of the price of sixty-two shillings the imperial quarter, and the expenses of carrying corn from the warehouses in Holland to this country. Believe me, &c.—WELLINGTON."

"Eartham, Petworth, 5th June, 1827.

"My dear Duke—I have received, by the post of this morning, your letter of yesterday's date. I regret, 'on every account,' that the proposition which I wished to convey in my letter of the 24th ult., was so stated as to lead to your misunderstanding my real meaning. So little did I, before last Saturday, contemplate any risk of having been misapprehended, that when I received (whilst in the house of commons on Thursday evening) the inclosed note from lord Goderich, I immediately sent him an explanation, from thence, to the same effect as that which I have since given to you. I am sure, if lord Goderich is referred to, that he will do me the justice to confirm this statement. From the moment I was informed that you considered your amendment as originating in my suggestion, I was satisfied that there had been some misunderstanding; and as the nature of it is now cleared up, I will not trouble you with any controversial argument upon the true construction of the words which you have quoted from my letter of the 24th. The sentence (indeed the whole of that letter) was hastily written, and, I admit, might have been more clearly expressed; but when, in the latter part of that sentence, I state, 'that the regulation to which I saw no objection would insure that no "quantity" beyond "that now" in bond should be thrown upon the market, unless, in spite of "that quantity," the price reached a level' (namely, sixty-six shillings) 'which might fairly be taken as an indication of our "being in want of a further supply from abroad,"'—I must avow myself at a loss to reconcile the construction of words which

appear to point to this meaning, namely, that the specific 'quantity now' in bond should be protected against competition with 'any further supply from abroad,' until the average price at home should have reached sixty-six shillings—with your proviso, which leaves the supply from abroad free, 'at all times,' to come into the British market, without reference to any average price; whilst it locks up any wheat which may hereafter be 'bonded in this country,' up to the same price as that at which it was the drift of my proposition to keep foreign wheat locked up in the 'warehouses abroad,' until the 'quantity now in our own warehouses' had been disposed of. How, then, could your amendment and my suggestion be convertible propositions? The real truth is, that what was uppermost in my mind, when I threw out this suggestion, was the inconvenience which might arise from letting into consumption further supplies of wheat, hereafter to arrive, until the greatest part of the quantity now in bond should have been disposed of. The limiting the supply, in the first instance, to the 'now' bonded corn, was a question which had been mooted in the cabinet, if I recollect right, by lord Westmoreland. I own that I thought (as I understood him to think) that, within certain limits, there were reasons for giving priority to that corn, before we suffer fresh supplies to come into the market from foreign countries—an arrangement temporary in its nature, but in its operation, by-the-bye, the very reverse of what your amendment contemplates as a permanent system. You will, therefore, perceive that in writing the unlucky paragraph, which is the origin of all this confusion, I was no longer thinking of the 'permanent evil,' your proposed remedy for which I had discussed in the former part of my letter. Having no copy of the corn bill with me here, I am quite incapable of forming any opinion as to the effect of the word 'British,' in the second clause of the bill, an amendment of which I was not aware till I received your letter this morning. I shall, for many reasons, be sorry if this bill should be lost, and nothing done in respect to our corn laws in the present session of parliament. But, whatever may be the fate of the bill, or however produced, I never for a

moment can doubt, that, in the part which you have taken, your anxious object has been to render the proposed measure as free from objection as the nature of the subject, dealing with such complicated interests, and through such a variety of transactions, will admit. I remain, my dear duke of Wellington, ever faithfully yours.—W. HUSKISSON."

His grace said, he only entered upon that correspondence in order to prove, beyond any possibility of cavil, the reasons and the motives which had influenced him in the course he had pursued. Any feeling of party, or of faction, or of the least desire to embarrass, he utterly and entirely disclaimed; nor had he any other than the one view of making the measure more palatable to the country, as he believed would have been the case, were his amendment agreed to. Indeed, so convinced was he of that, that he was sure, whenever the government brought forward any such measure, they must adopt something similar in principle, or, without it, the bill could never be rendered pleasing to the country. Having that impression, he felt it his duty to act as he had done when the measure was before the house, and that was the only motive which had influenced him in the line of conduct he had adopted.

The question then at issue, was one on which the country was greatly moved. From the meditated change in those corn laws, which had long given the English farmer, under certain circumstances, a monopoly, the agriculturists apprehended nothing less than total, irrevocable ruin; while the manufacturing interest, and a great majority of the people proclaimed, that permitting the free admission of foreign grain, would cause bread to be cheap, plenty to abound, and trade to flourish in unexampled prosperity. Thus extreme opinions were maintained. On the one hand, it was prophesied that the enemies of protection were about to overthrow a system to which England owed her safety, as well as her glory; their opponents insisted that free-trade would give her, as a nation, increased importance, augment her resources, furnish employment for the idle, and largely promote the general happiness of the people.

CHAPTER VI.

WELLINGTON RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY; LORD GODERICH RESIGNS; THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON BECOMES PRIME MINISTER; EXCLUSION OF LORD ELDON; DEBATE ON THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO; MR. BROUGHAM AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; OPPOSITION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS; MR. HUSKISSON DEFENDS THE DUKE.

THE course of events had given the duke of Wellington increased importance in political circles, and generally in the estimation of the nation, but it had not gained him additional favour from the sovereign. Weak and vacillating on some points, George IV. seems keenly to have felt that want of complacency which tended to disturb a ministerial arrangement which he had brought himself to favour. When his grace's resignation was sent in, with the resignations of the several eminent persons who declined to serve with Mr. Canning, the answer of the king evinced stern displeasure, and something very like a reproach for the duke's supposed want of sincerity. It ran thus:—"The king receives the duke of Wellington's resignation, with the same sentiments of regret which his grace professes to feel in tendering it." The king's regret, it should be borne in mind, was caused by the determination of Wellington not to serve under Mr. Canning, on account of the disposition of the latter to carry the great question of catholic emancipation.

This state of things was not of long continuance. The death of that eminent man, on the 8th of August, rendered a new construction of the ministry necessary. Lord Goderich was sent for by his majesty immediately after the funeral of the deceased minister. Under lord Goderich, the duke of Wellington consented to resume the command of the army; but, it was said, without identifying himself with the cabinet. The consistency of his conduct in taking this step, was by many called in question, and it was said, he might with equal propriety have accepted that office some months before, when Mr. Canning was prime minister. It is worthy of remark, however, that this was brought about by the direct interference of the king himself; who had the merit of forgetting thus early, what he had deemed a personal affront, to secure the services of his grace for the benefit of the country. On the 15th of August, a letter was forwarded by lord Goderich, through the hands of lord Anglesea, to his grace, in which he expressed a hope, which

he (lord Goderich) said came from the bottom of his heart, that the duke would return to the command of the army. His lordship enclosed a note from the king, which ran thus:—

"Royal Lodge, August 15th, 1827.

"My dear friend—I write for the purpose of again offering to you the command of my army; and I sincerely hope that the time has arrived when the country will no longer be deprived of the benefit of your high talents. Always with great truth, your sworn friend.—G. R."

The duke replied as follows:—

"Kingston Hall, August 17th, 1827.

"I have received your majesty's most gracious commands, conveying to me the offer of the command of your majesty's army, which I accept; and your majesty may rely upon it, that in performing the duties of the high station which your majesty has most graciously called upon me to fill, it will be my earnest wish and endeavour to give your majesty the same satisfaction which it has been the happiness and pride of my life to give you heretofore, which is submitted to your majesty, by your majesty's most devoted subject,—

"WELLINGTON."

The duke wrote to lord Goderich, stating that "he had never thought political differences of opinion ought to prevent him from commanding his majesty's army at the Horse-guards, equally as an army in the field;" and had consequently answered the letter of the king by accepting the appointment.

In reply to a letter written to him by lord Eldon on this subject, his grace expressed a wish that there should be no mistake, "in regard to the principle on which he accepted the office of commander-in-chief, and to the relation in which its acceptance would place him to the politics of the government." He continued, "In regard to the acceptance of the office itself, I had declared myself in public as well as in private, and in writing to his majesty and

his late minister; and I had likewise declared in parliament, the relation in which I should stand to the politics of the government. With these declarations before them, the king and his minister called upon me to give my service on the ground of the public interests requiring it; and in accepting, I have again declared my principle. I may have placed myself too high, and like others (may) fall from the difficult position which I have assumed. But this is quite clear, viz., that I have assumed that position; and there I will remain as long as I can do any good in it. I am not astonished that the friends of the administration should consider this arrangement as a great gain. In one sense it is so. If, on the one hand, the administration have no claim on my services out of my profession, I, on the other, can be of no counsel or party against them; and they are certain that one great branch of the service will be conducted according to their wishes."

In a letter to his grandson, lord Encomb, the earl of Eldon wrote—"You have seen that the duke of Wellington, now poor Canning is dead, has taken the command of the army. He holds that this connects him no more with ministers, than if he took the command of the Horse-guards, as I hear. This is *not* inconsistent, though it will *seem* to the public to be so, when it may be said, 'If it does not connect him with ministers, why did he not keep it under minister Canning?' I happen to know that there is a very satisfactory difference between these two cases. I wish that I was as sure that it does not connect him with ministers. I am sure he thinks it does not; for an honest man does not live. But—I say no more."

In a subsequent letter, dated the 9th of September, to the same nobleman, his lordship declared he felt himself satisfied, that in the then circumstances of the country, the duke could not have refused the command of the army, though, doing so, he gave a strong prop to an administration which the earl could not approve. His lordship added, "Among those who, towards the end of the session, were the determined friends of Wellington, Peel, and Eldon, the opinions as to Wellington's acceptance are various. Some think he ought not to have accepted—some that he ought—some that he should have made conditions—and some, that he should have told his majesty plainly that he must change his administra-

tion, and take his late ministers; and that upon that condition only he would command the army. This last opinion I am sure is wrong, for I have seen enough of the feelings of the people of this country, to be sure that they will have their king (let them ever so heartily dislike measures) talked to as a king—that they will not bear any person's dictating to him—that they will not endure a sovereign over their sovereign, and particularly, that they never would endure a person's holding such language to the king, whom they would consider as a military man, confiding in the attachment of the army to him; which army he, as a good subject, should, by every means in his power, endeavour to attach to the sovereign. After all, though, I think he could not refuse to accept, because the country has not another man in it fit to command the army; I think the acceptance, though unavoidable, in my opinion, will nevertheless be the cause of much that, with my principles, I shall have to lament. The members of the motley administration and their adherents, think they have gained a vast advantage."

It was soon apparent to all the nation, that the government of lord Goderich would not be of long duration. Though it comprehended many names, and though the prime minister was a man of distinguished ability, there was obviously a want of harmony or consistency among its members, that gave it, upon the whole, a character of debility. A domestic calamity, the death of an only child at this period, depressed his energies. He was desirous of having the assistance of lord Holland in the cabinet, but this not being obtained, he sent in his resignation, which, however, was not accepted and acted upon immediately, but the king only solicited him to remain in office till a successor should be appointed. His lordship was desirous of forming a committee for the investigation of the finances of the country, in the ensuing session. Mr. Tierney wished lord Althorpe to be named president of the intended committee, to which lord Goderich had no objection, but as the appointment principally concerned the house of commons, his lordship referred Mr. Tierney to the ministerial leader in the lower house, Mr. Huskisson, who not disapproving of it, the office was offered to lord Althorpe and accepted by him. When this was made known to Mr. Herries, he felt displeased, as the committee was to deal with financial matters that he, as chan-

cellor of the exchequer, had not been consulted on the proposed arrangement. Considering what were the known opinions of lord Althorpe, Mr. Herries declared that if his lordship's appointment as chairman of the committee were to stand, he should feel it his duty to resign. Mr. Huskisson considered himself pledged to support lord Althorpe; and the difficulties which perplexed the premier, nothing abated by the news which just then arrived of the battle of Navarino, determined him, without loss of time, to withdraw from the high and responsible situation which he filled. On the 8th of January, 1828, he went to Windsor, and there explained to the king the difficulties which surrounded him. His resignation was then accepted, and an administration dissolved, respecting which George IV. declared, "he would have been true to it, if its members had been true to themselves." On the next day, his majesty sent for the duke of Wellington, and laid upon him his commands to form a new government.

His grace consented to undertake the important task, and in a short time was announced to have succeeded. The Liverpool administration was to a considerable extent revived, and before the close of the month, the following was put forth as the official list of the new ministry:—

The cabinet:—President of the council, earl Bathurst, *vice* duke of Portland; lord high chancellor, lord Lyndhurst; lord privy seal, lord Ellenborough, *vice* earl of Carlisle; first lord of the treasury, duke of Wellington, *vice* viscount Goderich; chancellor of the exchequer, right honourable Henry Goulbourn, *vice* right honourable J. C. Herries; master-general of the ordinance, lord Beresford; secretary of state for home department, right honourable Robert Peel, *vice* marquis of Lansdowne; secretary of state for colonial department, right honourable W. Huskisson; secretary of state for foreign affairs, earl Dudley; president of the board of control, viscount Melville, *vice* right honourable C. Wynne; president of the board of trade and treasurer of the navy, right honourable Charles Grant; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, earl of Aberdeen, *vice* lord Bexley; master of the mint, right honourable J. C. Herries, *vice* right honourable J. Tierney; secretary at war, viscount Palmerston. Not in the cabinet:—His royal highness the duke of Clarence, lord high admiral; judge-advocate-general, right honourable sir John

Beckett, Bart., *vice* right honourable James Abercrombie; woods and forests, right honourable Charles Arbuthnot, *vice* right honourable W. S. Bourne; vice-president of the board of trade, T. F. Lewis, Esq.; paymaster-general, right honourable W. V. Fitzgerald. Under-secretaries of state—home, T. M. Phillips, Esq., and W. Y. Peel, Esq., *vice* T. S. Rice, Esq.; colonial, R. W. Hay, Esq., the other not yet settled; foreign, lord Howard de Walden, John Backhouse, Esq.; secretaries of the treasury, Joseph Planta, Esq., and G. R. Dawson, Esq., *vice* T. F. Lewis, Esq.; lords of the treasury, lord Granville C. H. Somerset, *vice* right honourable M. Fitzgerald—earl of Mountcharles, lord Eliot, E. A. M'Naughten, Esq.

In forming an administration, it is not easy to avoid disappointing some expectations, and encountering complaints for claims supposed to have been neglected. The earl of Eldon, then in his seventy-seventh year, was among those who felt hurt at being left out, and that this was expected, must be inferred from the article put forth in the government organ, the *Courier*, on the day when the official list was given to the public. The writer noticed the absence of certain names from it, and accounted for it; but with respect to the former lord chancellor, it very carefully set forth his extreme anxiety (which his lordship never felt), to be no longer connected with affairs of state. The editor wrote—"Lord Eldon, when he retired from the chancellorship, had sufficiently intimated his determination not to return to office. His lordship is amongst those who think, with sir Wm. Temple, we believe, that some pause, some interval, should be allowed between active life and the grave. In the memorable debate of the 2nd of May last, in the house of lords, his lordship delivered himself in the following words:—'But, my lords, with respect to myself, I have to say, that the intention of resigning office was not new to me. I speak in the presence of some—I should rather say of many—who know, for years back, I have esteemed it my duty to consider whether I ought or ought not to resign—and who also know that it has not, as has been asserted, been my anxious wish to cling to office, but that I have been desired to retain it—that I have been urged to retain it; and that, therefore, when this change took place in the administration, the point for me to de-

cide was, not whether I should or should not dismiss a well considered and long cherished purpose.”

The advanced age of lord Eldon, for, as already stated, he was then in his seventy-seventh year—“and his often declared disinclination to the labour and responsibility of the judgment-seat, made it impossible to expect that he would again undertake the great legal office, which he had filled so ably for a quarter of a century; and any merely political station seems to have been regarded as unsuitable for him, in a cabinet where the prevalent opinions were at variance with his, upon some of the most important questions of state. It will be seen, however, from his letters to lady F. J. Bankes, that he was not quite pleased with his former colleagues, for omitting to give him at least the refusal of a seat in their councils.”

So wrote lord Eldon’s biographer, Mr. Horace Twiss. From the years of his lordship, and various circumstances stated by himself, the duke might very reasonably have supposed, that his aged friend had no desire to be in any way again connected with the cares of office, and that making him an offer would have been little more than a mere form. Such was not the opinion of lord Eldon, who gives in the letter to the lady mentioned in the above quotation, the following account of what had taken place subsequent to the duke being called upon to form a new administration:—“The day after the duke of Wellington received his majesty’s commands to form an administration, he sent me a note, informing me of that event, and telling me that he would wait upon me. I sent an answer, saying that if he would name any time for my waiting upon him, on that or any other day, I should do so. However, on Friday, I think a fortnight ago last Friday, he called upon me, and after he had sat down some time, he proceeded to state the difficulties he found himself involved in, from the various conflicting claimants to office—and being sure that I could not be mistaken in what this was to lead to, I told him that, as I thought he was coming to mention the chancellorship, I desired him not to consider me as a conflicting claimant *for that office*—that if they had any proper person to fill it, it was obvious from what I said on the resignation of it, that I could have nothing to do with that office (indeed, no serious offer after that could be made of it).

No offer, therefore, was made to me of it, and the duke left me without more said, except something of repetition as to his difficulties about conflicting claims generally. From the moment of his quitting me to the appearance in the papers of all the appointments, I never saw his grace. I had no communication with him, either personally, by note, letter, by message through any other person, or in any manner whatever—and for the whole fortnight, I heard no more of the matter than you did at Corfe—some of my old colleagues in office, (and much obliged to me too) passing my door constantly on their way to Apsley-house, without calling upon me. Indeed, no one of them called upon me, except on the last day but one before the settlement was in the papers; but, after all was settled, Melville called on me; but on this subject, his lips were not opened. In the meantime, rumour was abroad that I had refused all office, and this was most industriously circulated, when it was found there was, as there really does appear to me to have been, very great dissatisfaction among very important persons on my account, as neither included in office, nor at all, not in the least consulted.”

That lord Eldon was much displeased is obvious, but it is right to state it was because he thought himself slighted—not that he coveted the emoluments of office. Of these, certainly, he had had so large a share, that any man not inordinately greedy of wealth, would have remained satisfied. His motive, in another letter, written a month later, is thus explained:—“As to office, I would not step across the street to be placed in it on my *own* account. I could get nothing by it—its emoluments, *as such*, are not worth my having—for my pension is larger than those of any office that I could have accepted; and from the pension, the emoluments of office would be to be deducted. But then they might have given me an opportunity of offering my services to the country, and relieving it from the pension to the extent of the emoluments of office.”

The course pursued by the duke on this occasion, with respect to his lordship, after the new administration had been completed, the earl reported as follows, in his letter to lady Bankes:—“There was a degree of discontent and anger among persons of consequence, which, I suppose, working together, with its having been somehow communicated that I was much hurt at this sort of treatment,

brought the duke of Wellington to me again—and the object of his visit seemed to be to account for all this. He stated, in substance, that he had found it impracticable to make any such administration as he was sure I would be satisfied with, and therefore, he thought he should only be giving me unnecessary trouble in coming near me, or to that effect. I observed, that I supposed he had not found out this impracticability at the time he came to me about the chancellorship; if he had, THAT visit would have been only a visit of 'unnecessary trouble.' That with respect to its being impracticable to form an administration that I should be satisfied with, I knew no reason, founded on any former conduct of mine, which should have led him to conclude that I should urge impracticability, and that, at any rate, it would not have been too much to expect, that during a whole fortnight, I should (not) have been left ignorant of what was going on, and that I was not to suppose that in that I had any concern—that though I should have been gratified if an offer had been made to me of the presidentship of the council, I did not know that I should have accepted it, and that I was sure that if the offer had been made, and accompanied with an intimation that my accepting it would embarrass them with respect to any other person, I would not have accepted it. He mentioned as a probable proof, that I would not have fallen into his views as to the administration, that he doubted I did not approve of it as formed. I told him he was right there, and that I thought it a ——— (I must not put the word in a letter to a lady, or any body) a ——— bad one."

The duke, it is clear, did not consider lord Eldon would be, at that period of his life, an important acquisition to his government, and on his distinctly disclaiming all wish to resume the great seal, had felt himself justified in concluding that any other office that he could have filled, would not have been deemed worthy of his acceptance. The conclusion of this remarkable interview is thus told:—"We conversed together till, as it seemed to us, we both became a good deal affected; he mentioned some things that he proposed to my acceptance, as propitiatory—not of much consequence, as to which I told him I would consider of it; for I can do nothing which can authorise the public to think that I can deem anything that could be proposed, as compensating for undeserved neglect." Mortified as his lord-

ship was, he immediately afterwards declared it was not for him to thwart the measures of the new administration. Its character, he said, was expressed in these words by everybody. All said of it, "It is better than the last, but it is not what was wished and expected. It will be supported, but not cordially." He did not anticipate it could work well, as he remarked, "Dudley, Huskisson, Grant, Palmerston, and Lyndhurst were all Canningites, with whom the rest were three weeks before, engaged in a violent contest and opposition." Lady Canning, his lordship said, had written a sharp letter, as he was informed by lord Ashley, to Huskisson, strongly reproaching him for joining,—("I use," wrote lord Eldon, "Ashley's own expression), her husband's murderers."

The parliamentary session was opened by commission, on the 29th of January, and the speech delivered on the occasion, contained the following paragraphs:—

"For several years a contest had been carried on between the Ottoman Porte and the inhabitants of the Greek provinces and islands, which has been marked on each side by excesses revolting to humanity. In the progress of that contest, the rights of neutral states, and the laws which regulate the intercourse of civilised nations, have been repeatedly violated, and the peaceful commerce of his majesty's subjects has been exposed to frequent interruption and to depredations, too often aggravated by acts of violence and atrocity. His majesty has felt the deepest anxiety to terminate the calamities, and avert the dangers, inseparable from hostilities which constitute the only exception to the general tranquillity of Europe. Having been earnestly entreated by the Greeks to interpose his good offices, with a view to effect a reconciliation between them and the Ottoman Porte, his majesty concerted measures for that purpose, in the first instance with the emperor of Russia, and subsequently with his imperial majesty and the king of France. His majesty has given directions that there should be laid before you, copies of a protocol, signed at St. Petersburg by the plenipotentiaries of his majesty, and of his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, on the 4th of April, 1826, and of the treaty entered into between his majesty and the courts of the Tuileries and of St. Petersburg, on the 6th of July, 1827. In the course of the measures adopted with a view to carry into effect the

object of the treaty, a collision, wholly unexpected by his majesty, took place in the Port of Navarin, between the fleets of the contracting powers, and that of the Ottoman Porte. Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope, that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede."

The address moved in answer to the speech encountered no opposition, but in the debate or conversation of which it became the subject, objected to some of the epithets and adjectives contained in the speech. He considered that England was not the ancient ally of Turkey. He recollected the first treaty of alliance that was ever formed by that power; it was a treaty which was to last for seven years, and before that time had expired every article of it had been broken by "the ally of England." He objected to the use of the word "untoward," as applied to the battle of Navarin. If by that it was meant to cast any imputation on the gallant admiral who commanded there, he must meet it with his most decided dissent. If it were only meant to express regret for the blood which had been spilt there, in such regret he was ready to join.

The duke of Wellington rose after lord Holland. He commenced his speech by announcing that it was the intention of his majesty's government, at an early period of the session, to submit to parliament a measure relative to the corn laws, and for regulating the importation of corn, founded upon the principle of that which was introduced in the last session. "I regret the necessity for it," his grace proceeded, "but I hope your lordships will permit me to say a few words upon part of what fell from a noble lord who has just spoken—I mean, in reply to his assertion, that the Ottoman Porte was not an ancient ally of this country. I know not how it can be denied that that state has been an ally of ours—an old ally—and what is of infinitely more importance, that that alliance is essential to the balance of power in Europe; and not only that, but the preservation of an amicable understanding, nay, even of an actual alliance, between that country and this, was of the highest importance to the

well-being both of Russia and of England; especially since the changes of possession and revolution that have occurred in that quarter of Europe within the recollection of all who hear me. It is also a matter admitting of no doubt, that the late war in which the European powers were engaged, would not have terminated in every respect as it had done, and, least of all, would the great events of 1812 have been brought about, but for the alliance existing, and happily preserved, between this country and the Ottoman Porte. It may be perfectly true that the treaties upon which this alliance is founded, are not of a hundred years' standing, but they assuredly are very old treaties. No man can question that the Ottoman Porte has been an ally of ours, and an old ally. There is one other subject to which, with your lordships' permission, I shall briefly address myself; I mean the sense in which the word "untoward" has been used. It was intended by untoward, to convey that the events referred to were unexpected—were unfortunate. The sense in which the word was used was this—that under the treaty, which is not yet regularly before the house, and to which I do not at present desire more particularly to refer, it was much to be regretted that events, such as the word untoward had reference to, should have occurred. Until that treaty has been more regularly brought under your lordships' consideration, it may be better not to enter into the question further, than merely to observe, that the parties to it did by no means contemplate having recourse to hostilities. I say, then, it was most unfortunate that such an event should have occurred, nor was a consequence of that nature for one moment anticipated by the last government, who, as well as the other parties to the treaty, never regarded it in the light of one that could lead to hostilities. I must therefore say, that when the measures took place which have occurred, and when hostilities have been had recourse to, instead of peace having been attained, that such a termination must be considered as an 'untoward' event. There had been very considerable difficulties experienced at Constantinople, after the intelligence of the battle of Navarin arrived there, and even a prospect that the end must be war, which must also be considered untoward; and although his majesty in his speech informs us that this fear is in a great degree dissipated, and that hopes are entertained of everything

being amicably settled, yet still that cannot prevent the occurrence from having the character of an untoward event. Then it is asked whether it is meant to bring charges against the admiral? I say no, certainly not; I have no right to prefer a charge against him, neither has the government, meaning, as it does, to carry the treaty which has been made into execution. The sovereign and the late government are answerable for all the blame, if any attaches, and no one has a right to say or insinuate that admiral Codrington has not fully done his duty to his sovereign and his country. The British admiral stood in a very delicate and peculiar situation; he had the command of his majesty's ships, acting conjointly with those of other nations, and his conduct has been such as to acquire their confidence, and induce them to be led under his command to victory; and I should hold myself unworthy of the high situation I hold in the country were I to utter a word against his conduct in the battle of Navarin, which was alike honourable to himself, and to his country."

The earl of Eldon expressed a hope that in the difficult situation in which this country was at present placed, no impediment would be thrown in the way of the government making the most strenuous efforts for the preservation of the peace of Europe. Their lordships would recollect that it could hardly be said that there had been an administration in the country for the last nine months. It could hardly be said there had been a parliament in the country which had either considered or done anything for the same period. He gave his hearty consent to the address.

The marquis of Londonderry warmly supported the duke. He said, the last time he had spoken in that house, was against an unnatural alliance, which he had prophesied would soon dwindle away. He would now ask, whether recent events had not completely fulfilled his prophecy? The character of the nation would now stand as high as ever; for the name of the individual at the head of the government had the greatest weight throughout Europe. That individual had been born under a star of success; and he thought he had a right to say, that the interests of the country, both at home and abroad, would recover that pre-eminence from which they had fallen.

In the house of commons, though the address was approved, the administration

was sharply remarked upon. The mover, Mr. Jenkinson, spoke of lord Liverpool, then withdrawn by a severe visitation of Providence from public affairs, as favouring it. The honourable gentleman said—"After being perfectly possessed of every circumstance, I am convinced that lord Liverpool concurs in the formation of that administration, the new writs for various members of which have been received this very day. He is satisfied with the principles on which it is founded, and is persuaded that it embodies all the interest to which he was so long and so dearly attached. He approves it as containing many, if not all, the distinguished persons with whom he was himself closely connected; but if there be one circumstance of satisfaction more prominent than another, it is that which I may fitly notice on almost the first occasion on which I have addressed the house—the re-admission of the right honourable the late member for the University of Oxford. (Mr. Peel.) A near and dear connection long subsisted between that individual and my noble brother, and his services will be particularly acceptable to the country, as secretary of state for the home department. That right honourable gentleman was introduced into public life by lord Liverpool, and was in the first instance under-secretary in the very office over which he now presides. From the commencement of their acquaintance the most unbounded confidence and concurrence upon every question has existed between them. With this feeling, and under this persuasion, I am not wrong, I think, in supposing, in the general sense, that lord Liverpool highly approves the administration just formed; and I beg distinctly to state, that in making my appearance before the house on the present occasion, I am warranted by the approbation and authority of his lordship."

It was supposed that lord Liverpool had been for some time wholly incapable of attending to public affairs, and, consequently, the statement of Mr. Jenkinson took the house generally by surprise. That he should have thus signified his approbation of the duke of Wellington's government was immediately laid hold of by Mr. Brougham. Of Mr. Jenkinson he said—"Not only did the honourable member deliver his opinion upon the breaking-up of the old administration—not only did he deliver his own plenary approbation of their successors—but he absolutely brought down to this house, a

message from a noble relative, whose health I rejoice exceedingly to find so much improved—for I had heard and believed that the noble lord was so ill as to preclude him from hearing or attending to what was passing in the political world—but while this convinces me that I was mistaken respecting the state of the noble lord's health, it also removes all the delicacy I might otherwise have felt, in commenting upon any part of his conduct. I must, therefore, comment upon, and protest against, this new power assumed by the noble lord, of sending a message to this house. Is it because that noble person in his private capacity is most respectable—is it because the noble earl has been a member of every administration (except the last) for twenty years past—is it because the noble lord has put forward something like a hereditary claim to the office of minister—is it because he has been a respectable private man—is it because he has been respected by his friends—is it because he has been deemed one of the fairest and most candid of political opponents—is it for these reasons, and for no other, that he is to have, in the opinion of the honourable mover, the right to send down to this house, by his honourable relative, a message, stating, that ‘his lordship is clearly of opinion that there never was an administration founded on more admirable principles than the present?’ Doubtless his lordship approves of all that they have done—doubtless the noble lord has approved equally of all that they have omitted—doubtless he has approved of all those omissions which have so astounded the public in the constitution of that government—doubtless highly approving of that omission by which was excluded his ancient, venerable, learned, and noble colleague, whose name had been so long and so invariably associated with his own, that, like Castor and Pollux, so much had those luminaries of this nether political world been connected, that it was impossible to have named one without thinking of the two.”

Of the language held in the speech respecting the battle of Navarin, the learned gentleman said—“This is the first time in the course of my experience that I have ever seen or heard of a ministry anxiously coming forward and taking an early—an uncalled for—an improper—I will say unfair—opportunity of expressing their concern at the achievement of our arms. It has been reserved for some men to conquer and be re-

proved—to fight the battles of freedom and to tremble as slaves—to act gloriously and to repent bitterly; some who, having fought the battles of liberty in the west, were reduced to behold the reign of slavery extended in the east, and to have plucked from their brows the laurels they had gained in the cause of liberty, and to receive the cypress in their place. I hail this as a bad omen—I hail it as an evil omen—that the battle of Navarin shall have been described as ‘an untoward event.’”

In connection with this subject he then proceeded to comment on the duke of Wellington—“Besides that attack, there was another upon those gallant men who fought and bled for us in that battle of which we are now ashamed. Out of this dilemma, my lord field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the army and first lord of the treasury, you cannot come: with all the rapidity of your marches, be you ever so expert a tactician—ever so able and distinguished a warrior—ever so honourable—ever so unblemished, nothing can extricate you from this dilemma. Either you blame those men who concurred in this measure in the cabinet, or you blame those who gained the victory—you blame the brave men who fought and conquered, or you blame Mr. Grant, and make his near relative blame the measures which led to the battle of Navarin. The speech was either an attack upon Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Grant, or it was an attack upon those who gained, with the sacrifice of their blood, the battle of Navarin, and who had been thanked and honoured for it. And not all your battles, my lord duke of Wellington—not all your skill, can extricate you from this dilemma. I do wish, sir, in the most holy sentiment of heart, that peace may be restored between Greece and the Porte; I do wish that the present threatening extremities may pass away without war and bloodshed being their accompaniments; I know the danger that will arise from war in any one part of Europe to all the other parts; and I know that in the present depressed state of our revenue and finances, war, of all things, ought to be avoided by this country; yet, with all these feelings of anxiety pressing on my mind, I do not hesitate to declare, that I would rather see war brought upon us, than consent to the stigmatizing of the late naval action by such terms as should appear to be condemnatory of the motives that urged it on. Though I

cannot view with satisfaction the military mode in which the government is constituted, represented as it is by the noble duke at the head of the army in the other house, and by the noble lord, the secretary at war, in this; nor hear, in silent acquiescence, the disapprobation and lamentations expressed with regard to the battle of Navarin, in that passage of the speech to which I have adverted; nor see without alarm the way in which 'our ancient and faithful ally,' the religious and liberal emperor of the Turks, is spoken of by the head of the protestant interest in this country—by his brother, I had almost said, on the throne; I do trust that these things, which I deplore, are not an earnest of our return to that system of foreign policy—I will say of bad foreign policy—which, for so many years perverted the course of our foreign relations, and which I had fain hoped was utterly extinguished by the brilliant talent and glorious success attending that wiser, more humane, more liberal, and more truly English system, restored under the superintendence of that right honourable gentleman (the late Mr. Canning), whose name I can hardly permit myself to speak, after the elegant tribute paid to his transcendent merits and pre-eminent services by my honourable friend who seconded the address. I had fain hoped that his great talents and public services—of inestimable worth, though they called forth against him that torrent of vile abuse to which he fell a premature sacrifice—I had fain hoped, I repeat, that those services, and the splendid success which had attended them, had prevented for ever the return of that short-sighted, narrow-minded, and ill-omened system of foreign policy which did, for a time, prevail under other councils."

It was in the course of this speech that Mr. Brougham spoke of "the schoolmaster being abroad," and accompanied by much sarcasm, rendered a high tribute of praise to the duke. Speaking of the arrangements of the new government, he thus delivered himself—"I cannot sit down without saying a few words as to one part of the arrangements of the new government, to which I confess I for one am old-fashioned enough to feel very strong objections. I wholly disapprove of the commander-in-chief being placed at the head of the civil government of the country. No man values more highly than I do the military services of the noble duke; no man was more grateful to him

than I for those many brilliant victories which, when many of my party lamented, and when some went so far as to call them untoward, I was the first to proclaim exultation at them, and to urge this house to promote the means of consummating their success by replenishing the resources at his disposal. But now we have to look at the gallant duke in the station of the first minister of this country, placed at the head of the finances, distributing the patronage of the crown, and last, and greatest of all, enjoying the confidence of the king. That any individual should now hold in the same head, the patronage of the army, the patronage of the church, the patronage of the state, and, by virtue of his office, free and confidential access to the ear of his majesty, strikes me, speaking as a constitutional man, as essentially wrong in principle. But I may be told, that for this violation of constitutional principle, we have a compensation in the talents of the gallant duke. Sir, that is no compensation to me. The gallant duke is said by his friends to be able in council, and that his talents are not confined exclusively to matters of war. Sir, that does not remove my objection to him as prime minister. The ground of my objection to him is, that he is a soldier, and a successful soldier; and that he possesses no reputation but a military one. But there is one objection urged against the gallant duke's appointment to the head of the administration—an objection, by-the-by, made by himself too, but that does not weigh with me, namely, that he is not fitted for the place of minister, by his incapacity to address a public assembly. Now, with me, that objection to the gallant duke goes for nothing, for I must confess that I never heard a better speech than that spoken by him on the occasion in question, nor one more suited to the circumstances under which it was spoken, nor more befitting the character and station of the speaker; nor do I think that the gallant duke can be at all considered unfit for ministerial command, by the alleged want of capacity in the matter of public speaking—that is not my objection—no more is it that his grace is a military man; that he has no experience in state affairs—no experience at all but in the military profession. Now, sir, for this palpable defect, it is no compensation to us to be told that the gallant duke will show a brave and gallant front in negotiations with the courts of the continent, in

Opposing that most military, un-English, and despotic system of continental policy; nor is it any compensation to me to be told that which I heard out of doors, that there would be no change in the manner of distributing ministerial favours; that nothing in the shape of court patronage would be given away by the gallant duke alone, in the exercise of his official influence; that the duke would be minister indeed, and others would soon feel it to be so. Sir, this is no compensation to me, nor to the house, nor to the country; nor will the house or the country feel it to be such. Why, sir, the right of recommending to high offices in the state and the church rests with the minister alone, and on him, too, lies the responsibility of such recommendations. What! that a person high in rank, a nobleman, and a minister, should alone, of all the nobility in the country, be prevented from recommending to place and office. Sir, I do not understand this departure from the constitution—that his grace alone, of the whole body of nobility, should be deprived of this privilege, and that one which may be exercised by any peer that can return members for two boroughs. The patronage of office is the minister's, and he alone is responsible to parliament for the manner in which it is employed, no matter who recommends the persons to him, whether he be a member of the house of lords or commons. In these circumstances I see nothing to meet my objection; no compensation for that which I consider an infringement on constitutional principles. Sir, I have no wish to exaggerate public alarm. I will confess that I have no fears that the gallant duke will introduce slavery by storm—no; it would take a greater man than he is to do that. I'll give the gallant duke the command of the army, and the command of the navy too, and of the mitre beside; aye, and the great seal into the bargain, and I'll assure him, that if he ventures into a battle against the liberties of the country, he'll come out of the affair beaten by the constitution alone. Sir, the people of England would not only not allow him to conquer down their freedom, but would laugh at him for the folly of an attempt, which I am confident the good sense of the gallant duke would never permit him to hazard. There were times in our history when danger from military influence was indicated by the saying that 'the soldier is abroad'—but it is not so now—the soldier is not abroad; or,

even though he were abroad, there is another too abroad; another, humble in station, silent in his operations, but powerful in effect. There is another abroad, another person more able to support the constitution than the soldier to injure it. The schoolmaster is abroad—and I warrant that the schoolmaster with his primer will beat the field-marshal with his baton."

The oration of the learned gentleman made a great impression at the time, and was long remembered. It was remarkable that he praised the speech of the duke, in which he declared, that to seek the position of prime minister he must be worse than mad, as suited to the occasion, and yet add, with him it went for nothing!

The duke and his ministry were vindicated by lord Palmerston, who said—"I take leave to tell him, (Mr. Brougham), that his attacks on the military reputation of the noble duke are impotent as they are unjust. The character of my noble friend stands too high with the country to be affected by the honourable and learned gentleman's taunts or sneers. I am sure the noble duke will neither feel nor care for the honourable and learned gentleman's remarks; and, for my part, my opinion of them is such, that I do not consider it necessary to say one word in answer to them. This much, however, I am able to say—and I do it with the more willingness, as it may tend to allay the honourable and learned gentleman's constitutional alarms—that it is not intended the command of the army and the chiefship of the ministry should be united in the person of the noble duke; for, in fact, he offered the resignation of the command of the army to his majesty when he accepted the office of prime minister; and if it was not accepted at the moment, the house may consider his resignation virtually made, though his grace's successor has not yet been appointed. So much for the honourable and learned gentleman's fear of military power. As to the noble duke's alleged disclaimer of his aspiring to the office of first minister, on the ground of his incompetency to public speaking, I shall not trouble the house with a word on it, particularly as the house has already received the testimony of the honourable and learned gentleman in favour of the speech spoken by the noble duke, and the learned gentleman's opinion that the noble duke's assertion of his incompetency proceeded only from a sense of modest diffidence in his abilities."

Mr. Brougham thought some explanation necessary. He remarked—"As the noble lord had commented upon what he (Mr. B.) said of the military character of the duke of Wellington, it might have been as well if he had attended to what he did say upon that subject. The noble lord seemed to take it for granted, that he had spoken lightly of that military character. Now, he would put it to any man who heard him, if he had said one word which could convey such an impression? When all Europe rang with that noble duke's achievements, he must indeed have been very foolish to have founded any argument upon such a supposition, or to have given utterance to any expression which might seem to detract from the gratitude the country owed for his eminent services. He had expressly put his objections on the ground of civil experience; and he begged it to be remembered, that during the whole course of the noble duke's career, and when others hung back, he had repeatedly urged the placing greater and greater resources at the command of his grace, in order to enable him to prosecute with effect the objects he had in view.—Lord J. Russell protested against the noble lord's deprecating the discussion of the gallant duke's fitness for the management of the finances. The noble duke had no right to draw on his fund of military glory for arguments to defend his financial measures. He hoped that when the noble duke would hereafter have committed some financial blunder, the ministers would not come down to the house and claim impunity for him, on the strength of the ample supererogation of his warlike merits, nor attempt to excuse him as a minister because he was an able commander. He could not but as an Englishman retain the impression that a person who had spent the chief part of his active life in the field, contracting military habits, must have somewhat about him of that military command and decision, which, although highly necessary in the command of an army, and which the proof of his possessing, whilst in the command of the English army, had immortalized the duke of Wellington, were yet most dangerous, improper, and objectionable qualities in the minister of a free country."

The catholic question, which had caused such serious estrangement of friends who had long been most intimately connected, was agitated with increased vehemence from the moment it was known that the duke of Wellington had been appointed prime minis-

ter of England. Scarcely had he been installed in Downing-street, when, at a meeting of Roman catholics in Ireland, a resolution was passed assuming him to be the irreconcilable foe of emancipation; that every Irish member ought to be regarded as an enemy to his country who did not pledge himself to oppose the duke's government. So early as the 2nd of February, this proceeding was brought before the house of lords. The marquis of Londonderry told their lordships, that—"As a friend to the Roman catholics, who wished well to their cause, he found it impossible to see, without pain, in the public journals of this country and of Ireland, extravagant and monstrous propositions put forth, purporting to proceed from persons assembling together and giving themselves out as acting in the name of the Roman catholics of Ireland. A bill had been brought into parliament, which received the sanction of the legislature, for putting down the "Roman catholic association." However, it appeared, that notwithstanding that bill, the "Roman catholic association" still existed, and was in the habit of adopting resolutions so strong and offensive, that he found himself compelled to allude to them as he now did, and at the same time to declare, that if such resolutions were to be taken as expressive of the sentiments of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Ireland, he must, as one of their sincere friends, protest that he very much feared their cause, instead of being advanced, would suffer material injury in consequence of conduct so injudicious. Their lordships would recollect he had said the same thing two years ago, when he had spoken from the other side of the house. He had then said, and he now repeated, that if the Roman catholics attempted to attain their object by threats and intimidation, he should oppose them to the utmost of his ability. The resolution to which he had alluded had been agreed to at a recent meeting of the "Roman catholic association," and was as follows:—"Resolved, that we feel it a duty we owe to the Irish people to call on all the counties, cities, towns, and parishes of Ireland to come to the following resolution:—"That any Irish member of the imperial parliament who gives his support, directly or indirectly, to the new administration, of which the duke of Wellington, or any individual professing his principles, may be the head, is an enemy to the freedom of his country, and unde-

serving of the confidence of the Irish people." This was the scandalous, the impotent declaration to which he wished to direct their lordships' attention. Impotent, indeed, it was, but nevertheless he had thought it necessary to allude to it. He believed the Roman catholics of Ireland yielded to none of his majesty's subjects in loyalty and devotion to their sovereign. He did not consider that resolution as the act of the Roman catholics of Ireland; but, if such proceedings were allowed to continue, the catholic cause must retrograde instead of advancing."

No peer offered to justify the course taken by the Irish malcontents, but lord Clifden spoke in extenuation of the intemperance which he could not excuse. Ireland was then in a wretched state, and his lordship believed emancipation alone could supply the desired remedy. He told the house that he himself had been compelled to displace tenants, but in doing so, he had gladly given up to them, in many instances, his claim for two years' rent—the crops on the ground—and their cattle. He felt the absolute necessity for doing so, and did not now advert to the circumstance for the purpose of claiming any credit for acts which common humanity required. He felt, and he had often said, that there never would be peace in Ireland, or a real union between Ireland and England, till the emancipation question was finally and favourably settled.

This question was agitated in every possible way to annoy the government, and to make it believe that the duke of Wellington was a bigot, who had no claim to the support or the confidence of true friends to religious liberty. On this account, Mr. Huskisson, at his re-election for Liverpool, found it necessary to detail the circumstances under which he, the friend of Mr. Canning, had been induced to join the noble duke. He spoke of the tottering state of the late government, and told the electors, that taking that into his consideration, "His majesty felt that he owed it to his people—that he owed it to the great interests of the country, and the preservation of the peace of Europe, not to lose a moment in presenting to the world a government, possessing a more stable, more permanent, and more vigorous character, and his majesty accordingly sent his commands to the duke of Wellington. The duke of Wellington most reluctantly accepted his majesty's commands: and I can

say that his earnest wish was impartially to discharge the trust for which he felt himself competent, by all his previous habits of life; and I know that no exclusion of any man or men, who, before presiding over the affairs of this country, was proposed on the part of the sovereign, and the duke of Wellington was at liberty to form an administration of such materials and such persons as might answer the purpose. It happened that the duke of Wellington, after communicating with another individual, of whom, no man who judges him fairly, can say otherwise than I do, that by his talents, his industry, and his assiduity, he has rendered great benefit to the public—I mean Mr. Peel—the duke of Wellington, after consulting with that right honourable gentleman, and offering him a situation in the new government, the next person to whom he sent to make an offer was myself; and I shall not disguise from you, that this communication to me was made in the most general terms. I was asked if I entertained any opinion, or if I had any motives, which would preclude my taking a part in the new government. To an application so general, I could only say, that if the new government were constructed upon such public principles as to satisfy my mind that what I considered the best interests of the country would be promoted, and if such arrangements would be made as would give me a pledge and guarantee that the policy of the late government would not be departed from, I stood free from any party engagements which would prevent my taking a part in the administration, and that I could not give a more explicit answer to the question. The next morning, lord Lansdowne came to town, and I told him what had passed between me and the duke of Wellington, and asked him if any communications were made to him on the part of the duke of Wellington, to consider it well before he gave any answer. What passed between lord Lansdowne and me, is too long to be made matter of statement; but the result was, that he replied, if any communication were made to him, he felt insuperable difficulties to accede to it; and I stated to him, that I felt that, upon the nature of the application, and the principles upon which the new government were determined to act, would depend whether or not I would accede to the proposition; and we parted on the understanding, that if he were bound by peculiar circumstances not to accede to any application, I, on my part,

was bound by none, and that I should be at liberty to join the administration, if my public character and personal honour were attended to in the arrangements. As I was not charged with any commission from the noble duke, I cannot say to what persons he made any offers, or why I was selected rather than any other member of the government; but this I do know, that his grace wished lord Carlisle to take a share in the councils of the country, and stated that he should much lament the loss of his services. Lord Carlisle having, from his earliest appearance in public life acted with that party, some of whom had come into office under the former administration, and having feelings which party create, and which I should not wish to be forgotten, refused to stay in, if all those with whom he acted did not continue in the administration. I wish we could forget those terms whig and tory; but as I never did belong to the party which is called whig, and as lord Carlisle had been all his life a steady adherent of that party, he retired, because the whigs retired. That could form no reason for my retirement; for if I had retired upon the same ground as lord Carlisle, I should have identified myself with a party to which I did not belong, and should have separated myself from men with whom I had acted throughout my political life. In the progress of my interviews with the duke of Wellington, I felt myself bound to look to two things—first, to the measures; and, secondly, to the guarantees which the new administration would give that those measures would be carried into effect; and a third object, which I had as much at heart as any other, was, that nothing should be done by me which could be supposed to diminish my respect, attachment, and fidelity to those measures and those principles which I had the good fortune to vote for, with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning in succession. As to the measures, I was bound first to ascertain whether the foreign policy of this country was to undergo any change, or whether it was meant that there should be any departure from, or condemnation of, these measures originated by my much lamented friend; for, if I thought that such was in the contemplation of the government, I should have saved all discussion and explanation—have made my bow and retired; for I was bound by those opinions upon which I have acted for years, that no change should take place which could, in the slightest degree,

have the effect of making those principles of commercial, colonial, and foreign policy, acted upon by my late lamented friend, retrograde."

In the course of this speech, Mr. Huskisson replied to a charge which had been maliciously preferred against the duke and Mr. Peel, that their hostility had hastened the death of Mr. Canning. He told the electors there "was an unfortunate difference of opinion between the duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning; but," he added, "I know it was not upon any point of principle, and had only arisen out of a misunderstanding respecting the construction of a phrase in a letter; and I further know, that so transient was the personal feeling of my lamented friend on the occasion, that he had no hesitation in recommending to his majesty the replacing of the illustrious duke at the head of the army. Now that I have named the duke of Wellington, I beg permission to say, that I have sat with him for four or five years in the cabinet, and can safely say, it is not true he ever thwarted any measures of mine or Mr. Canning's. As to our foreign policy, there never was a difference between the duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning—that I positively assert. Away then with this language, of there being men in the government who had persecuted my late lamented friend unto death."

The explanation thus given did not prevent further annoyance being given from time to time, and the fire of the opposition was kept up with such vigour, that the ministerial organ of that day, departing from the bantering tone in which it had been wont to indulge, took that of grave expostulation. "We trust," the *Courier* wrote, "that the system of questions and explanations may now be considered at an end; and that parliament and ministers will at length be permitted to go on with the real business of the country. It demands all their attention. The late cabinet is dissolved—a new cabinet has been formed, and the people expect from it every measure likely to conduce to the welfare and honour of the empire. They have a strong guarantee in the character of the head of the government; and they trust with confidence that he has yet to assert fresh claims to the thanks and gratitude of his country. But let him have a fair and open field; and let not the time and attention of him and his colleagues in the cabinet be diverted from the real business of their departments."

And certainly it must be admitted that ministers had enough on their hands when the writer added—"Look at the situation of foreign affairs—at the recent intelligence from Constantinople, which prepares us for events of the utmost importance. Judge of the necessity of cementing the most intimate co-operation between the allied powers. Pass from our foreign to our domestic situation. Consider what a vast field of inquiry has been opened to the finance committee—what errors it has to cure—what abuses to

remedy—what a change of system it may recommend—what new measures it may propose. Look to the agricultural question—the intense anxiety of the agricultural interest—the necessity of adopting some decisive arrangement that shall satisfy them. Look at Ireland—look at England—look at the measures which the situation of each require. Look at the discussions upon the test act and the catholic claims, which cannot be avoided."

CHAPTER VII.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE BATTLE OF NAVARIN; THE EARL OF CARNARVON'S MOTION RESPECTING IT; MR. HOBHOUSE'S MOTION FOR A VOTE OF THANKS; TURKISH POLICY AND MANIFESTO; LORD HILL APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; COMMITTEE OF FINANCE; AMENDMENT OF LAWS RELATING TO LUNATIC ASYLUMS; DISAVOWAL, BY WELLINGTON, OF PERSONAL HOSTILITY TO MR. CANNING.

THE circumstances out of which those operations grew, which led to the battle of Navarin, demand some notice. Great sympathy had been kindled in Europe for the oppressed Greeks, who were alleged to be suffering grievously under the Turkish yoke, and a protocol was signed at St. Petersburg between England and Russia, in 1826, which was now laid before parliament. It ran thus:—

"His Britannic majesty having been requested by the Greeks to interpose his good offices, in order to obtain their reconciliation with the Ottoman Porte—having, in consequence, offered his mediation to that power, and being desirous of concerting the measures of his government upon this subject, with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his imperial majesty, on the other hand, being equally animated by the desire of putting an end to the contest, of which Greece and the Archipelago are the theatre, by an arrangement which shall be consistent with the principles of religion, justice, and humanity; the undersigned have agreed—

"1. That the arrangement to be proposed to the Porte, if that government should accept the proffered mediation, should have for its object to place the Greeks towards the Ottoman Porte in the relation herein-after mentioned.

"Greece should be a dependency of that empire, and the Greeks shall pay to the Porte an annual tribute, the amount of which shall be permanently fixed by common consent. They shall be exclusively governed by authorities to be chosen and named by themselves, but in the nomination of which authorities the Porte shall have a certain influence. In this state, the Greeks shall enjoy a complete liberty of conscience, entire freedom of commerce, and shall, exclusively, conduct their own internal government. In order to effect a complete separation between individuals of the two nations, and to prevent the collisions which must be the necessary consequences of a contest of such duration, the Greeks shall purchase the property of Turks, whether situate on the continent of Greece, or in the island.

"2. In case the principle of a mediation between the Turks and Greeks should have been admitted, in consequence of the steps taken, with that view, by his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, his imperial majesty would exert, in every case, his influence to forward the object of that mediation. The mode in which, and the time at which, his imperial majesty should take part in the ulterior negotiations with the Ottoman Porte, which may be the consequence of that mediation, shall be determined

hereafter by the common consent of the government of his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty.

"3. If the mediation offered by his Britannic majesty should not have been accepted by the Porte, and whatever may be the nature of the relations between his imperial majesty and the Turkish government, his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty will still consider the terms of the arrangement specified in No. 1 of this protocol as the basis of any reconciliation to be effected by their intervention, whether in concert or separately, between the Porte and the Greeks; and they will avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to exert their influence with both parties, in order to effect their reconciliation on the above-mentioned basis.

"4. That his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty should reserve to themselves to adopt, hereafter, the measures necessary for the settlement of the details of the arrangement in question, as well as the limits of the territory, and the names of the islands of the Archipelago to which it shall be applicable, and which it shall be proposed to the Porte to comprise under the denomination of Greece.

"5. That, moreover, his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty will not seek, in this arrangement, any increase of territory, nor any exclusive influence nor advantage in commerce for their subjects, which shall not be equally attainable by all other nations.

"6. That his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty, being desirous that their allies should become parties to the definitive arrangements of which this protocol contains the outline, will communicate this instrument, confidentially, to the courts of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, and will propose to them that they shall, in concert with the emperor of Russia, guarantee the treaty by which the reconciliation of Turks and Greeks shall be effected, as his Britannic majesty cannot guarantee such a treaty.

(Signed) { WELLINGTON,
 { NESSELRODE,
 { LIEVEN.

"St. Petersburg, Apr. 4—(Mar. 23)—1826."

This protocol, in conformity with its provisions, was communicated to the other great powers. The Greeks were still discontented, and rebelled against the Porte; but the son of the viceroy of Egypt being

sent against them, their armies were invariably defeated. Then the allied powers thought it right to interfere. The emperor of Russia, though well disposed to put down rebellion, was anxious to weaken the Porte. France and England were desirous of favouring the Greeks, but had no desire to abate the importance of Turkey. It was intimated to the Porte that the allies required that the Turkish forces should be withdrawn from Greece, that the Greeks remaining subject to the Porte should pay an annual tribute to the sultan, but be at liberty to choose their own government, on which, in certain cases, he, as suzerain, would have a veto. Such a communication appears to have been little expected. It called forth strong manifestations of resentment; and a Turkish state paper appeared, in which the right of the Porte over the Greeks was strongly asserted, and the conduct which had been pursued towards them was vindicated. In this manifesto it was declared "the Greeks had been treated in all respects like Mussulmans; their persons and property had been secure; more especially during the glorious reign of the present sovereign, who had loaded them with benefits far exceeding anything their ancestors had enjoyed. Malignant and ungrateful men had notwithstanding revolted against their legitimate sovereign and gracious benefactor, and committed the most abominable excesses. In consequence of these outrages, the Sublime Porte had justly punished some of the offenders, but had never refused to pardon those who appealed to its clemency. The interference of the allies for the revolted Greeks was spoken of as tending to give importance to the demands of a troop of brigands. The proposition submitted by the allies the Sublime Porte declined to entertain, so long as the country inhabited by the Greeks formed part of the Ottoman dominions and tributary subjects to the Porte, who would never renounce its rights. Having, with the aid of the Most High, resumed possession of the country, it would always act in conformity with the ordinances which its holy law prescribed with respect to its subjects."

The disposition of the Turkish government ascertained, a treaty was signed in London, on the 6th of July, 1827, under which England, France, and Russia bound themselves with a view to bring that state of things which had existed in Greece for the last six years to a termination, if the

Porte did not accept an armistice within one month, to exert all the means circumstances might suggest to their prudence, to prevent a collision between the contending powers, but without taking part in the hostilities with the Greeks and Turks. A formal note was communicated to the Porte announcing this determination. It produced no satisfactory answer; and on the 14th of September all negotiation was brought to a close. "God and our right," said the Turkish minister—that, the motto of England, is the only answer we can give to those who, without provocation, are disposed to attack us.

An English fleet, under admiral sir Edward Codrington, a French fleet, under admiral De Rigny, and a Russian naval force, entered the harbour of Navarin. The commanders communicated with Ibrahim Pacha, but the result was unsatisfactory. The allies advanced, and had passed the batteries, when a boat was fired upon by the Turks. This was answered by a volley of small arms. A cannon-shot was then fired at the French admiral's ship; that brought on an engagement, which ended in the total destruction of the Turkish fleet.

Such were the circumstances under which the battle of Navarin was fought, and which caused the duke of Wellington's government to regard it as an "untoward" event. It has been seen, that his grace most distinctly declared in the house of lords, that the use of that expression was not intended to cast the slightest reflection on the gallant admiral who commanded the British squadron there engaged. His view of the policy acted upon by the British government, and his determination to carry it out, he explained and avowed on the 11th of February, when the earl of Carnarvon brought forward a motion on the subject, calling for papers and further information.

In the debate which that motion originated, the duke of Wellington said he did not rise to discuss the principles of the protocol, or of the treaty of July. The time would come when it would be open to their lordships to discuss the policy of those measures fully, and it would be his duty to meet that discussion. It was his firm intention to carry into full and complete execution, according to its spirit and letter, the treaty to which his majesty was a party. It was his duty to carry into effect that treaty with good faith; and it did not become him to cast any imputation upon it, in the way of comparison with the original

measure—the protocol of St. Petersburg. It was true that the protocol did not carry with it the measures of execution which were attached to the treaty; but it should be recollected, that such measures were under consideration at the time of the protocol, and that they must at some future time be taken into consideration. Although those measures of execution were not the same as were attached to the treaty—although they were not coercive—they were yet such as were calculated to induce the Porte to accept of the proffered mediation. It was not his intention to go into a minute discussion on the subject at that moment. He would assure the noble mover, that it was his decided intention to carry that treaty into effect, in its spirit, as well as in its letter. But he could not help dissenting from a great portion of the speech of the noble lord. He did not admit that it was the right of one country to interfere with the internal regulations of another in all cases. No doubt, the political position of countries, in some instances, might justify such interference; but such was not the general rule. Non-interference was the rule; interference the exception. That was the only true and safe policy. He did not mean to say that interference in the present case was not necessary. He himself had been the means of negotiating the act of interference; but that was an exception to the conduct of this country when her interference had been solicited on the occasion of insurrection in other countries. So far he stated in corroboration of what had been said by his noble friend (lord Dudley) on the subject of the motion. With regard to the instructions, there was no doubt that they were intended to be drawn up, and were in fact drawn up, by the ministers of the united courts residing in London. They were not the instructions of this government alone; they proceeded from the three governments, and were the result of various diplomatic conferences between the ministers of those powers. Besides, it should be recollected that they referred to a transaction which was not yet concluded; and if the British government alone had issued them, it would be the duty of its ministers to entreat their lordships not to ask for those instructions, until the transaction should be in such a state that their production could not be attended with mischievous consequences. Having before stated the intention of government

to carry into execution the treaty of July, it was not without surprise that he had heard the noble lord opposite ask his noble friend near him what guarantee he had for the execution of that convention. From the moment that he had received from his majesty the commission to form a new administration—a commission which he had executed to the best of his ability—from that moment he felt it to be his duty to carry strictly into effect the provisions of the treaty. In all his communications with his noble friend, and with those gentlemen who had done him the honour to unite with him in carrying on his majesty's government, he had distinctly stated that such was his firm intention. The noble lord talked of guarantee. Did the noble lord suppose that those gentlemen who had done him the honour to connect themselves with him in his majesty's service, knowing as they did the opinions which he entertained and the principles he professed—did the noble lord imagine that they would come to him and require a guarantee for the due practical application of those principles, before they would concur with him in carrying on the measures of government? Or, was it to be believed, on the other hand, that, entertaining those opinions, he would abandon them for the purpose—the corrupt purpose (for such it would be) of procuring the support and services of those gentlemen in consideration of such a sacrifice?

The speech of Mr. Huskisson, at Liverpool, explanatory of the circumstances under which he had joined the present ministry, had been mentioned, and mentioned as if he had claimed certain guarantees from the premier. His grace gave further explanation on this subject, and on the course which he now proposed to take. "Is it to be supposed," continued the noble duke, "that the right honourable gentleman to whom I understand the noble earl to allude, could have used the expression applied to him at the Liverpool election? If my right honourable friend had entered into any such corrupt bargain as he was represented to describe, he would have tarnished his own fame, as much as I should have disgraced mine. It is much more probable—though I have not thought it worth my while to ask for any explanation on the subject—that my right honourable friend stated, not that he had concluded any wholesale bargain with me, but that the men of whom the government is now com-

posed are in themselves a guarantee to the public, that their measures will be such as will be conducive to his majesty's honour and interests, and to the happiness of the people. That is what the right honourable gentleman said, if I am not mistaken; and not that I had given him any guarantee for the principles of the government. No guarantee was required, and none was given on my part. But I beg to know—supposing any guarantee had been given to any one gentleman who acceded to the government—what has been done towards others in the same situation? Was there no other man whom it was necessary to satisfy in the government but the right honourable gentleman? Every member of an existing government has a right to state his views of the duties of that government, to have his objections satisfied, to state his opinions upon every subject proposed for the consideration of government, and to have those opinions decided upon. How, then, does the matter stand? Surely I could not have withheld explanations from some, and given guarantees to others. I appeal to my noble friend near me, whether every member of the present government cannot state his opinions as fairly and as fully now, as under any preceding administration? It is conducted on the same principles as the cabinet of which I was a member for eight years, under lord Liverpool, and in which all measures were fairly considered by all the members of it. I was an assenting party to the greater part of the measures of that government, and therefore I hold myself responsible for them, equally with the other members of that government. My opinions are perfectly well known; I have departed from none of them; nor has my right honourable friend, I believe, departed from any of his. How could I, with the least show of consistency—the slightest regard for character, depart from the maintenance and prosecution of measures to which I already stand pledged. As to what has been said respecting the finance committee, I say of that as of the rest, that no particular guarantee has been given on the subject; it will, nevertheless, be acted upon with as good faith as any party could desire. With respect to the corn-laws, there was a paragraph in his majesty's speech, at the end of the last session of parliament, which contained a promise that the subject should receive the earliest consideration; accordingly, it was the first subject that govern-

ment deliberated upon, but that was done without any previous guarantee. There could not have been any, nor was any necessary, from those who at present compose the cabinet. I need not further trouble your lordships on the present occasion, than to express my intention to dissent from the motion of the noble lord (Carnarvon).

The earl of Carnarvon consented to withdraw his motion; but a few days afterwards Mr. John Cam Hobhouse proposed a vote of thanks to sir Edward Codrington. Though the duke of Wellington rendered all honour to the courage and skill of the gallant admiral, he was of opinion that the thanks of parliament ought not to be voted for that which was deemed an untoward event. The speech of Mr. Hobhouse embodied many facts of interest, and brought forward the duke himself as evidence of the fitness of bestowing on Codrington the honour called for by his motion.—“In stating the case,” he said, “I shall take care to keep it separate from the policy that sent the expedition. In this line of conduct I have found a precedent. In the words of lord Liverpool, speaking on the vote of thanks to the general and army concerned in the expedition to Copenhagen—‘If the principle that sent out that expedition were as unjust and unnecessary as it was wise and necessary—if it were as impolitic and unwise as it was politic and wise—still the thanks of this house are due to the parties concerned in the glorious result.’ I know not how it is possible to escape from the distinction laid down in this passage, on the present occasion. But I do not rest merely upon the sentiments of the noble individual whom I have already quoted. I have other opinions in confirmation of this view of the question. Amongst these is Mr. Perceval, a gentleman who, it will be admitted, was well acquainted with the forms of the house and of the constitution, and well skilled in the tactics of parliamentary debate. He said, upon that occasion, in the course of his speech, ‘I hope the house will not refuse to grant a vote of thanks to the officers engaged in the action. They had a most painful duty to perform.’ I proceed, next, to the opinions of lord Castlereagh, who was not less skilful than any one mentioned, and every one knows that he was well able to address this house in language befitting the sentiment he had to convey. In introducing the vote of thanks to the army and

navy for the expedition at Copenhagen, that noble lord made use of this language—‘Whatever difference of opinion there might be in the political character of the expedition in this house, he flattered himself that no difference would exist on the proposition he was about to submit. It had always been the custom to consider the services rendered by his majesty’s army and navy in carrying into effect the orders with which they were intrusted, distinctly and separately from the merits of the policy by which his majesty’s ministers were actuated in issuing those orders.’ Lord Castlereagh went on to remark, that the vote of thanks ‘was a justice due to the army and the navy, who were never called upon to decide as to the propriety or impropriety, nor to mix their conduct with that of those by whose impulse they acted, and who alone were responsible for the prudence, justice, wisdom, and policy of the plans they directed to be carried into execution. It was, therefore, due to the army and navy to look only to the execution, which was the distinct service that fell to their charge.’ If such a course, sir, was adopted towards the army and navy for their skill and ability in the execution of the expedition to Copenhagen—if, on that occasion, all party politics were to be deprecated—the conduct of ministers left out of sight—how much higher grounds were there in the present instance for following a similar line of conduct towards our brave countrymen for the skill and bravery displayed by them at Navarin. And I shall greatly deplore it if any gentleman should mix up in the debate the policy of the treaty with the behaviour of our seamen. When the distinction to which I have adverted, and which I wish to impress upon your minds on the present occasion, was drawn in the case of Copenhagen, party differences ran higher than at any other period. With reference to that expedition, many distinguished members of both houses expressed themselves in terms of unequivocal condemnation—in terms much stronger than anything that has been heard in this instance—yet was the distinction broadly marked throughout. Lord Sidmouth spoke of the expedition as an ‘outrage.’ Lord Grenville called it an ‘indelible disgrace upon the country;’ and others said it was ‘a lasting monument of national infamy.’ Mr. Whitbread said it was ‘a base and treacherous aggression.’ But did these opinions of the character of the expedition,

as a political measure, prevent those who entertained them from joining in a vote of thanks to those who had fought the battle?"

Mr. Hobhouse thought it would interest the assembly he was addressing, to bring under their notice the high importance attached to the victory by the emperor of Russia. He said—"He did not know whether it was customary for kings to write letters to private individuals, but if not so, it was the more remarkable that his majesty, the emperor of Russia, had descended from his dignity, and written the following letter to sir Edward Codrington:—

'To Vice-Admiral Codrington.

'Sir,—You have just obtained a victory for which civilized Europe ought to be doubly grateful to you. The memorable battle of Navarin, and the bold manœuvres by which it was preceded, not only exhibit to the world the degree of zeal of the three great powers for a cause, the noble character of which is still further exalted by its disinterestedness—but also furnish ample proof of what can be accomplished by firmness against numbers, and valour skilfully directed against blind courage, with whatever forces it may be supported. Your fame henceforth belongs to posterity. No eulogium on my part can add to the glory with which it is surrounded. I deem it incumbent on me, however, to present to you a distinguished mark of the gratitude and esteem with which you have inspired all Russia. It is with this view that I transmit you, inclosed, the military order of St. George. The Russian navy feels itself honoured by having obtained your approbation before Navarin; and, with regard to myself, I experience the most lively satisfaction in assuring you of the sentiments of consideration I entertain for you.

'(Signed) NICHOLAS.

'St. Petersburg, Nov. 8, 1827.'

Besides this, his majesty the emperor of Russia, caused a letter to be transmitted by his minister, count Nesselrode, to prince Lieven here, in order to be sent to count Heiden, in which his majesty expressed his decided opinion as to the beneficial consequences of the battle of Navarin, and of the conduct of the admiral. In a subsequent passage of the letter, count de Nesselrode wrote to count de Heiden—"Should there be no ship for the moment adapted to the command of sir E. Codrington, and he consent to hoist his flag on board a ship

of the line belonging to his imperial majesty, you will place at his disposal all those composing our squadron, and assure him that the emperor would consider his presence on board one of our vessels, as a distinguished honour conferred on the Russian navy.' Nor was this all. His majesty the emperor of Russia, with a condescension which Mr. Hobhouse understood was not usually shown in such a manner, gave directions to count de Nesselrode to inquire of count de Heiden in what possible way his majesty could confer a mark of honour and distinction on the son of sir Edward Codrington, who was wounded] 'on that glorious day.'"

Towards the close of his speech, the honourable gentleman brought forward, as his strongest argument of all, the case of the duke of Wellington. He said—"If precedents derived from distant times, and having reference to persons deceased, though not forgotten, are acknowledged, as they must be, to bear irresistibly upon the motion with which I intend to conclude, how much more powerful must a case be considered in which the present head of his majesty's government bears the most prominent situation. It cannot fail to be full in the recollection of every honourable member who hears me, that the duke of Wellington received the thanks of this house oftener than any other individual, and with your permission, sir, I will read his reply and acknowledgments, delivered from his place, when, in consequence of the victory obtained at Copenhagen, he first was thanked from the chair of this house. Sir Arthur said, 'This honour, thus bestowed, is an object of high and ardent ambition to every officer of the army and navy, and the principal motive of those acts of valour and heroic courage which have raised the glory of the British arms, and swelled the reputation of British prowess to its present magnitude.' Such an acknowledgment of parliamentary thanks from such a quarter, was of the very last value and importance on a question like the present. The duke of Wellington was thanked eleven times by that house for his brilliant military services. He was thanked for the victory at Copenhagen, for that of Vimiera, the defence of Portugal, the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, for Salamanca, Badajos, Vittoria, the entry into France, Orthes, the Peace of 1814, the ever memorable battle of Waterloo, and, lastly, general thanks for the dis-

tinguished merits of his whole military career. Can I then," Mr. Hobhouse asked, "suppose that an administration of which this great commander is the head, will deny justice to a brother-in-arms? Can I suppose that he who wears so splendid a crown of laurel, will refuse a single leaf to the distinguished officer who commanded at Navarin? Can I suppose that he who has been oftener than any man, living or dead, the object of parliamentary thanks, will be tardy or reluctant to bestow naked justice upon a member of a different profession, towards which his feelings should be, and I trust are, those of generous rivalry and noble emulation?"

The motion was viewed as inexpedient under all the circumstances; but it was admitted, on the part of the ministers, that had the battle been fought with a power with which England was at war, there could have been no objection to the vote proposed; and on this admission, Mr. Hobhouse was content to withdraw his motion.

The hopes entertained by the duke of Wellington that amicable relations with the Porte would soon be restored, experienced some disappointment. The humble and pacific disposition evinced after the conflict at Navarin, it afterwards appeared, was affected to gain time. Whatever the treatment of which the Greeks had to complain, it could not be doubted that the destruction of their fleet must awaken feelings of bitter resentment at Constantinople. When news of the event was received there, the ambassadors of the allied powers had three questions put to them, on the part of the Porte, to this effect:—1. Whether the Greek question would then be dropped? 2. Whether it was intended to give the Porte an indemnity for the destruction of its fleet? 3. Whether satisfaction generally would be given to the Porte? The answers of the ambassadors were in substance—that the powers they represented were determined to persevere in their efforts to effect the pacification of Greece. "That no indemnity would be given for the destruction of the fleet, as the Turkish commander, by firing first, had been the aggressor; and to the third question they replied, that the endeavours of the allies during the preceding three years, to induce the Porte to listen to their disinterested representations, sufficiently proved that the interests of the Porte would not be slighted."

The government of the sultan seems to

have expected, that after the destruction of their fleet, war would be carried on by the allies without intermission. The inaction which succeeded, led the divan to suppose that the policy of the allies had experienced a change—that distrust had crept into their councils—that England and France had begun to suspect other designs, on the part of Russia, beyond those avowed in the treaty of the 6th July; and found that while they were apparently lending themselves only to the establishment of the independence of Greece, they were, in reality, promoting the further views of Russia. It was thence inferred that England and France would soon be disposed to abandon the alliances, which surmise caused a bolder and more angry tone to be adopted on the part of the Turkish government. The divan thought that if they made a display of vigorous resolution and of warlike preparation, they should be able to obtain better conditions than those prescribed in the treaty of the 6th of July; at least, that they should be able to stop short of acknowledging the complete independence of Greece. The ambassadors left Constantinople on the 8th of December, and shortly after a manifesto was made public in that capital, in which the faithful were told that all Mussulmans and infidels mutually hated each other. Russia it described to be the chief enemy of the Sublime Porte, and had, during the last fifty or sixty years, been labouring to carry her guilty designs into execution. She was said to have stirred up a conspiracy to "effect the extermination of all the faithful, and the ruin of the Sublime Porte—which may God avert!" It proceeded:—"Thanks to Divine assistance, and to the protection of our holy prophet, this perfidious plot was discovered a short time before it was to be put in execution. The measures which were taken in the capital, without loss of time, checked at their commencement the guilty projects which seemed so easy of accomplishment; the sword inflicted justice on a great number of the rebels of the Morea, of Negropont, of Acarnania, of Missolonghi, of Athens, and other places on the continent. The rebels of the Morea and of the isles *Foyer* dared, at the very beginning of these troubles, to engage with the Mussulmans: they killed a great number of them; they reduced their wives and their children to bondage; and, under the name of the 'government of Greece,' committed unheard-of excesses.

For many years considerable forces, both military and naval, were sent against them, but our land troops, discouraged by want of pay, did not display the requisite ardour; our fleet also did not succeed, on account of the ancient disorganization of the arsenal. The matter being spun out, other Europeans, as well as the Russians, animated by ambition, furnished secretly every kind of assistance to the rebels, either by promises or by deeds, and thus became the chief cause of the prolongation of our troubles. At last, led away by the subtlety and insinuations of Russia, England and France united themselves to her, and, under the pretext that their commerce suffered by the long continuance of those troubles, they prevailed on the Greeks, by every kind of artifice, entirely to renounce their duties as (*rayahs*) tributaries." France and England being thus made the dupes of the sinister policy of Russia, the manifesto professed to show how they had become her instruments. It reported—"About a year ago, the three powers simultaneously demanded the liberty of Greece, by the means of their ambassadors, officially and openly, as quite a simple concession. The Sublime Porte could not subscribe to this, neither according to law, nor according to reason, nor according to policy, nor according to religion. The Mussulman nation was indignant at it, and it is quite impossible (*de toute impossibilité*) that it should ever be consented to. The Ottoman government endeavoured to prevail on them to renounce their prejudices, by every sort of arguments and answers, but its language produced no effect. Proud of their power, they obstinately and rigorously persisted to press their demands; and they finished by sending fleets into the Mediterranean—they openly hindered the Egyptian and Ottoman squadrons, destined for that purpose, from attacking the islands. These two squadrons having entered the port of Navarin, were there tranquilly waiting the orders of the Sublime Porte, when the Russian, English, and French fleets suddenly entered the same harbour, and all three began to fire at once. Every one knows the catastrophe which resulted to the imperial squadron."

The manifesto then supplied a relation of the events which had occurred subsequent to the battle. There is something very startling in this portion of the document, from the frankness with which it

avows its framers had departed from good faith, in the negotiations which had been opened. Like the envoys of the Burmese monarch, or those of the Amciers of Scinde, it would seem, that they thought it by no means discreditable to impose false representations on infidels. They told the world—"The three powers having openly violated subsisting treaties, and declared war, the Sublime Porte had a just right to retaliate, and to act otherwise than it had done towards the ambassadors, the subjects, and the vessels, which were in this place. But the ministers of those three powers having endeavoured to justify them by declaring that it was the commanders of the imperial (Turkish) fleet who had been the cause of the battle, the Sublime Porte, *considering the circumstances, remained still silent, and, by a last effort of policy, invited the three ambassadors to abandon altogether the affairs of Greece.* Deaf to the voice of justice, those infidels did not cease to require that their demand respecting the independence of Greece should be admitted such as it had been made. It may even be said that their solicitations became more pressing. In a word, the hostile intentions of the Franks against Islamism became evident. *Nevertheless, for the purpose of gaining time, at least till summer, every possible show of moderation was used in the conferences and conversations which took place some weeks ago.* It was repeatedly declared to the ambassadors, that as soon as the Greeks would sue for pardon, their faults would be wholly forgotten; that their goods, their persons, their estates, would be restored; that they would enjoy perfect tranquillity; that they should be relieved from the payment of the capitulation and other tributes which they owe since the beginning of the insurrection; that besides, in order to gratify the three powers, they would be exempt from all tribute for the space of one year; and that all the privileges which the condition of rayahs allowed would be granted them; but nothing beyond that limit. In the course of the conferences, the Sublime Porte earnestly requested the ambassadors to transmit to their respective courts those friendly declarations and sincere explanations, promising that the armistice which they had demanded would be observed until the answer should be received. This invitation only served to increase their pride and their pretensions. Finally, they declared that

they would consent to nothing so long as the privileges which they claimed should not be granted to the Greeks inhabiting ancient Greece, that is to say, the Morea, Attica, and the isles of the Archipelago, and they announced that they would depart all three together." The manifesto concluded, reminding the faithful of the mighty triumphs they had gained in other days over infidels, and exhorting them now to unite in the cause of their holy religion.

The objections urged to the appointment of a military premier, had been met by a statement that the duke of Wellington would resign his office of commander-in-chief. On the day on which Mr. Hobhouse's motion was brought on, this was carried into effect, and the subjoined official document appeared, naming lord Hill as the duke's successor.

"General Order.—Horse-Guards.

"Feb. 15, 1828.

"The king has been most graciously pleased to direct that general lord Hill shall be placed on the staff of his majesty's army, and that all matters respecting his majesty's military service, which have heretofore been transacted by the commander-in-chief, shall henceforth pass through the hands of general lord Hill, G.C.B.

"The king's service having imposed upon field-marshal the duke of Wellington the necessity of resigning the office of commander-in-chief, the field-marshal is happy to deliver over the command to a general officer who has so frequently promoted the honour of the army by his own conduct and example; who is so well known to the officers and troops, and so well acquainted with their services and merits.

"By order of his grace,

"The commander-in-chief,

"HENRY TORRENS, Adjutant-general."

An inquiry into the state of the revenue and expenditure of the country had been recommended to parliament in the king's speech. On the 16th of February, Mr. Peel called attention to the royal intimation, and moved for the "appointment of a select committee to inquire into the state of the public income and expenditure of the United Kingdom, and to consider and report to the house what *further regulations and checks* it may be proper, in their opinion, to adopt, *for establishing an effectual control upon all charges incurred in the receipt,*

and application of the public money, and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the public expenditure without detriment to the public service." It was understood that the committee thus called for would take a wider range of inquiry than had been entered upon by any preceding finance committee, as it was to re-model the whole system of stating and keeping the public accounts; and, removing all obscurity and confusion, institute a more clear and intelligible mode than had previously existed. Mr. Peel said he proposed the committee—not to deceive or to delude the people—not to increase the taxation of the country—but because he believed that he was fairly and honestly discharging his duty, and thought that the country at large would derive important benefit from its labours.

At the close of an animated speech, he spoke in the following terms of the duke—his anxiety to effect reforms in the public establishments—and, generally, the view which he took of the prospects of the country:—"I believe that the noble individual at present at the head of the highest department in the country, has both the disposition and the power to exercise a greater and more efficient control over all the subordinate establishments than any other person in the country. I wish to avoid introducing anything like a political and party feeling into the consideration of a matter of this importance. I only mention the name of that noble person upon this occasion, because I consider him more capable than any other individual of efficiently executing that necessary control so indispensable to the well-being of the country. I say this, because, in the various civil offices he has filled, there can be no one who has not seen, both in the ordnance and other departments heretofore under his direction, the most anxious desire on his part to introduce every retrenchment and every degree of economy compatible with the interests of the country. I am sure that that noble individual sees no cause to despond, although he has the desire to look fairly into the financial state of the country, and has the warmest wish that every possible reduction should be made. I know that these are his wishes, but only under the strict and imperative obligation of maintaining to the letter, and to its utmost point, the national faith with the public creditor, which he is fully assured

means are to be found for in the resources of the country, and upon which account he feels that there is not the slightest cause for the least despondency. And I say this, because I believe so too, and am far from believing otherwise; that, on the contrary, I come forward to make this unreserved declaration of the fact, without any apprehension of the possibility of contradiction. I believe if it were necessary at this moment to appeal to the resources, and rouse the dormant energies of the country, in that way in which they can always be roused, either to vindicate the national honour or to maintain her essential interests, that there never was a time when she could put forth mightier exertions, founded on the unimpaired resources of her financial interests, and the matchless energy for which these countries have ever been distinguished."

The appointment of the finance committee was generally regarded with satisfaction, and several unobtrusive measures of reform were brought forward by ministers, or with their cordial approbation. Among these may be mentioned a bill for amending the laws with respect to lunatic asylums. Mr. Gordon, who introduced it, showed that the word of an apothecary—a seller of drugs—a young man who was but yesterday a chemist's apprentice, might send a party labouring under temporary delirium from a fever, to confinement in a madhouse. As the organ of a committee to which the subject had been referred, Mr. Gordon said he would suppose the case of a single lunatic; he would put an extreme case—that of a pauper belonging to a parish twenty miles from London, near enough to be brought up to one of the asylums in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; but yet so distant, that the overseers of his parish could exercise no beneficial control in respect of him—he would suppose him placed at the establishment, where, it was well known, more than half the pauper-lunatics of the metropolis and its vicinity were confined; he would be there placed without the slightest advantage of any curative process—he was borne out by the authority of the evidence and the returns, in saying, that no curative process was had recourse to at that establishment—that no measures were taken for the removal of the mental malady, nor any for the alleviation of bodily ailments; in fact, there was nothing whatever that deserved to be called medical

attendance. There was a gentleman who came there for about two hours every other day—he had a hospital, and a fair share of private practice to attend to; and even if he gave more than the two hours—even if he gave his entire spare time—it would be insufficient for the purpose in question. Of the four hundred confined in that asylum, there were not above eighty at any one time under medical attendance. Insanity was a disorder, and required medical treatment—at least it required some moral treatment; but there was no attempt at classification—there was no medical attendant—there was nothing but safe custody.

The abuses which had grown up in an establishment which benevolence had originated for the comfort of the helpless were awful to contemplate, and will excite surprise in the reader that they could have existed at a period so recent. Mr. Gordon entreated the house to follow the case he had been describing to the place of confinement of the unhappy subject; he would find him in a crib-room, confined during the night in a box six feet long, chained both by arms and legs, without attendance or assistance the whole night. They would see, confined in one room, fifteen unhappy individuals, insensible to the calls of nature, wallowing in their own filth for the entire night. This was not the case at Bethlem Hospital or at St. Luke's. They had there separate cells. But as respected the house of which he then spoke, the picture he had given was perfectly accurate—such was their situation every night in the week. But what was their state on Sunday? They were left in that condition from Saturday to Monday, without relief or cleanliness of any description; and on Monday morning, let the weather be what it might, they were taken into an open yard, and mopped with cold water—in most instances their bodies covered with sores. There was, it was said, in this establishment, an infirmary for those labouring under bodily ailments; but, strange to say, the medical attendant had never seen it; and those who had seen it, spoke of it as a scene of such horror that he would not shock the house by attempting to describe it; yet he was far from saying that this establishment was the worst that could be met with; it was, on the contrary, a fair sample of the class. Nothing could have been fairer than the mode in which the investigation was carried on into its practices and condition. The proprietor had a full

opportunity of producing witnesses, as it were, for his defence, while all the evidence given against him was presented to his view. Before the committee, they had had the testimony of the assistant of the medical man who attended. He was asked how he could describe himself as giving an efficient assistance, when he only called occasionally. "Oh, but," said he, "we have a perfect register—a pattern for medical example—a large folio volume kept for the last six or seven years, in which we can regularly trace every patient's case, and every prescription." Would the house believe that in this statement there was not one word of truth. The committee sent for the folio volume, and found that no such book was kept. The medical gentleman was called, and knew nothing of it. His assistant, on being again brought before the committee, was asked, "Are we to understand that all you have said to us is correct?"—"Yes, very probably." "Is the story of the book?"—"No." "Which are we to believe—what you have to-day told us, or your previous statement?"—"Take your choice." He then admitted that it was all false. The committee severely reprimanded this person; but as the reprimand was not inserted in the printed minutes, he feared the conduct of the individual had not received the public reprobation which it deserved. It was said that the person was removed from the establishment; but the reverse proved to be the fact; for upon a recent inquest upon a patient, this same person was still found in attendance. It was stated by some of the witnesses, upon their examination, that sago, arrow-root, and other nutritive and salutary diets, had been obtained for the unfortunate patients; but, when that came to be more particularly inquired into, and the parties asked for the bills, it appeared that no bills on the purchase of these articles had ever been given; they had always, forsooth, been purchased for ready-money. Now, he confessed that he gave the same credit to this latter statement that he did to the long history of the folio registry-book. He believed the whole false, or, at least, that it was not true to the extent stated. Having made these observations upon the state and condition of a pauper lunatic, he would ask the house how, in the event of such patient's recovery, he was to obtain re-admission into society, if any person were interested in the continuance of his confinement? He knew of no process except by *habeas corpus*. He

would call the attention of the house to the case of Mrs. Pettingal. It appeared upon the report of Dr. Bright that, in the year 1825, she was still in confinement, though perfectly recovered; and that down to 1827 she remained a prisoner. Her husband was applied to, but he replied that she was a troublesome woman, and that he had no desire to see her at large: and it was not until within a few days of the meeting of parliament that she obtained her freedom; and then it was in consequence of his (Mr. Gordon's) having himself undertaken to supply the funds for issuing a writ of *habeas corpus*.

It would thus appear that a brutal husband, in the then state of the law, might keep an afflicted wife in prison, and in a most deplorable state, for an indefinite period. The bill was met with the warmest approbation by Mr. Secretary Peel, and great advantages resulted from its introduction. It, however, seemed but little to interest the public, and the government enjoyed but moderate popularity. Several of its members were charged with apostasy, for joining the premier; and Mr. Huskisson continued to be assailed, as having proved faithless to the principles he had formerly avowed, by consenting to act with those who were the opponents of Mr. Canning. The explanations he had given did not prevent the frequent renewal of the accusation, which was countenanced by some who were nearly related to the deceased minister. On the 26th of February, the marquis of Clanricard repeated a statement which he had formerly made, to the effect that Mr. Huskisson had acted inconsistently, in joining the present administration. He had a letter from lady Canning, in which she distinctly stated that his doing so was at variance with a declaration he had made to her. The noble marquis said—"It has been asserted that the declaration of the right honourable gentleman, could not have reached the public eye but by a base and scandalous violation of good faith; but I contend that there was nothing in the manner in which I obtained a knowledge of it, and nothing in my reference to it in this house, that deserves that term. The right honourable gentleman did not make the communication confidentially; moreover, it must have been made to other persons; for several weeks ago it appeared in a daily journal—one of those possessing the widest circulation. It could not have been given

by my friends to that journal, for it was not known to them until after it had been so published. Another objection to my statement has been raised, namely, that I have brought them forward in a place where the right honourable secretary cannot be present to deny or defend himself. But where am I to comment upon speeches—I do not mean a speech made in a place to which it would be irregular to refer, but a speech made at a public meeting—where, I ask, am I to comment upon such a speech, if not in this house? It is a matter of very great pain to me, to find myself placed in a position of hostility to the right honourable the secretary of state for the colonies; but I felt it to be a duty imperative on me not to suffer the statements or representations said to have been made by that right honourable gentleman at Liverpool to remain uncontradicted. Having thus far explained my motives, and proved the correctness of my statement, I shall not further trespass on your lordships' attention than to declare, that although the lapse of time has not obliterated in my mind the feelings of sorrow which the loss of my distinguished and lamented relative so naturally produced, yet, so far am I from allowing those feelings to influence me in my parliamentary course, that I sincerely hope the measures which may be brought forward by the present administration may be such as I can conscientiously support. But when I observe the hostility even yet displayed by some, and the oblivion attempted by others to be cast upon that individual, whose principles and whose government were calculated to insure the safety and prosperity of the country, I own I cannot make up my mind to give to the present administration, who were the opponents of both, my perfect confidence."

Lord Seaford, who had been mixed up with the affair, as being able to confirm the representation made of Mr. Huskisson's conduct, denied the correctness of what had been imputed to him, and considered Mr. Huskisson and his friends, as public men, were bound to consider their public duties paramount to private feelings, when an offer to retain their places was made to them by the noble duke who was empowered to form an administration. He approved, then, their consideration of their public duties; and if the explanations received by his noble friend at the head of the foreign office, and his right honourable friend the colonial secretary, were such as that, on forming

part of the noble duke's administration, they could not be called on to abandon the principles on which they acted under Mr. Canning's government, then, he said, that he thought it was their public duty not to withhold their services from the noble duke; and that their private duty also, as friends to the memory of Mr. Canning, ought to dictate the same course to them, after the noble duke's offer to them of retaining them in their important and influential offices, connected with the foreign policy, with the colonies, and the government of Ireland, without requiring of them a compromise of their principles. That offer of the noble duke he conceived to be such a decided tribute of honour to the memory of his late right honourable friend, that, he maintained, they acted most correctly in not objecting to join the noble duke's administration.

It is unnecessary here to give in detail the further explanations which were offered on this subject, with the exception of the brief speech which the duke made on the occasion, with a view, as it will be seen, of putting an end to them, and of distinctly denying the charge of personal hostility to Mr. Canning which had been repeatedly urged. His grace said—"I rise, not to address your lordships with a view to continue these discussions, which, in my opinion, are unnecessary—entirely unnecessary; and which, in propriety and good feeling, I think, ought to have been let alone: nor, my lords, do I rise in order to make a profession of the principles on which I intend to conduct the government, as those principles will be more clearly seen in the acts of the government, and will prove to be such as, I trust, shall deserve your lordships' approbation; but I rise to defend myself against the imputation that I ever entertained a feeling of personal hostility against the government of Mr. Canning. On a former occasion, I stated to your lordships the reasons why I could not remain in an administration conducted under the superintendence of that right honourable gentleman. Now, my lords, either in those reasons, or in the written communications that passed between me and that right honourable gentleman, and which, unfortunately, were published at the time—either in those reasons, or those communications, I defy any person to show me the sign, on my part, of a feeling of personal hostility against Mr. Canning. It is true, that at the same time

that I thought it necessary to withdraw myself from the cabinet, on account of the assumption of the chief place in the government by that right honourable gentleman, I also retired from the military office I held under the government; but, as I said at the time, I did not retire from either office through a personal feeling of opposition to Mr. Canning, and if ever I met him afterwards, it should be with the feelings and habits of friendship. Nor did I entertain even any political hostility against Mr. Canning. True, in relation to a measure brought before your lordships in the time of that right honourable gentleman's administration, I proposed that a certain clause should be introduced into the bill—a proposal which

induced the government to abandon the bill altogether; but I call upon your lordships to bear witness for me, whether I did not then ask the government to take my clause into their own hands, or adopt some measure similar to it? Then, my lords, I repeat, that I had no personal hostility, nor political hostility, against the government of Mr. Canning; and I, therefore, claim a right not to be considered among the number alluded to by the noble lord opposite, of the enemies of Mr. Canning. In conclusion, I have only to express a hope that, for the sake of the public business, and of the character of public men, we may have no more discussions on this unfortunate subject."

CHAPTER VIII.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL INTRODUCES A BILL TO REPEAL THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS; IT IS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; THE EARL OF ELDON OPPOSES IT IN THE LORDS; IT IS DEFENDED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE BILL PASSES INTO A LAW; INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE POLICE; MOTION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CORN-LAWS.

ON the 26th of February, a motion was made by lord John Russell, which had for its object the repeal of the test and corporation laws. It was not to appease disaffection, his lordship stated, that he called for the change which he thought desirable, as none could deny that the conduct of the dissenters had been most exemplary; but, he urged, the laws he would repeal were no longer necessary, and the lapse of years had rendered minds favourable to a motion like the present, which were once strongly opposed to giving up the test and corporation acts. Mr. Pitt even, a few years after he had successfully resisted Mr. Fox's motion on the subject, had been heard to declare he hoped he should live to see those acts repealed. He expressed himself anxious to unite men of every religion against those who proved themselves the enemies of all religion. In calling for the repeal of these laws, he would at once declare, he should not propose to offer any test of a modified character in their places. His lordship gave their origin in the following terms:—"It is perfectly well known to every one who has studied the history of those times, that

after the reformation, every struggle which was entered into was not purely religious, but a combination of religion and politics. For instance, in that great contest which took place in the Netherlands, Philip II. acted with the mixed view of maintaining his rights as a sovereign and establishing the catholic religion, by which he thought it most likely his power would be upheld. James I. also acted in the same way in giving all his countenance to the church of England, the principles of which he deemed most conducive to the maintenance of his authority. That produced those struggles with the puritans, in regard to whom Mr. Hume observes, that it was owing to them that we are indebted for all that we now possess of religious liberty. The presbyterians and the independents were the persons who carried on the war against Charles I., and when his son was restored, one of his first steps was to restrain those who had contributed to the dethronement and death of his father. With this view the corporation act was introduced. The preamble of that act recited, that as the power of corporations ought not to fall into

the hands of persons hostile to his majesty's government, and that it was well known there still were many of those evil spirits in existence, therefore, in order to counteract the workings of such evil spirits was the bill passed. It empowered the king to appoint commissioners for the regulation of corporations, who were to remove all dangerous persons, and obliged every one taking office in corporations to renounce the solemn league and covenant, and also the legality of, in any case, taking arms against the government. During the discussion of this bill there was a difference of opinion between the lords and commons, the lords wishing that the crown should have the power of keeping the corporations always under its control, but the commons succeeded in preventing that, adopting, as a kind of set-off, a clause, that persons taking office should receive the sacrament according to the forms of the church of England. It seems remarkable that Hume thought this of so little importance, that although he gave a long abstract of the provisions of the act, he never thought it worth his while to allude to the last clause I have mentioned. So far from there being at that time any wish to shut out the dissenters, there were then actually fifty presbyterian members in the house of commons. If the dissenters afterwards left the pale of the church, they of course incurred the penalties which the law had provided for such a departure from the established religion. I merely mention these circumstances to show that the act in question had the effect of excluding presbyterians, though assuredly, such was not its original intention. Such then, sir, was the corporation act. The test act, the next statute which I shall propose to refer to a committee, was to prevent the dangers which at the time of its passing were apprehended from popish recusants. That statute, as its preamble states, was passed for the purpose of quieting the minds of all good subjects of his majesty. In no point of view can that act be regarded as having reference to protestant dissenters; for while it was under deliberation, several well-known dissenters were in the full enjoyment of all the rights which could appertain to a British subject. The corporation act was passed most unquestionably for the purpose of excluding dissenters from any such station in the country as might confer on them influence which could be turned to account, either in disturbing the dynasty

then seated on the throne, to which, certainly, they were well affected, or in altering the constitution of the country as then established. The aim of the test act was to keep catholics from offices of trust and profit, precisely for the same reason, lest they should disturb existing institutions; not that the legislature feared they would take the same steps for that purpose as the dissenters; but though the mode of proceeding likely to be adopted by each party might be different, yet as the same result was apprehended from both, namely, a change in the existing government, the measures directed against either were severe and coercive, though dissimilar in other respects. As the objects were different, so were the enactments most unlike; and it is to the distinction between those to which I should desire to call the attention of the house. We have always heard much of the wisdom of our ancestors; and though I am perfectly free to admit that, on many occasions, they evinced the highest degree of wisdom, yet they, too, had their follies. Their impression, upon which they acted most decidedly, was, that if the protestant dissenters, by means of their influence throughout the country, were eligible to corporate offices, they might acquire much power in the state, which could not fail ultimately to endanger the security of any government which their principles and their interests might induce them to oppose. There was little danger, as must be well known to all acquainted with the history of that period, that the catholics should gain admission into the corporations: no; the danger then was from the dissenters, and accordingly it was the object of the legislature to exclude them. The policy of that period was, to exclude catholics from court offices, and, as I have already stated, dissenters from corporate offices; for the one had influence with the people, and the others were favourites with the king. The test act was introduced to render ineligible those whom the king should appoint; the corporation act to render ineligible those whom his subjects should choose."

Mr. Canning had been unfavourable to the repeal of the test and corporation laws, and had declared, after he became prime minister, that he would oppose it to the end of his life. By the duke of Wellington's government the motion of lord John Russell was opposed; in the house of commons, Mr. Huskisson was of opinion that the pro-

posed repeal, if carried at this time, would tend to retard the advance of another great question—catholic emancipation. Should that measure receive the sanction of parliament, it could not be supposed that no security would be required; and therefore it might be as well to retain the existing test as to provide a new one.—Mr. Peel, with all possible respect for the dissenting body, was unfavourable to the motion before the house, as the statutes in question, if deemed objectionable in principle, were practicably harmless. The case of Scuthers, as affected by these laws, had been stated to be one of great hardship. To show their practical working, he said—"I look at the cabinet, and I am much mistaken if, out of fourteen members, there are not three good presbyterians, sustaining all the horrid penalties of that painful station. As some honourable gentlemen seem to question this statement, I need only mention the names of lord Melville, lord Aberdeen, and the right honourable the president of the board of trade. I do not state this, sir, as against that country—for I state, sincerely, that there is not one of the sons of that happy and favoured country—happy and favoured by their own exertions and integrity—I say, sir, that she has not a native son more anxious to promote her prosperity or advance her happiness than the humble individual who now addresses you. The noble lord had spoken of the higher offices as objects of ambition with the middling orders, just as elevation to the peerage is to the higher. I entirely concur with him in that sentiment; and I should be the last man in existence to debar any class in the British community from the attainment of the highest honours in the state. With respect to municipal honours, so far as I am aware, the protestant dissenter is not practically excluded. [Several members here intimated that he was practically excluded.] The admission to corporations, for the most part, frequently depends upon those in whose hands the power of the corporation is vested; and obstructions may in some instances occur: but I own, the impression which I have had is, that the law in its operation was one of general favour. For instance, dissenters were admitted into the corporation of London."—Mr. Alderman Waithman intimated, across the table, that they were not.—Mr. Sheriff Spottiswoode took his seat near Mr. Peel, and after a short communication with him, Mr. Peel resumed—"I have

just learned from my honourable friend the sheriff of London, that the last lord mayor (Mr. Browne) was a protestant dissenter. It will not be denied, therefore, that admission to the corporation has been obtained by protestant dissenters; and whatever the strict law may enjoin, the exclusion does not operate generally as a practical inconvenience. Then, sir, what are the advantages enjoyed under the present system? I believe that there has been for forty years past as little religious differences as ever there were in any nation, or under any circumstances. An honourable alderman stated yesterday, that thirty-nine years ago, there were only seven persons in favour of the repeal of these acts, but that now there were not more than two against the repeal. That is a strong proof that these laws do not create discord between fellow-citizens; and I must say, that I should be sorry to purchase a nominal advantage in the repeal of these laws, at the risk of disturbing that harmony which at present subsists between the church and the dissenters." The motion of lord John Russell was carried. On a division, the numbers were—two hundred and thirty-seven to one hundred and ninety-three: majority, forty-four. On the next day but one, lord John Russell moved in the committee, that so much of the acts of the 25th of Charles II., and of the act of the 16th of George II., and another of the 16th of George II., as related to the enactment of general disqualifications, should be repealed. This resolution was carried, and a bill founded on it was immediately introduced, which soon passed the house of commons.

Circumstances now concurred in making it probable that the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel would shortly cease to be the opponents of catholic emancipation; and the success of the bill for repealing the test and corporation acts in the house of commons, filled many of the staunch friends of the church with confusion and dismay. It soon got abroad that the hopes which at first were entertained of the failure of lord John Russell's bill in the lords, must be abandoned, and that ministers were exerting themselves to favour the passage of the bill in the upper house. When it was on the eve of its reaching its last stage in the commons, the earl of Eldon, looking forward to its being brought to the upper house, expressed himself with much grief and bitterness on the impending result. His lord-

ship, in a letter, thus delivered himself:—"We who oppose shall be in but a wretched minority, though the individuals who compose it will, as to several, I think, be of the most respectable class of peers; but the administration have—to their shame be it said—got the archbishops and most of the bishops to support this revolutionary bill. I voted as long ago as in the years, I think, 1787, 1789, 1790, against a similar measure, lord North and Pitt opposing it as destructive of the church establishment—Dr. Priestly, a dissenting minister, then asserting, that he had laid a train of gunpowder under the church, which would blow it up; and Dr. Price, another dissenting minister, blessing God that he could depart in peace, as the revolution in France would lead here to the destruction of all union between church and state. The young men and lads in the house of commons are too young to remember these things. From 1790 to 1827, many and various have been the attempts to relieve the catholics; but through those thirty-seven years, nobody has thought, and evinced that thought, of proposing such a bill as this in parliament, as necessary or fit between the church and the dissenters. Canning, last year, declared that he would oppose it altogether."

When the measure was ripe for debate in the house of peers, his lordship thus further expressed to a correspondent his vexation and despondency:—"We who oppose shall fight respectably and honourably; but victory cannot be ours. All the whig lords will be against us: as government began in the commons by opposition, and then ran away like a parcel of cowards, I suppose government also will be against us; but what is most calamitous of all is, that the archbishops and several bishops are also against us. What they can mean they best know, for nobody else can tell; and sooner or later—perhaps this very year—almost certainly in the next—the concessions to the dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman catholics."

Such a proceeding, his lordship supposed, however erroneously at that moment, to be in the contemplation of ministers; for he added—"That seems unavoidable; though at present the policy is to conceal this additional purpose."

Lord Eldon's views of the prospects of the party of which he and the duke of Wellington had long been such conspicuous members, was now very desponding. In a

letter, dated April 12th, he says—"We, as we think ourselves sincere friends of the church of England, mean to fight as well as we can, on Thursday next, against this most shameful bill in favour of the dissenters, which has been sent up to us from the commons—a bill, which Peel's declaration in the house, as to the probability of its passing in the lords, has made it impossible to resist with effect. As the bill is constructed, it operates not merely for protestant dissenters, but, unless the language of it can be materially altered in the lords' house, it appears to me to be equally favourable to Roman catholics, deists, infidels, Turks, atheists. How the bishops can have overlooked its extensive and deplorable effects, is to me the most strange thing possible. If the lords won't at least alter it, which I don't believe they will, I don't see how, if the commons act consistently with themselves, sir Francis Burdett can fail in his motion on the 29th, in favour of the Roman catholics. The state of minds and feelings in the tory part and aristocratic part of the friends of Liverpool's administration, is at present excessively feverish, and they support ministers, because they know not where to look for others. It is obvious that the ministers who were Canning's followers, (to use a vulgar phrase), rule the roast, or at least, have too much influence."

The second reading of the bill was moved by lord Holland, on the 17th of April. In the course of a long introductory speech, he furnished their lordships with a very remarkable exposition of the state of things at the time the corporation act was passed. That act, he argued, could not have been intended to exclude protestant dissenters from corporations; and he proceeded—"Here I must mention a fact, which will not redound to the credit of a man, who is entitled, nevertheless, to be treated with all respect as a patriot—I mean lord Southampton—who, at the period of which I speak, took an active part in the discussion—as active as lord Clarendon himself. The fact to which I allude is attested by the historian Clarke, and it is supported also by several publications of the last half century:—The duke of Ormond, while residing abroad with Charles II., discovered, to his great regret and consternation, that Charles was a decided Roman catholic; and his opinion was subsequently confirmed by the individual who afterwards became lord Arlington,

and by lord Bristol; but the duke of Ormond kept it secret, even from his dearest friend, lord Clarendon, and never divulged it until he came to England. It was found that the king had determined, from some secret motive, to contract a marriage with the infanta of Portugal, and it was then that the duke of Ormond disclosed the fact. The question now arose—what was to be done?—and it was thought, upon good grounds, that to make it known might renew the troubles from which the kingdom had so recently escaped; if the prospects of the king were not ruined by it, at least his conduct would be viewed with dangerous odium and suspicion; and connected as he was with France and other courts of Europe, the result might be perilous to the liberties of the country. What was to be done in this emergency? They settled that a bill should be brought in, making it *præmunire* and forfeiture of goods for any man to say that the king was a papist. No doubt the peers who were implicated in this transaction, in general, were very wise and good men; and when noble lords (as they are prone to do sometimes) talk of the wisdom and virtue of our ancestors, it may not be very pleasant, though very necessary, to bring these little peccadilloes to light. The duke of Ormond, lord Southampton, and others, well knew, as a matter of fact, that the king was a papist, and yet they procured a law to be passed, inflicting a confiscation of property and a deprivation of all the rights of citizenship upon every man who should declare what they were satisfied was mere truth: every man who did what the duke of Ormond had done, was to be visited with these tremendous consequences. I am willing to think that these great and good men, especially lord Southampton, were also anxious, by this bill, to do something for the country; and, perhaps, the particular test to which I have been referring was introduced into the corporation act for the purpose of preventing Roman catholics from being members of the corporations."

The archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham spoke in favour of the bills, but lord Eldon was anything but convinced by their arguments—anything but reconciled to the duke of Wellington and his colleagues, who, having first opposed, now gave the measure their support. He condemned it as a sacrifice of the substantial securities of the church to the principle of supposed expe-

diency. With bitter significance he declared, to him it was most grievous, and occasioned much pain, having witnessed what labour had been used by some persons in insisting on the principle that the established church was inseparable from the state—that it formed part of the constitution—and that nobody could destroy the connection between the church and state without destroying the constitution. The Roman catholics were in the habit of saying, that they were unjustly deprived of the benefits of the constitution. Now, if they would say that their object was to secure the benefits of the constitution, and not to alter the constitution, he would come to issue with them at once on that point. It gave him particular satisfaction to think, that in opposing the repeal of the test acts, he was supporting the original intention of their enactment. Their lordships had learned, that though this measure was at first manfully opposed in the other house, yet those who opposed it ultimately acquiesced in it. To be sure, there was a strong majority in its favour; but then, though there may be some elsewhere who thought it consistent with their own interests to give up the interests of the state, and that against their own opinions and in compliance with the opinions of a majority, that was no reason why he (lord Eldon) or their lordships should yield up their opinion to the majority of the other house of parliament; on the contrary, he felt it to be his duty, as it was that of any other peer, to act on his own conscientious conviction, aye, even though he had a majority of their lordships' house against him. He had heard much of the march of mind and the progress of information, and of persons changing opinions which they had held for years before; but he did not think it possible the march of mind could have been so speedy as to induce some of the changes of opinions which he had witnessed in some noble lords within the last year—least of all did he expect that such a bill as that proposed should be ever received into their lordships' house, even under the idea of making amendments on it. The bill was said to stand on the principle set forth in its preamble. But what was that principle? Why, that it was expedient—*expedient!*—a word used by men when they had nothing else to say; for it would be more consistent with the dignity of the house to bring in a bill at once for the unqualified repeal of the test laws, than this bill, every clause of

which militated against the constitution: but what was it expedient to do? To repeal the sacramental test. Now, if it could be shown to him that the intended substitute for that test was a sufficient defence for the church, it would be all right, and he would require nothing more; but while he was on this part of the subject, he must say that he had never heard more misrepresentations on any subject than on the sacramental test. But to go on to the other clauses of the bill. What was the substitute for the sacramental test? A simple declaration. Instead of making the taker of office describe himself as belonging to some sort of religion—whether a unitarian or catholic, or a free-thinker, it did not require him even to say—he had only to answer that he was of the Christian faith; neither did it call on him to observe the declaration by such phrases as “I am a Christian,” or “as I stand in the presence of my God.” The confidence to be reposed in the proposed declaration did not rest upon the faith of the Christian, or on the confirmation of any faith whatever. Their lordships should take good care that they did not disunite those whom the constitution had joined together; and if they did anything towards disjoining them, they should be equally careful to use some sort of cement, and enable the church and state establishments to protect each other, by mutual service and support. The ground of expediency set forth in the preamble to that bill, he could not help thinking afforded a low principle on which to legislate. He objected to the repeal of laws hitherto preserved with so much anxiety and care as the corporation and test acts. He would venture to say, if noble lords would take the trouble to read the petitions presented to parliament on the subject of the corporation and test acts, they would hardly find a single sentence in one of them which their lordships would be willing to affirm, in the preamble of an act of parliament like the present. The tendency of those petitions evinced hostility towards the established church, at the same time that they denounced all religious tests as evil and pernicious. On referring to one of them, he found it affirmed that the church of England had its foundation in Rome—that it derived the sources of its origin from heathenism and popery—and that it wielded the sword of persecution; together with other statements of a similar nature.—The marquís of Lansdowne said, the petition referred to by

the noble and learned lord had been presented, not to their lordships, but to the house of commons.—The earl of Eldon, in continuation, said, the noble marquís was probably correct in his statement; but as the petition in question had been not merely laid on the table of the other house, but printed, he considered it competent for him to advert to it. The corporation act was originally directed against the sectaries—the test act against the papists. The test act had never been intended to operate against the dissenters; yet it did happen that both acts operated against them. In the reign of Charles II. an act was passed, enlarging the time for the taking of the sacramental test; but all these acts of relief and mitigation were confirmatory of the object and the principle of the system.

The duke of Wellington followed lord Eldon. His grace said—“I did not wish to trouble your lordships with my opinions on the present measure in this stage of the proceedings, and it is probable I might have reserved what I intended to offer for a future opportunity, had it not been for the statements of the noble and learned lord who has just sat down, relative to the line of conduct originally adopted by government, when the present bill was brought forward in the other house of parliament. It is certainly true, as the noble and learned lord has stated, that my right honourable friends in that house did oppose the bill when it was first introduced to their notice. The principle on which they opposed the measure was, that although they did not approve entirely of the existing law on the subject in question, yet they had found it to conduce so much to the advantage of church and state for many years, without impairing the religious peace of the country—a peace which I may venture to say has been enjoyed by this country in a greater degree than by any other, similarly circumstanced, with which we are acquainted—that they conceived we might risk the loss of our present advantages if that system under which those advantages had been attained and preserved should be inconsiderately abrogated. That principle it was on which they opposed the bill in the first instance. Afterwards, however, on finding that a large majority of the house of commons agreed to the bill, and that many who opposed it, opposed it on grounds not applicable to the measure now before your lordships, my right honourable friends adopted it, introducing

an amendment which, in their opinion, afforded ample security to the church, at the same time that the bill itself, as modified, appeared to them to be calculated—far from impairing—to improve and continue the religious peace which this country has so long enjoyed. On that principle it was, my lords, that the bill, which had been originally opposed by my right honourable friends connected with government in the other house, afterwards received their concurrence and support. I fully agree with my noble friend that the security of the church of England, and the union existing between it and the state, depend neither on the law about to be repealed by the present bill, nor upon the provisions of this measure itself. That union and security, which we must all desire to see continued, depend upon the oath taken by his majesty, to which we are all, in our respective stations, parties, and not only on that oath, but on the act of settlement, and the different acts of union from time to time agreed to; all of which provide for the intimate and inseparable union of church and state, and for the security of both. The question is, what security does the existing system of laws, as they now stand, afford the church establishment? My lords, I am very dubious as to the amount of security afforded through the means of a system of exclusion from office, to be carried into effect by a law which it is necessary to suspend by an annual act, that admits every man into office whom it was the intention of the original framers of that law to exclude. It is perfectly true, it was not the intention of those who brought in that suspension law originally, that dissenters from the church of England should be permitted to enter into corporations under its provisions. The law was intended to relieve those whom time or circumstances had rendered unable to qualify themselves according to the system government devised. It has also been said that the dissenters availed themselves of the relaxation of the law for the purpose of getting into corporations; and this the law allowed. What security then, I ask, my lords, is to be found in the existing system? So far from dissenters being excluded by the corporation and test acts, from all corporations—so far is this from being the fact—that it must be well known to some of your lordships, some corporations are absolutely and entirely in the possession of dissenters. Can you suppose, my lords, that the repeal

of laws so inoperative as these, can afford any serious obstacle to the perfect security of the church, and the permanent union of that establishment with the state? The fact is, that the existing laws have not only failed completely in answering their intended purpose, but are anomalous and absurd—anomalous in their origin, absurd in their operation. If a man were asked the question at his election to any corporate office, whether he had received the sacrament of the church of England, and if he said 'No,' then he lost every vote that had been tendered on his behalf, and there was an end of his election; but if, on the contrary, by accident or design he got in without the question relative to the sacrament being put to him, then the votes tendered for him were held good, and his election valid—so that no power could remove him from the office which he held. I ask the noble and learned lord, is there any security in that? My noble friend says, that the original intention of the framers of these acts was, that the sacrament should not be taken by dissenters; but the law requires that a man on entering into any corporation shall receive the sacrament, without regard to his religious belief. Thus, my lords, an individual whose object it is to get into a particular office, may feel disposed, naturally enough, to take the sacrament before his election, merely as a matter of form, and thus a sacred rite of our church is prostituted to a shameful and scandalous purpose. I confess, my lords, I should have opposed this bill if I thought it calculated to weaken the securities at present enjoyed by the church. I consider the opposition offered in the first instance by my right honourable friends in the other house of parliament, as arising out of a desire to preserve the religious peace of the country, at the same time that they secured the integrity of the establishment. My right honourable friends at first contemplated the existing system as having given religious peace to this country for forty years. I repeat, that during forty years that peace has never been disturbed, nor the question which is now before your lordships agitated. But, my lords, the subject of security and of religious peace was fully discussed in the other house, through which the bill now before your lordships was carried by a large majority, and it now comes before your lordships, and is opposed by a small minority here. Under those circumstances, I conceive that the present

measure comes before your lordships with no trifling recommendations. You have had petitions from many parishes in this kingdom, and from various societies of professing Christians, all tending to show that religious rancour and animosity alone can be generated by a perseverance in the present system, and that their contraries may be expected to arise out of a wise departure from it. Such are the sentiments contained in the petitions presented, not only to your lordships, but to the other house of parliament, and to these sentiments I think it is our duty to assent, taking the chance for religious peace which the majority of the house of commons consider as likely to arise, and to be continued, out of the present measure, conjoined with some degree of security (perhaps all the security necessary) offered to the church. I think it advisable to entertain the proposition submitted to you by the noble lord opposite. By agreeing to it, you will attain the advantages to which I have alluded; at the same time, that you will ensure a security fully equivalent to the security—if security I may call it—which your lordships are about to repeal, by agreeing to the bill now before you.”

At the close of this debate, the second reading of the bill was carried without a division. When it got into committee, its opponents renewed their efforts, and a series of amendments, proposing to enact declarations of faith in Christianity were proposed, but rejected. The struggle was continued through the subsequent stages of the measure. When the order of the day for the third reading had been carried, on the 29th of April, lord Holland moved as an amendment, that the words “on the true faith of a Christian,” a declaration which it embodied, should be omitted. This alteration, intended to favour the Jews, was objected to by the earl of Eldon. If the proposed alteration should take place, their lordships would in effect be reversing everything done at the time of the revolution, and sanctioning the principle that one religion was as good as another, in relation to qualification for civil office, and that the state had no right to require of any man entering office what his religious opinions were. If this were true toleration, he was glad to recollect that he had opposed the proposed bill in every step of its progress through the house; and he would continue to oppose it to the last. But after it should be finally sanctioned by a majority of their

lordships, he would then, and not till then, submit in silence. By this bill, their lordships reversed every constitutional principle that had been established in this country. The proposed declaration might be taken by a dissenter hostile to the church. In taking it, he would reason thus—“I will not, when in office, use any power I may possess in virtue of my office, to disturb the church establishment; but I hold myself free, as a conscientious dissenter, to do that in office which I would have done out of office.” This would be the effect of the declaration on the conduct of dissenters entering office. Now, he should propose that to the declaration should be added the words “and as I am a protestant;” if they were not adopted, all that had been done by former parliaments to protect the constitution would be subverted. The monarch was obliged to be a protestant, in order to support the protestant constitution. The king sat on that throne (pointing to the throne) because he was a protestant. Every act of parliament that treated of the subject, laid it down that the constitution should be protestant.

The lord chancellor put the question, that the words “on the true faith of a Christian” stand part of the bill.—The earl of Winchelsea said, the words “on the true faith of a Christian” could be taken by a person not a Christian, as a declaration containing the words, on the true faith of a Jew, might be taken by a person not a Jew. He should vote that the words, “on the true faith” be omitted, as he did not consider them any security for the church. He was willing to do something to relieve the dissenters, but not to a degree which would sanction the principle that it was a matter of indifference what religion might be professed by persons entering office. He was sure many of their lordships would hereafter regret that they did not oppose the present measure.—The bishop of Durham explained the considerations by which he had been influenced in giving his support to this bill. If he thought this were a final and conclusive measure, he should be much more satisfied with it; but his suspicions that it was not, were confirmed by reading the petitions on the table of their lordships, and by hearing the speeches of some of the noble lords who had supported it. A noble baron, in presenting a petition on this subject, had alluded to the bill being clogged with securities, and said, that he

hoped the dissenters would never desist until they had obtained full and ample liberty from such restrictions. Now, if there were any such intention in contemplation, he trusted that they should find security in his majesty's government. His confidence in his majesty's government induced him to believe they should.

The idea thrown out by the reverend prelate, that the repeal of the test and corporation acts was intended to be the stepping-stone to a greater change—the granting catholic emancipation—caused the duke of Wellington to rise, and assure the bishop, that if this were only an incipient measure—if other persons had the intention of bringing forward other measures of a similar nature, or on the same subject, he was no party to it; but had supported the measure only upon the same grounds with the right reverend prelate. He had not supported it because it had a tendency to destroy any particular system of laws, but he had supported it because it had a tendency to the preservation of religious peace, and because he felt convinced that they would not secure the same advantage by doing the same thing in a future year, as they would gain by doing it in the present session. Then, addressing himself to the question before the house, his grace said, it was argued, that in spite of the declaration “upon the faith of a Christian,” Jews might make their way into public offices, though it was confessedly not the intention of the supporters of the measure that they should. He allowed that it was not the intention of the laws that were repealed that dissenters should be admitted into public offices—that they lived for years under a system of the suspension of these laws, and that it was notorious, dissenters were admitted into corporations. It appeared, too, from an act of parliament, that the legislature were aware that dissenters were in offices, and even in governing offices; for it was decreed that mayors, or other officers of a similar rank, should not take the insignia of their office, or the regalia of the corporation, into any places of public worship excepting those of the church, by law established. But this was never the case with respect to Jews; and there was not a single instance known in which Jews had been admitted into office. He should, therefore, oppose the motion that the words “upon the faith of a Christian” be expunged. It was quite a new principle that Jews should be admitted into

public offices; if it were to be done, however, let the question respecting it be fairly brought before parliament and deliberately discussed.

In the course of this debate, earl Guilford, a nobleman whose zeal for the constitution, and anxiety for the well-being of the church, was illustrated in a most remarkable way before some of the public tribunals of the country, at a subsequent period, told the house, that in his mind, it was not merely in king, lords, and commons that the constitution consisted, but in those fundamental laws that ascribed to them their several functions, and also affixed to them certain limits for the general good. It was true that these laws might be changed; but whenever they were changed, the constitution was changed with them. History afforded several instances of this; as when, in the reign of Henry VIII., an act was passed, giving to the king's proclamations the force of law; and again, when the act for the king's divorce and the alteration of the succession, and the act for the demise of the crown were passed, the fundamental laws of the country were changed, and with them the constitution, inasmuch as there was an undue power thrown into the hands of the king. Now, the corporation and test acts, as they affected the limits of one branch of the constitution, were also fundamental laws. Whether good or bad, it remained for their lordships to decide. The noble lord (Holland) had been anxious to prove, that because they had been enacted against different parties and at several periods, that they were not fundamental laws; but he contended that the principle upon which they were framed had been engendered at the Reformation. They had no existence during the high privilege of the crown, but first saw the light in the dawn of religious liberty. They had always, too, up to that day, answered the purpose for which they were created, which was the maintaining of the existing order of things against all the enemies of the church. As a friend to toleration, he objected to the present measure.

Lord Eldon remarked, on what had fallen from several peers as to the oath of supremacy being all that was requisite for the defence of the church, that it was very well for noble lords to say that the oath of supremacy was a sufficient protection to the established church, but he would rather take the opinion of parliament than that of noble

lords; and parliament had over and over again denied that the oath of supremacy was sufficient. If their lordships were to look to the words of the act of parliament, they would find that these were the words of it—"to keep inviolable the true protestant church as by law established;" and he would say that it was to support that protestant religion that he felt it necessary to support the amendment.

Upon this, the duke of Wellington rose, and made a brief but very remarkable speech, in the course of which, it will be seen, he declared no one could be more decidedly opposed to catholic emancipation than he was at that period—the 29th of April, 1828. His grace told the house, his noble and learned friend had said, that it had frequently been decided in parliament that the oath of supremacy was not sufficient to keep the catholics out of the corporations. The noble and learned lord had not said that the oath of supremacy had been altered. The oath of supremacy had been prescribed by act of parliament; and he (the duke of Wellington) was not aware that since the time of king William, parliament had ever declared that the oath of supremacy was not sufficient to effect the objects for which it had been enacted. But that was not the only ground on which he would rest his argument. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack had stated it as his opinion, that the oath against transubstantiation ought to be taken before persons should enter into any corporation; and he (the duke of Wellington) must say, that the noble lord opposite, and the noble lord near him, had offered no argument in reply to that of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, founded upon the provisions of the test act. But another argument in reply to those adduced in support of the amendment was, that the oath of supremacy does at present prevent catholics from voting at elections. Now, he would ask their lordships, what was there to prevent catholics from so voting but that very oath?—and if that oath was sufficient to prevent catholics voting at elections, he should like to know, was it not sufficient, according to the argument of the noble lord, to keep them out of higher offices? If it were sufficient—if the oath of supremacy were sufficient to prevent Roman catholics from voting at elections, surely their lordships would admit, that in a law brought in for another and totally distinct

purpose, it was neither necessary nor fair to introduce a clause that would militate against the Roman catholics. There was no person in that house whose feelings and sentiments, after long consideration, were more decided than his were with respect to the subject of Roman catholic claims; and he must say, that until he saw a great change in that question, he certainly should oppose it; but no man, on the other hand, was more determined than he was to give his vote against any proposition which, like the present, appeared to have for its object a fresh enactment against the Roman catholics.

The amendment of lord Holland was rejected, as, on their lordships dividing, there appeared, for it—present, forty-two; proxies, ten: total fifty-two. Against it—present, one hundred; proxies, fifty-four: total, one hundred and fifty-four. Majority against the amendment, one hundred and two.

The duke of Wellington subsequently proposed a clause, which provided that any naval or military officer, or other person, upon whom any place, commission, appointment, or promotion should be conferred during his absence from this country, should be at liberty to qualify for holding the same, by taking, within six months of his return to Great Britain, the declaration required by the act; which was agreed to. The bill was then carried through its final stage. On moving that it should pass, lord Holland, considering his task to have been performed, marked his sense of the importance of the measure by saying—"My lords, it now becomes my duty to move your lordships that this bill do pass. In so doing, I hardly know whether I should make use of the language of congratulation or gratitude. Both are equally becoming the present occasion and circumstances. I express my gratitude to your lordships for the manner in which you have acted. I congratulate the house and the country on the event of this night." The bill was then passed.

While this measure was being brought to maturity, other inquiries and enactments of equal importance were in progress. Among these we may mention, an inquiry into the state of the police, which was called for by the circumstances of the times. A motion was made by Mr. Peel, on the 28th of February, for "a select committee to inquire into the causes of the increase of crime, and of the increased number of commitments in the cities of London and Westminster; and also into the state of the police of the

metropolis, and the districts adjoining thereunto." There had been, of late years, a great increase of crime in London and its neighbourhood. Offences of every description are invariably the attendants on a great city; but it was found, at this period, that the average was exceeded, and that, on a comparison with authentic statements of the commitments in Paris and in London, a melancholy numerical superiority might be claimed by the latter city. In the course of his speech, Mr. Peel pressed the following facts on the consideration of parliament:—"In 1821, the population of London and Middlesex was as follows:—London, one hundred and twenty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-four; Westminster, one hundred and eighty-two thousand and eighty-five; Middlesex, eight hundred and thirty-seven thousand and twelve: making a total of one million one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-one. The returns of criminal commitments for three years subsequent to that period—1823-'24-'25—in this metropolis, was two thousand seven hundred. Taking the amount of population to be the same as it was found to be by the census of 1821, the proportion of criminal commitments, as compared with the numbers of the inhabitants of London, was as two thousand seven hundred to one million one hundred and forty-four thousand, or one person in every four hundred and twenty-three. Descending to a more recent period, we find, that in the two last years, the number of criminal commitments has considerably increased: the average of the commitments in these years amounts to three thousand four hundred; and supposing the population of London to have been at this period one million three hundred thousand, the proportion of commitments, as compared to the entire number of the inhabitants, is as one in every three hundred and eighty. The comparison which I have instituted between the amount of crimes committed in London and Paris, as it regards the population of either city, appears to be in favour of the latter; for, the accusations have been in Paris eight hundred in eight hundred and twenty-one thousand persons, or one person in one thousand and twenty-two; while in London there are three thousand four hundred, out of a population of one million three hundred thousand, or one person in three hundred and eighty. However, this estimate admits of a little cor-

rection; for the calculation, as it respects Paris, only embraces the accusations made before the highest tribunal, the *cour d'assises*, without including the individuals charged before the inferior courts. While the returns of commitments in this metropolis, in 1826 and 1827, comprehend all persons sent to prison on criminal charges during that period, the number of accused before the *police correctionnelle*, in 1825, were four thousand four hundred and thirty-two—of these, one thousand two hundred and six culprits stood charged with theft. In making an estimate of the respective crimes of the two cities, these one thousand two hundred and six persons ought to be included in the Parisian account of criminal commitments. If we add them to the eight hundred and four accused, in 1825, of more aggravated offences before the higher court—and they ought to be included, for similar offences are comprehended on the list of our commitments—we obtain a gross amount of two thousand and ten accusations preferred in Paris during this period. Taking the population of Paris to amount to eight hundred and twenty-one thousand, we find the proportion of the accused to be, in relation to all the inhabitants, as one in four hundred and ten. Hence, on a calculation of the average number of commitments here, in 1823, 1824, and 1825, we find it to amount to two thousand seven hundred, or as one to four hundred and twenty-three of the gross population; while in Paris (taking into account the one thousand two hundred and six cases of theft brought before the *police correctionnelle*) the commitments are two thousand and ten, or one in four hundred and ten—so that the balance is in our favour. Unfortunately, in the years 1826 and 1827, commitments have greatly increased, and this proportion is disturbed; for, during this period, the criminal accusations under which persons have been consigned to prison, amount to an average of three thousand four hundred in each year, or one person in three hundred and eighty—a state of things that places us in a less favourable point of view than the French."

The motion was carried, and the committee was then appointed, whose labours procured much valuable and startling information connected with the progress of crime, and the proceedings of those engaged, on the part of the public, to pursue it to detection.

The duke found himself, in the high position to which he had been called, bound to take a leading part in another great movement—one to which the public are always anxiously awake—an amendment or alteration in the corn-laws. The measure of the last year having been defeated by the carrying of the duke of Wellington's amendment, rendered the passing of a temporary act necessary; but the time had now arrived when ministers considered themselves bound to explain their views with respect to a permanent arrangement. On the last day of March, his grace moved for the production of certain papers, which might show the house what had been the operation of the temporary act just mentioned, which permitted the introduction of corn, for home consumption, that had been warehoused before July, 1827. In the statement which he made to the house of lords, the duke of Wellington reminded their lordships, that there existed a variety of opinions respecting the introduction of foreign corn; some persons holding that its importation should be regulated by a high duty; while others contended for its free introduction. He and his colleagues had considered it their duty, in the measure which they were about to propose to parliament, to steer their course between the two extremes, and to propose a measure which, they hoped, would conciliate all parties, and be at the same time favourable to the public. All parties agreed that there ought to be some measure brought forward to regulate the introduction of foreign wheat; and while some had expressed the opinion that corn ought to be imported into this country free from duty, and others had thought that a small duty on its introduction ought to be imposed—and if ever there should be a fixed duty, in his opinion, it ought to be a small one—all had agreed that some protection should be afforded to the agriculturist of this country. The opinion of those who contended for a protection, was founded upon the great burden of taxation in this country, on the particular burdens on land, and the superior mode of tillage. The opinion of those who were in favour of a low duty, went to establish a system under which the poorer lands of this country, which had been brought into cultivation by the application of labour and capital, would be thrown entirely out of cultivation, and even the richer lands would be effected. This country, he would maintain, had been brought into the state of

cultivation in which it now was by the protection which had been invariably afforded to agriculture by parliament, and which had induced gentlemen to lay out their capital upon the cultivation of waste lands. The effect of the proposition of those who were for a low duty would be, to throw the poorer lands out of cultivation and turn them into waste; to reduce the cultivation of the richer lands—thus to diminish the productive powers of the country; and finally, to throw this country for support and subsistence on foreign countries. Besides these circumstances, he begged their lordships to consider the consequences which must result, if the powers from whose dominions those resources might be generally drawn were to lay a heavy tax on the exportation of corn, or upon its transit; in the adopting of which they might be fully justified. But supposing such moderation on their part as to allow this country to continue to draw supplies from their dominions, he entreated their lordships to observe, that this country would find itself, under that system, at all times in the same state in which it found itself in years of famine, and would be exposed to the largest prices of corn; for though the cost of production in Poland would not be increased, yet prices would be regulated here, not by the price in that country, but by the profits which were to be derived by all those who were concerned in the importation of the corn. Under those circumstances, a reduction of duty would not be productive of a reduction in price, considering the state of agriculture, but would, on the contrary, produce an enormous increase of price. He then called their lordships' attention to another branch of this subject: he would beg their lordships to look to Ireland, and see the effect of the want of encouragement of agriculture as applied to that country—a country from which we were now supplied with above two millions of quarters of grain annually—and of which two millions, during the past year, no less than four hundred thousand were of wheat. Let their lordships consider the consequences of cutting off from that country the great source of its industry, and almost the only manufacture—if he might use the word—of that impoverished land. He was sure that any gentleman acquainted with Ireland must be aware, that there could be no sacrifice which would not be preferable to this.

On this subject he felt strongly, and was of opinion that the ruin to the landed in-

terest which must follow the withdrawing from them that protection on which all their calculations had been based, would outweigh any benefit that its advocates might hope to realise. Such a system, he insisted, must have the effect of depriving us of that plenty which we had hitherto, by the blessing of Providence, enjoyed. But it was not only to Ireland that the objections to such a system as that of a small protective duty would apply. He had already stated, that the gentlemen of this country—the landed proprietors of this country—had, by the employment of their capital, by their industry, and their labour, raised the agricultural state of the country to that high degree of importance in which it now stood. To them there could be nothing more unjust, than to deprive them of that protecting duty due to them, for the capital they had embarked, and the labour they had bestowed, to which they were naturally indebted for those rents which their tenants had paid, and were still enabled to pay. The merchant, the manufacturers, the poor, and the whole public, were interested in maintaining the independence of the landed proprietors; so was the nobility, so was the gentry, and so was the government itself: they were entitled to the support of the government, because of the assistance which the government derived from them. He would say, then, that even if he could make corn cheaper by destroying the protection which the agriculture of this country had enjoyed, he must do it at the expense of Ireland—at the expense of England—at the expense, in short, of sacrificing the best interests of this kingdom. He hoped, therefore, that such a system would be banished from their minds altogether. Having expressed his opinion upon the system of importation at a low duty, he would now make a few remarks with respect to the other system—that of entire prohibition, which had been greatly complained of. The truth was, that such a system could not be carried strictly into execution, without exposing the country to the greatest evils—first of all from want, next from high prices, and also from a superabundance of corn (arising from the introduction of a greater quantity of wheat than was required) being in the country at a period when the scarcity had been relieved by an abundant harvest; and lastly, from the depression of prices, affecting not only the producers of corn in this country, but also the importers of foreign

grain. Those evils could be relieved only by the illegal interference of the government, or by ministers coming down to parliament to induce parliament to consent to the suspension of the law. There was not a doubt that the system of prohibition had produced all the evils to which he had alluded, at some period or other during the time in which that system had operated. Last year, in the discussion of the law of 1822, it had been, he thought, correctly stated, that the circumstances of the country were so changed, that we could no more bear seventy-six shillings, as an importing price, than we could bear eighty shillings. The consequences of such a price were nearly the same as a total prohibition. After the prices got up, and the country was fully supplied with corn, did a favourable season ensue, there was a greater quantity of corn than could be consumed, and the price of corn fell. Under these circumstances they were driven to give up prohibition, and to consider at what point protection should begin. Government had, therefore, gone to the consideration of a measure adopted on the principle of the bill introduced to their lordships' house last year—that of the duty rising as prices fell, and falling as prices rose; allowing thereby (in proportion as the price of corn in this country was best calculated to bear it) foreign corn to come in by degrees, under certain duties. He wished their lordships to recollect, that after the bill came under their consideration last year, and was abandoned by the noble lord who had introduced it, an act was passed to enable the holders of corn which had been bonded before the 1st of July, 1827, to introduce that corn into the home-market for consumption, after the passing of the act, upon payment of the duty proposed by the bill which had been allowed to drop. From the papers which it was his intention to move for, he would show their lordships the result of the operation of that act. When the bill was brought under their lordships' consideration he had supported it, and he recollected stating his opinion that that would be an experiment of the measure which had been discussed during the session. He admitted that the experiment had not been a perfectly fair one. The truth was, that by one of the clauses of that act, those who had corn in bond were obliged to take it out between the periods of the months of July and May. They were, therefore, induced to take out

more than they otherwise would have been disposed to do, had they been left entirely to their own discretion. He entreated their lordships to bear this fact in remembrance. The corn in bond on the 1st of July, 1827, amounted to six hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and five quarters; five hundred and fourteen thousand four hundred and seventy-one quarters had been taken out of bond, and one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and thirty-four quarters was the amount in bond on the 5th of February last. The act, therefore, was so far effectual, that it still kept in bond one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and thirty-four quarters, being one-fifth of the original amount; but it should be remembered that the state of the country, during the past year, was not such as to render a great influx of foreign corn necessary. He was about to lay before their lordships, for their information, the carefully-arranged details—the comparative scale of duties to be proposed by his majesty's government. That scale had been drawn up with reference both to the imperial and to the Winchester measures, and it had also been placed in comparison with that of the bill passed through the other house of parliament during the last session. The present scale would be found somewhat different from the past, the duties proposed by which were rather less in proportion to the respective prices. He was now to state that difference, according to the Winchester measure, between the present scale and that of the bill of 1827. When corn was at fifty-six shillings, the difference was one shilling; when it was fifty-seven shillings, the scale was the same; when fifty-eight shillings, the difference was two shillings; when fifty-nine shillings, it was three shillings; when sixty shillings, it was four shillings; when sixty-one shillings, it was five shillings; when sixty-two shillings, it was six shillings; when sixty-three shillings, it was seven shillings; when sixty-four shillings, it was eight shillings; when sixty-five shillings, it was eight shillings; when sixty-six shillings, it was also eight shillings; when sixty-seven shillings, it was seven shillings; when sixty-eight shillings, it was six shillings; and so on. Such was the difference between the two scales—the one now to be proposed by government, and the one proposed by the government of last year. The noble duke then laid upon the table the following comparative scale of duties proposed, and of those of the bill

of 1827, in imperial and Winchester measures :—

		WHEAT.	
		Imperial Measure :	Winchester Measure :
		Proposed.	Proposed.
		1827.	1827.
		s. d. s. d.	s. s.
52 and under	53	34 8	40 8
53	"	54 33 8	38 8
54	"	55 32 8	36 8
55	"	56 31 8	34 8
56	"	57 30 8	32 8
57	"	58 29 8	30 8
58	"	59 28 8	28 8
59	"	60 27 8	26 8
60	"	61 26 8	24 8
61	"	62 25 8	22 8
62	"	63 24 8	20 8
63	"	64 23 8	18 8
64	"	65 22 8	16 8
65	"	66 21 8	14 8
66	"	67 20 8	12 8
67	"	68 18 8	10 8
68	"	69 16 8	8 8
69	"	70 13 8	6 8
70	"	71 10 8	4 8
71	"	72 6 8	2 8
72	"	73 2 8	1 0
73	"	74 1 0	1 0
50 and under	51	34	43
"	"	52	33
"	"	53	32
"	"	54	31
"	"	55	30
"	"	56	29
"	"	57	28
"	"	58	27
"	"	59	26
"	"	60	25
"	"	61	24
"	"	62	23
"	"	63	22
"	"	64	21
"	"	65	20
"	"	66	18
"	"	67	16
"	"	68	13
"	"	69	10
"	"	70	6
"	"	71	2
"	"	72	1

With respect to oats and barley, it was proposed that they should remain in the state in which they were placed by the law last passed. There was now only one other point to which he wished to draw their lordships' attention. Their lordships would remember, that in the discussion of the bill of last year he had moved an amendment, the object of which was, to prevent frauds in the system of averages from being carried into execution by means of the warehousing system. Since last session, a great deal had been done to prevent those frauds. In the first place, the Irish and Scotch corn in the market had been included in the averages; and returns from a great number of places, not before included, were added. The difficulty of fraud would be increased in proportion to the quantity on which the average was struck. Besides this, the additional duty laid on the article itself would render the gain by any fraud, from the price varying between one shilling and two shillings only, so small, that it would scarcely be worth any person's while to attempt imposition. Their lordships would recollect, that in discussing this question last year, he had stated that it was his wish to introduce some regulations which might put an end to all such frauds. He was aware that it was difficult to frame regulations strictly applicable to the trade in corn. The objection to them was founded on the injury which the trade might experience from any regulations. Under these circumstances, and considering the duty now proposed to be such as would be admitted by every one as sufficient to

give fair protection to the agriculture of this country, he trusted their lordships would be satisfied without any interference with the bonding system. He had now stated the plans which the government meant to submit to their lordships. They had been

formed, he conceived, with due attention to the interests of all parties. They afforded, he thought, full protection to the agriculturists, and gave ample security against any danger, in consequence of unprosperous harvests at home.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CORN-LAW BILL IS PASSED; INTERFERENCE ON BEHALF OF GREEK CAPTIVES; MR. HUSKISSON RESIGNS THE SEALS OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE; CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND MR. HUSKISSON; CONCILIATORY POLICY OF THE DUKE'S ADMINISTRATION; EARL DUDLEY, LORD PALMERSTON, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WITHDRAW; PROVISION FOR THE CANNING FAMILY; ABANDONMENT OF THE SINKING FUND.

MR. CHARLES GRANT brought forward a motion on the subject of the corn-laws in the house of commons, while the duke of Wellington was opening his scheme to the house of lords. Mr. Grant had favoured the bill which was abandoned last year. The opinions he then held he now retained. He said—"On the same grounds that I approved of the measure of last session, I now come forward to advocate its principle. I, for my part, do not hesitate to say, that I retain, to the fullest extent, the opinions I avowed last year, when the subject came under discussion. Even though it may not be possible to carry all the principles which we uphold into such a severe execution as they might require, still I conceive it proper to retain and to support them. Delightful it would no doubt be, if we could carry all our principles into immediate practical effect; but we know, from sad experience, that such a result is not to be obtained. We know that the principles even of morality itself, are not at all times capable of being carried into effect; and we find that the most pressing demands of political expediency or public policy cannot be complied with, unless in conformity with a strict attention to the feelings and prejudices of the people, and a due regard to the demands of society. Although, therefore, I cannot call those principles into full operation, I still maintain their justice and propriety; and I am prepared to maintain them, notwithstanding I do not think these resolutions, nor even the rejected bill of last year, amount in terms to the full extent of the demand upon those principles." Thus, it will be seen, the scheme

under consideration, though spoken of as a permanent measure, was regarded by its supporters as not giving all they considered the country had a right to expect. The resolutions proposed in both houses, though warmly opposed, were carried. A measure founded on them was introduced in the usual way, which, after some further discussions, passed into a law. This, however, was not effected till the month of June was far advanced. On the 13th of that month, when the bill reached its second reading in the lords, the duke of Wellington, though he deemed it unnecessary to trouble the house at any length after the details he had formerly submitted, further explained, that the principle of the measure was to regulate the introduction of foreign corn into the home-market by a scale of duties, instead of by an entire prohibition under a certain price, and was thus the very same principle the house had adopted in the bill of last session. It ought to be observed by their lordships, that the principle of prohibition was a new principle, established by the legislature in the year 1815. It appeared to him, that the corn-trade ought always to be regulated by a scale of duties, rather than by means of a prohibition; and it was undoubtedly true, that from the year 1815, down to the present time, the system of prohibition had been found exceedingly inconvenient. Indeed, on a variety of occasions, it had become necessary for the government to interfere to introduce corn, by proclamation, into the country, to prevent, on the one hand, the price of it from rising to such a height as would inflict distress upon the consumer,

and to check, on the other, such a subsequent influx of it from foreign ports, as would be equally prejudicial to the grower from the superfluity which it would throw upon the market. On that ground it was that the resolution to let in foreign corn by a scale of duties, rather than to keep it out by a system of prohibition, was adopted; and the trial which had been made of the plan by the bill of last year, had been sufficient to show that the alteration of our system had been productive of advantage to all parties. The various interruptions which it had been found necessary to give to the old system of corn-laws, had been found equally inconvenient to the government and to the corn-growers. They caused great complaints on the part of the people at large; they occasioned great jealousy on the part of the agriculturist; and they occasioned serious remonstrances from foreign powers. For these reasons, he was anxious that the house should adopt a system which would leave the trade in corn to regulate itself, rather than continue to act upon a system which compelled the minister of the day to refer occasionally to the illegal practice of letting in corn by a proclamation of the crown. The bill of last year provided for the averages of every three months; the present bill provided for the averages of every six weeks.—The earl of Lauderdale opposed the second reading, and in doing so remarked, that free-trade in corn was an impossibility; and if it were not, it would be a sentence of starvation on the country. The land would be thrown out of cultivation by free-trade; and when the foreign supply failed, as fail it would, starvation must ensue.—The earl of Malmesbury was among the opponents of the bill, which was supported by viscount Goderich and lord Ellenborough.—The earl of Bristol moved, as an amendment, that the bill should be read on that day six months. This caused the duke of Wellington to rise again, and, in reply to the various objections which had been urged, he showed in what respect the measure of last session had unduly favoured one description of grain more than another, and seemed as familiar with the subject as a farmer whose business it had been to study the markets from boyhood. In conclusion, he told their lordships, that when his majesty's government came to bring the subject under consideration, with a view to the introduction of this measure, the government found that they could not go higher in the duty on imported

wheat without giving an undue protection to oats and barley; because their lordships would observe, that with respect to the oats, the agriculturists were interested in keeping the price moderate in common with the rest of the community, as they were in all things, but more particularly so as regarded oats. Under these circumstances, the duty on oats and barley was kept exactly at the same rate as by the bill of last year. A noble lord had mentioned the great importation which had taken place in this year. The truth was, that the great part of that importation was oats, admitted by proclamation under the law of 1815. The noble lord had likewise mentioned the mode of forming the average, and not including the Irish corn. It certainly would have been very easy to have altered the whole system of the averages, on purpose to include Irish corn in the average price in Ireland. Nothing could be more easy than to do that, and then to alter the duty; but the consequence would have been, a variety of complaints about the total alteration of the former system. It was, therefore, thought better to keep to the old system, giving a sufficient duty. The question now was, whether, in all the calculations which had been taken on the subject, their lordships were inclined to believe that the duty was sufficient? It certainly appeared, from experiment, that a very small quantity of corn indeed would be introduced for home consumption, at a duty fixed at sixty-two shillings imperial measure. The greatest quantity of corn introduced, under the measure of last year, was one hundred and forty thousand quarters, at a duty of £1 4s. 8d., but a considerable quantity remained in the warehouse, on the 1st of May, after the introduction of one hundred and forty thousand quarters, and came in afterwards at a higher duty. A fair experiment, however, had been made, which proved that a duty of £1 4s. 8d. did keep a considerable quantity of corn out of the market. Their lordships divided, when the numbers were—for the second reading—present, fifty-three; proxies, thirty-three: total, eighty-six. For the amendment—present, twelve; proxies, seven: total, nineteen. Majority, sixty-seven. The bill was read a third time on the 26th of June, when it gave rise to a new debate; but no division was called for.

While this measure was in progress, important changes were made in the government. Before these could be even antici-

pated, it is worthy of remark, that occupied as the new members were, having so recently succeeded to power, in seeking for that parliamentary support which was essential to their existence, their anxieties as politicians did not make them forget their duty as men. They may almost be said to have gone out of their way in the cause of humanity. On the 3rd of April, a question was put by sir Robert Wilson, to this effect. He had understood that positive information had reached this country that the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, coming from that part of the coast of Greece to which they had retired after the battle of Navarin, had arrived in the bay of Alexandria with an enormous number of Greek captives on board—men, women, and children, to the amount, according to some statements, of sixteen thousand souls. However that might be, a large proportion—he had seen it stated at seven thousand women and children—had been landed under the orders of the Egyptian admiral, and publicly sold as slaves in the market-place of Alexandria. Thus these unfortunate beings were consigned to that melancholy condition of hopeless slavery, with all those feelings of abhorrence for the degradation and misery which they would have to encounter, aggravated by the consciousness that their native country was, at that moment, beginning to emerge into a state of freedom. On a former occasion, when he had asked some questions, upon a similar subject, of the secretary of state for the home department, that right honourable gentleman, as the house would remember, said that orders had been sent out to the British admiral, expressly instructing him to prevent Ibrahim Pacha from carrying away any of the non-combating Greek population of the Morea to Egypt, or elsewhere, for the purpose of disposing of them as slaves. But if this were so, and more especially when it was recollected how complete a wreck the Egyptian navy was left by the battle of Navarin, how was it possible to reconcile the melancholy information which he had just stated to the house with the transmission of such orders? The vessels in which these ill-fated people must have been conveyed, would be, of course, of very inferior force, and even size, to those composing the hostile squadron, through which they would have to work their way; and it did seem the grossest folly to suppose, that they could evade the vigilance or resist the prohibition of the admirals of the allied powers, if the orders

in question had really been received by them. He now, therefore, would beg to propose two questions to the right honourable gentleman; the first, as to whether any advices had been received, so far explaining the transaction as to account for the facility or freedom with which the Egyptian fleet must have passed through the combined squadron, for this unmolested transport of these unhappy Greeks from Greece, after the battle of Navarin, to the bay of Alexandria? The next question was, whether any measures had been taken by England, either of herself, or in conjunction with her allies, to redeem these unfortunate slaves from the captivity into which they had been carried by this atrocious outrage? He considered that, by the treaty of the 6th of July, Greece had now a manifest right, from the interposition of the allies, to reparation for this injury.—Mr. Secretary Peel had stated, on the former occasion alluded to, that in the beginning of 1826, long before the signature of the treaty of the 6th of July, or the signing of the protocol by the duke of Wellington, a rather indistinct intimation had been conveyed to this country, that the commander of the Egyptian forces intended to take away a considerable proportion of the Greek population of the Morea, for the purpose of employing them as slaves in Egypt; and he (Mr. Peel) now repeated, that before any of those measures were adopted which ended in the treaty of the 6th of July, a distinct notification was conveyed to Ibrahim Pacha, that his majesty's government never would tolerate such an extreme exercise of what were supposed to be the rights of war, but would resist to the uttermost the exportation of any part of the Greek people for the purpose of conveying them into slavery. No such measures were, however, adopted by Ibrahim Pacha at that time, and no ulterior steps, therefore, were taken in the business. He believed that the honourable gentleman had been correctly informed, that some part of the Greek population of the Morea had been taken away, subsequently to the battle of Navarin, from that country, and, together with that part of the Turkish and Egyptian forces which escaped destruction, had been carried to Alexandria. The instructions issued before the battle of Navarin, and which still remained in full force, directed the admirals in command of the combined fleet to prevent any deportation of the sort; but they were, at the same time, enjoined to give every facility which

they might be called on to afford for the removal of Turkish and Egyptian forces out of Greece. It was understood, of course, that those forces only should be removed, and it was never contemplated that any part of the Greek population should be taken with them. It had been since ascertained, that on the 27th or 28th of December, forty-five sail of vessels, being the remains of the fleet which fought in the battle of Navarin, had arrived from the Morea in the bay of Alexandria; and seventeen or eighteen which had arrived out subsequently to the battle. On board of these vessels were the disabled soldiers and seamen of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, together with a number of women and children, who, he believed, were afterwards sold as slaves. What that number was exactly, he did not know; the honourable gentleman stated it at seven thousand, but he himself had seen several accounts, some of which did not make the number to exceed six hundred; however that might be, numbers of women and children certainly were taken away and forcibly sold. He could only say, that within eight-and-forty hours after intelligence of the fact reached this country, communications were sent to the British admiral, and full inquiry was directed to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining under what circumstances the Egyptian fleet had arrived with these unfortunate people on board.

The Roman catholic question was this year brought forward, on the 8th of May, by sir Francis Burdett. He spoke at very great length, and concluded by moving for a committee of the whole house to consider the laws affecting the Roman catholics, with a view to effect a final conciliatory adjustment of them. A debate ensued, which was continued through three nights, in which Mr. Peel opposed the motion. It was, however, carried by a majority of six; the numbers being, two hundred and seventy-two to two hundred and sixty-six. The honourable baronet did not proceed to found a bill on the resolution which the house had passed, but proposed that the lords should be invited to give it their sanction. A conference with their lordships having been called for and granted, the resolution was communicated to them, which they resolved on taking into consideration on the 8th of June. Before that day arrived, the important change which has been mentioned had taken place in the cabinet.

Though not celebrated for his oratory, or

any of those qualities which dazzle and captivate the multitude, Mr. Huskisson, from his great experience, his talents as a man of business, and the courage and perseverance with which he had carried beneficial measures (though unpopular at the time), through parliament, was justly considered one of the most important members of the administration. Bills had been introduced to disfranchise two boroughs, proved to be corrupt—Penryn and East Retford. Penryn was first taken in hand by the commons, and a bill for transferring its franchise to Manchester was sent up to the lords. Till their lordships should decide on that measure, the case of East Retford was allowed to stand over, as the treatment of it by the commons might depend upon proceedings of the peers. Ministers had pledged themselves, if two boroughs should be disfranchised, to favour the transfer of the franchise from one of them to a town. It was considered almost certain that the Penryn disfranchisement bill would be thrown out in the lords, and in that case ministers held, their pledge would stand for nothing, as they would then have but one borough on their hands. When the East Retford bill was brought forward, instead of consenting that the forfeited franchise should be given to Birmingham, they proposed extending it to the adjoining hundred. This, it was rumoured, was a "job," the object of which was to conciliate a great borough proprietor. Mr. Huskisson, however, had promised to vote for its being given to Birmingham, and, come what might, he determined to keep his word; and accordingly, his vote was given in opposition to his colleagues. This was regarded as a very serious defalcation on his part; and Mr. Huskisson himself evidently took a similar view of it; for, on getting home from the house, at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote to the duke of Wellington the following letter:—

"Downing-street, Tuesday morning,

"Two A.M., May 20th.

"My dear Duke,—After the vote which, in regard to my own consistency and personal character, I have found myself, from the course of this evening's debate, compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe to you, as the head of the administration, and to Mr. Peel, as the leader of the house of commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the

king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils, however unfounded in reality, or however unimportant in itself the question which has given rise to that appearance.

"Regretting the necessity of troubling you with this communication, believe me, my dear duke, ever truly yours,

'(Signed) W. HUSKISSON."

Accustomed to command, the duke of Wellington could ill brook opposition to his views; and highly as he valued the services of Mr. Huskisson, he did not hesitate on the course which it appeared to him proper to take. The right honourable gentleman himself seemed no longer to attach great importance to the vote he had given. To the secretary for foreign affairs (earl Dudley), on the following morning, he spoke lightly of it—of having been guilty of "a little act of insubordination;" but adding, he had felt bound in honour so to act. Nothing particular was said on the subject by earl Dudley; but shortly afterwards, while his lordship still remained with him, the following brief pithy communication from the duke was brought to Mr. Huskisson:—

"London, May 20th, 1828.

"My dear Huskisson,—Your letter, of two this morning, which I received at ten, has surprised me much, and given me great concern. I have considered it my duty to lay it before the king.

"Ever yours, most sincerely,

"(Signed) WELLINGTON."

The right honourable gentleman had not expected to be taken at his word. To lord Dudley, Mr. Huskisson stated that he had not intended to resign; and, in proof of that, referred his lordship to the words "private and confidential," which the superscription of his letter bore. Lord Dudley, upon this, undertook to see the duke on the subject of what had passed, and accordingly he did so, treating the whole affair as a matter of little moment, and the acceptance of the resignation by Wellington as a mistake. The haughty, unyielding chief would not hear of this; and bluntly rejoined—"It is no mistake; there can be no mistake; there *shall* be no mistake." Lord Dudley could say no more; and the duke maintained that the letter he had received was, to all intents and purposes, a resignation. Lord Palmerston then attempted to repair the mischief, and waited on the duke, being

authorised to say, Mr. Huskisson had felt surprised that the premier, on receiving his letter, had not called upon him for an explanation of the vote he thought it right to give, his motives for which he had been ready, and was still willing, to state. The duke lent a deaf ear to this; and considering Mr. Huskisson to have seriously and positively resigned, he declared he had no option open to him, but to subject himself and his majesty's ministers to the humiliation of soliciting Mr. Huskisson's return to office, or to incur the loss of his valuable services. Important as these were, though sensible of the magnitude of the loss the administration must sustain, his grace said it was his conviction that, in times like these, it was better to meet any loss than forfeit character, which was the foundation of public confidence.

Mr. Huskisson was reluctant, at such a moment, and on such grounds, to relinquish office. He contemplated offering an explanation to the king, and having again written to the duke of Wellington without effect, requested an audience of his majesty, which the premier did not think fit to advise George IV. to grant till their correspondence on this subject, had finally closed. It is proper to add, if the duke felt it important not to give way in a case where a resignation had been too hastily tendered, he did not disdain to open the door to a reconciliation, by making a remark to earl Dudley (which of course he intended should be conveyed to Mr. Huskisson), which, in effect, called for but a moderate concession on the part of that right honourable gentleman.—"Huskisson," said his grace, "is a man of sense, and knows well what should be done to settle the matter. Withdrawing his letter will bring the whole affair to an end." The hint was not taken; the letter was not withdrawn; and the duke, therefore, considered it as a positive resignation of office; and, acting on this impression, on the 25th of May, he wrote to Mr. Huskisson, informing him that he had attended on his majesty, and received his instructions to fill up the vacant office. A letter which the ex-colonial secretary had addressed to the king, was, at the same time, returned to him unopened; and the duke wrote to the right honourable gentleman, that if his letter had been hasty or inconsiderate, he should have withdrawn it. The stern determination which characterised the duke's conduct on this occasion, was freely commented on in the public journals, and his declaration, that

there should be no mistake, was thus satirically dealt with in one of them:—

"How all affairs must prosper in that land
Whose minister, to everything awake,
Can bravely give the world to understand,
'There is—there can—there *shall* be no mistake.'"

The event was too important at that moment to be kept secret for an hour. While the friends of the government hoped means might be found to close the breach so unfortunately made in the administration, rumours, most unfavourable to the duke, were circulated by those who formed the opposition. The character of them will be understood from the subjoined answer which they called forth in the *Courier*:—"A violent opposition, we are told, is preparing against the administration of the duke of Wellington; and it is rumoured, that attempts are making to induce Mr. Huskisson to place himself at its head—attempts which are likely to fail, and which Mr. Huskisson himself must consider an insult. It is nothing less than a demand that, because he is out of the cabinet, he shall oppose those measures which he supported whilst he was in it. But the rumour is circulated for the purpose of strengthening another report—that the changes in the cabinet involve a change of measures; and that the duke of Wellington, at the end of May, has abandoned all the principles and the policy which the duke of Wellington had adopted at the beginning of May. The absurdity of such a charge against his grace was sufficiently exposed in our paper of yesterday. It is persisted in with pertinacity to-day, in order to infuse more bitterness into any discussion that may take place in the house of commons this afternoon. We are constantly told of the illiberality of the tories; but what sort of liberality is that which is so ready to condemn without proof, and to decide upon merely *ex-parte* statements? The duke of Wellington is really depicted as if he were destitute of all talent, of all courtesy, of all honesty—of even the manners of a gentleman; and hence the public may judge of the kind of opposition which he is to be subjected to. Let us not be misunderstood as including the ministers who have resigned, and whose resignation, we must again and again say, we lament most deeply, in any such opposition; they know too well what is due to their own character and consistency."

Mr. Huskisson, on the 3rd of June,

offered in the house of commons a full explanation and a detailed narration of all that had occurred. He went over the facts in a speech of very considerable length—what had been related as to the situation in which he stood with respect to the boroughs of Penryn and East Retford, and the circumstances under which his vote had been given; his note written to the duke; and the answer of his grace. "When earl Dudley returned from his fruitless errand, he said, 'I have not had the success I anticipated: the noble duke says it is no mistake—that it can be no mistake—and that it shall be no mistake.' I give these words," Mr. Huskisson continued, "as those employed by my noble friend, who added, that he had not thought the noble duke was fully aware of what had passed in the house of commons last night. Now, sir, I deemed I might have had some previous communication—that a letter, marked 'private and confidential,' was intended to be laid before his majesty, or that some explanation might have been required. I might have thought that some matter of difficulty might have occurred; but on being told what I have already stated by my noble friend, lately the secretary for foreign affairs, I said to my noble friend (lord Palmerston), 'if, as I am informed, the noble duke at the head of the government is not apprised of the reasons which induced me to pursue the course I thought it advisable to pursue—after having given a vote, which I esteemed myself bound in duty, in conscience, and in honour to give; and as he has not called for any explanation; and as I have had no communication; and as I only referred to the matter as one for his consideration—I shall feel obliged by your endeavouring to explain all the circumstances connected with this affair.' In consequence, my noble friend (lord Palmerston) waited on the noble duke, and having stated to him all that I have laid before the house, he told me precisely what I had already heard from my noble friend then at the head of the department of foreign affairs; namely, that it was a positive resignation, and could not be understood otherwise. Well, sir, it was not more than four hours after I had dispatched my letter, when I received an answer from the noble duke, stating, that without hesitation, doubt, or suspicion, he had carried my letter to the king, and laid it before his majesty. I then addressed the following letter to the noble duke:—

“ Downing-street, May 20th, 1828,

“ Half-past six, P.M.

“ My dear Duke,—Having understood from lord Dudley and lord Palmerston that you had laid my letter of last night before the king, under a different impression from that which it was intended to convey, I feel it due, both to you and to myself, to say, that my object in writing that letter was, not to express any intentions of my own, but to relieve you from any delicacy which you might feel towards me, if you should think that the interest of his majesty's service would be prejudiced by my remaining in office, after giving a vote, in respect of which, from the turn which the latter part of the debate had taken, a sense of personal honour left me no alternative.

“ Believe me, my dear Duke,

“ Yours, very sincerely,

“ (Signed) W. HUSKISSON.”

“ The noble duke wrote me the following answer, which I did not receive until next morning :—

“ London, May 20th, 1828.

“ My dear Huskisson,—I received your letter of this evening. I certainly did not understand your letter of two o'clock this morning as offering any option, nor do I understand the one of this evening, as leaving me any, excepting that of submitting myself and his majesty's government to the necessity of soliciting you to remain in your office, or of incurring the loss of your valuable assistance to his majesty's service. However sensible I may be of this loss, I am convinced that, in these times, any loss is better than that of character, which is the foundation of public confidence.

“ In this view of the case, I have put out of it altogether every consideration of the discredit resulting from the scene of last night; of the extent of which you could not but have been sensible, when you thought proper, as a remedy for it, to send me the offer of 'placing your office in other hands.'

“ Ever, my dear Huskisson,

“ Yours, most sincerely,

“ (Signed) WELLINGTON.

“ The right. hon. W. Huskisson.”

Mr. Huskisson went on to say, he could not understand the reasoning of the duke, as thus conveyed to him; but, in replying to his letter, he was careful to remember those considerations which ought not to be

lost sight of in any circumstances affecting an individual of his high character. He wrote as follows :—

“ Colonial-office, May 21st, 1828.

“ My dear Duke,—In justice to myself, I cannot acquiesce for a moment in the construction which your letter of last night puts upon my conduct. You cannot refuse to me the right of knowing the motives of my own actions; and I solemnly declare that, in both my letters, I was actuated by one and the same feeling. It was simply this—that it was not for me, but for you, as head of the government, to decide how far my vote made it expedient to remove me from his majesty's service. I felt that I had no alternative, consistently with personal honour (in a difficulty not of my own seeking or creating), but to give that vote; that the question in itself was one of minor importance; that the disunion was more in appearance than in reality; but I also felt, that possibly you might take a different view of it, and that, in case you should, I ought (as I had done on a similar occasion with Liverpool) to relieve you from any difficulty arising out of personal consideration towards me, in deciding upon a step to which you might find it your public duty to resort on the occasion. It was under this impression alone that I wrote to you immediately on my return from the house of commons. If you had not misconceived that impression, as well as the purport of my second letter, I am persuaded that you could not suppose me guilty of the arrogance of expecting 'that you and his majesty's government should submit yourselves to the necessity of soliciting me to remain in my office,' or do me the injustice of believing that I could be capable of placing you in the alternative of choosing between the continuance of my services, such as they are, and the loss to your administration of one particle of character, which, I agree with you, is the foundation of public confidence. If, understanding my communication as I intended it to be understood, you had in any way intimated to me, either that the occurrence, however unfortunate, was not one of sufficient moment to render it necessary for you, on public grounds, to act in the manner in which I had assumed that you possibly might think necessary, or that you were under that necessity, in either case there would have been an end of the matter. In the first supposition, I should have felt that I had done, what in honour and fairness to-

wards you I was bound to do; but it never would have entered my imagination, that I had claimed or received any sacrifice whatever from you or any member of his majesty's government. On the other hand, nothing can be further from my intention, than to express an opinion, that the occasion was not one in which you might fairly consider it your duty to advise his majesty to withdraw from me the seals of office on the ground of this vote. I do not, therefore, complain; but I cannot allow that my removal shall be placed on any other ground. I cannot allow that it was my own act, still less can I admit, that when I had no other intention than to relieve the question on which you had to decide from any personal embarrassment, this step, on my part, should be ascribed to feelings the very reverse of those by which alone I was actuated, either towards you or his majesty's government."

This letter produced the following answer:—

"London, May 21st, 1828.

"My dear Huskisson,—In consequence of your last letter, I feel it to be necessary to recall to your recollection the circumstances under which I received your letter of Tuesday morning. It is addressed to me at two o'clock in the morning, immediately after a debate and division in the house of commons. It informs me, 'that you lose no time in affording me an opportunity of placing your office in other hands, as the only means in your power of preventing an injury to the king's service,' which you describe. It concludes by 'regretting the necessity for troubling me with this communication.' Could I consider this in any other light than as a formal tender of the resignation of your office, or that I had any alternative but either to solicit you to remain in office, contrary to your sense of duty, or to submit your letter to the king? If you had called on me the next morning after your vote, and had explained to me, in conversation, what had passed in the house of commons, the character of the communication would have been quite different, and I might have felt myself at liberty to discuss the whole subject with you, and freely to give an opinion upon any point connected. But I must still think that if I had not considered a letter, couched in the terms in which that letter is couched, and received under the circumstances under which I received it, as a tender of resignation, and

had not laid it before the king, I should have exposed the king's government and myself to very painful misconstructions. My answer to your letter will have informed you that it surprised me much, and that it gave me great concern. I must consider, therefore, the resignation of your office as your own act, and not mine.

"Ever yours, most sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."

The right honourable gentleman said, lord Palmerson, after waiting on the duke, returned with precisely the same answer as that given to earl Dudley. To him, therefore, it seemed evident that the noble duke was determined to cling to the original misconception, and therefore, in effect, said, "I hold you to it, and insist that the resignation was your own act." Learning that he was not to have an audience from the king, Mr. Huskisson thought it right to address another letter to the duke, which might be laid before his sovereign. He accordingly wrote thus:—

"Downing-street, May 25th, 1828.

"My dear Duke,—On Tuesday last I wrote to the king, to solicit an audience. His majesty has not yet been pleased to grant me this honour. In the expectation (not unnatural for me to entertain, in the situation which I hold) of being afforded an opportunity of waiting upon his majesty, I have deferred acknowledging your letter of the 21st, which, passing by altogether all that is stated in mine of the same date, you conclude in the following words:—'I must, therefore, consider the resignation of your office as your own act, and not as mine.' I will not revert to the full explanation which I have already given you on this subject. Not denying that my first letter might be capable of the construction which you put upon it, I would ask you whether it be usual, after a construction has been, from the first moment, explicitly disavowed, to persist that it is the right one? It being, however, the construction to which you adhere, I must assume, as you laid the letter before his majesty, that you advised his majesty upon it, and that his majesty is, therefore, under the same misapprehension with yourself of what I meant; the more especially, as I have no means of knowing whether any subsequent letters have been laid before his majesty. It was for the purpose of setting right any erroneous impression on the royal mind, that I sought to be

admitted, as soon as possible, into his majesty's presence. I was then, as I am still, most anxious to assure his majesty, that nothing could have been further from my intention, than that the letter in question should have been at all submitted to his majesty—to make known to his majesty the circumstances and feelings under which it had been written—to point out to him that I had taken the precaution (usual, between ministers, in matters of a delicate and confidential nature, when it is wished to keep the subjects, as much as possible, confined to the respective parties) of marking the letter 'private and confidential'—that I understood that this letter (so marked specially to guard its object) had been, without previous communication of any sort with me, in respect to the transaction referred to, but not explained in the letter itself, laid before his majesty, as conveying to the foot of the throne my positive resignation. I should further have had to state to his majesty the great pain and concern that I felt at finding that a paper should have been submitted to his majesty, and describing to him as conveying my resignation of the seals, in a form so unusual, and with a restriction so unbecoming towards my sovereign, as is implied in the words 'private and confidential;' that, in a necessity so painful (had I felt such a necessity) as that of asking his majesty's permission to withdraw from his service, my first anxiety would have been to lay my reasons, in a respectful but direct communication from myself at his majesty's feet; but that, most certainly, in whatever mode conveyed, the uppermost feeling of my heart would have been, to have accompanied it with those expressions of dutiful attachment and respectful gratitude which I owe his majesty, for the many and uniform proofs of confidence and kindness with which he has been graciously pleased to honour me since I have held the seals of the colonial department. If I had been afforded an opportunity of thus relieving myself from the painful position in which I stand towards his majesty, I should have entreated of his majesty's goodness and sense of justice, to permit a letter, so improper for me to have written (if it could have been in my contemplation that it would have been laid before his majesty as an act of resignation) to be withdrawn. Neither should I have concealed from his majesty my regret, considering the trouble which has unfortunately occurred, both to his

majesty and to his government, that I had not taken a different mode of doing what, for reasons fully stated in my letter of the 21st, I found myself bound in honour to do, so as to have prevented, perhaps, the misconception arising out of my letter, written immediately after the debate. I have now stated to you, frankly and without reserve, the substance of all I was anxious to submit to the king. I have done so in the full confidence that you will do me the favour to lay this statement before his majesty; and that I may be allowed to implore of his majesty, that he will do me the justice to believe, that of all who have a right to prefer a claim to be admitted to his royal presence, I am the last who, in a matter relating to myself, would press that claim in a manner unpleasant to his majesty's wishes or inclinations. I bow to them with respectful deference, still retaining, however, a confidence founded on the rectitude of my intentions, that, in being removed from his majesty's service, I may be allowed the consolation of knowing, that I have not been debarred from the privilege of my office in consequence of my having incurred his majesty's personal displeasure.

"Believe me, my dear Duke,

"Yours very sincerely,

"W. HUSKISSON."

This exposition of the right honourable gentleman's views and feelings produced no change in the duke's purpose. Two hours after it was sent, the writer received this note:—

"London, May 25th, 1828.

"My dear Huskisson,—It is with great concern that I inform you, that I have at last attended his majesty, and have received his instructions respecting an arrangement to fill your office. I sincerely regret the loss of your valuable assistance in the arduous task in which I am engaged.

"Believe me, ever yours, most sincerely,
"WELLINGTON."

That Mr. Huskisson felt this keenly is evident from the commentary he supplied. He remarked—"The wording of this letter may appear to require some explanation from me, but it is impossible for me to give, or attempt to give, the slightest. The house may ask—if my letter of the 20th was considered as a positive and formal resignation, whence comes it that, for five days after, there was no advice given to his majesty to

fill up my office? and where was the mighty urgency that it should at length be filled up in a few hours, if, for five days, no steps had been deemed necessary to that effect? For myself, I can only say, such are the facts; but, I repeat, I can give no explanation. I had resigned, and my resignation was accepted; and one would have thought that the first and immediate object would have been, to have found some person to fill my place. Well, sir, at half-past seven I received, through lord Dudley, the letter I had addressed to the noble duke (which had only been sent at half-past five). It was returned to me unopened. I could not understand this; for my name was on the back of the letter, and it had been forwarded through my noble friend the late secretary for foreign affairs. But, sir, it is not on account of any feelings of my own on the occasion that I feel myself obliged to mention this. It is because it occurred from the circumstance of my noble friend not having made that communication to me to which I have before alluded [that withdrawing his letter would end the affair]. But the noble duke, it seems, acted under the impression, that the communication had been made as was intended by him; and, accordingly, when my letter came, he says—'Your answer has come too late—the clock has struck;' and he returns my letter through my lord Dudley, as the most fitting person, because it was he who had been charged with the communication."

From the course pursued by the duke, it may fairly be concluded, that parting from a colleague so important as Mr. Huskisson, he meant it to serve as an example—as a hint that he was not to be trifled with—to all and singular who might be connected with his government. Mr. Huskisson now wrote again:—

"Downing-street, half-past nine, p.m.,

"25th May, 1828.

"My dear Duke,—Lord Dudley has just sent to me, unopened, my letter to you, which I forwarded to Apsley-house about five o'clock this afternoon. This letter was written as soon as I was given to understand by lord Dudley (who called here after an interview with you this morning) that his majesty had not signified any intention of granting me the honour of an audience. No other mode, therefore, remaining open to me, of conveying my sentiments to the king, I address myself to you, for the purpose of bringing before his majesty, in the

shape of a written communication, what I am prevented from stating to his majesty in person. I feel confident that you will not deny me this favour, and you will be satisfied by the contents of my letter (which I now return), that, in writing it, nothing was further from my intention than to intrude myself between you and the arrangements which, upon my removal from office (for such I have considered the result of our correspondence since your letter of the 21st), you have received his majesty's instructions to make. Your letter, communicating this fact, reached me about half-past seven this evening. I thank you for the information, and for the kind manner in which you advert to any feeble assistance which I may have been able to give to your administration, as well as for the expression of the concern with which you have advised his majesty to place my office in other hands.

"Believe me, my dear Duke,

"Ever yours, very sincerely,

"W. HUSKISSON."

After this, he learned that his successor was appointed, and, on the Monday following, was allowed to see the king, who received him most graciously. He received, on his return, the following letter, explanatory of the recent conduct of the duke:—

"London, May 26th, 1828.

"My dear Huskisson,—I have received your letter of yesterday, accompanied by another letter from you, dated also yesterday, which I had returned to lord Dudley, under the impression that I ought not to open it without your previous consent, under the circumstances that existed at the time I received it. I have laid both before the king. In answer, I have only to repeat, that I considered your letter of the 20th as a formal tender of the resignation of your office; and that the circumstance of its being marked 'private and confidential' did not alter the character of the letter, or relieve me from the painful duty of communicating its contents to his majesty, as I did, in person. Your subsequent letters did not, according to my understanding of them, convey any disavowal of your intention to tender your resignation. I laid them before his majesty, and my answers to them, and communicated to lord Dudley that I had done so. The king informed me (I think on Wednesday the 21st), that you had desired to have an audience of his majesty, and that he intended to receive

you the day but one after. I did not consider it my duty to advise his majesty to receive you at an earlier period. It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that your letter to me, of the 20th, was entirely your own act, and wholly unexpected by me. If the letter was written hastily and inconsiderately, surely the natural course for you was to withdraw it altogether, and thus relieve me from the position in which, without any fault of mine, it had placed me—compelling me either to accept the resignation which it tendered, or to solicit you to continue to hold your office. This latter step was, in my opinion, calculated to do me, personally, and the king's government, great disservice; and it appeared to me, that the only mode by which we could be extricated from the difficulty in which your letter had placed us, was, that the withdrawal of your letter should be your spontaneous act, and that it should be adopted without delay. The interference of his majesty, pending our correspondence, would not only have placed his majesty in a situation in which he ought not to be placed in such a question, but it would have subjected me to the imputation that that interference had taken place on my suggestion, or with my connivance. I did not consider it my duty to advise his majesty to interfere in any manner whatever. His majesty informed me, this day, that he had written to you this morning, appointing an audience in the course of the day.

"Believe me, ever yours, most sincerely,
"WELLINGTON."

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of what passed in consequence of the secession of Mr. Huskisson. By some, it will be thought strictness, bordering on unnecessary severity, marked the conduct of the duke; but it must be borne in mind, how important it was, in his view of the circumstances, that his newly-formed administration should not appear to the public wanting in firmness and decision; but that moderate and conciliatory councils were approved by him, and intended to be the rule of his government, will be clearly established by the exposition of the views of ministers, furnished by Mr. Peel, at the conclusion of a reply to Mr. Huskisson's statement. At an early period of the session, he said—"I gave my opinion as to the course which I thought ought to be pursued; that the country should not be governed on any extreme

principle of government, and that, looking to its many and complicated interests, its welfare could not be promoted by selecting or sacrificing any one interest. This—call it compromise or whatever you will—is, in my opinion, the wise policy, which, by not giving undue preference to any interest, attempts to do equal justice to all. I adopt and acknowledge no invariable standard of principles and opinions. I profess attachment and adherence to no political nicknames of any kind. I will not be bound by preconceived notions or rules of conduct—be they called what they may. I neither profess rigidly to adhere to Mr. Canning's principles, or to lord Liverpool's principles—indeed, I do not precisely understand the meaning of the terms—but I shall reserve to myself the privilege and the right of examining and deciding each case that comes before me on its own merits, without tying myself down to any set of peculiar principles. As to the separation which has occurred, I avail myself of this opportunity to state, that, so far as I know, it has not taken place in consequence of any difference, either of policy or principles, amongst the members of the government. And with respect to my noble friend, I will ask, with the money and other supplies of the year not voted, can it be for a moment imagined, that the noble duke would be studiously desirous of breaking up the administration, or whether he is a man likely to act from views which he would not openly avow? I say, that the conduct of my noble friend, throughout the whole of his administration, affords the most complete refutation to any such idea. I say, that my noble friend, from the first moment he came in, attempted to unite the government; and by the spirit of moderation, and the proof of temper exhibited by him, attempted everything to lay the foundation of a stable administration. I do not disguise from myself the difficulties of the country; but, as far as I am from regarding them with presumptuous confidence, equally do I feel that there is no reason to despair; neither can I perceive any public ground why I should refuse my best services to my sovereign, so long as he is pleased to command them. Whatever may be the sacrifices I shall make—whatever the difficulties I shall have to contend with—careless of the calumnies which public men on all sides have cast upon them, I shall persevere: and while I possess the confidence of this house and the country, and that no public principle de-

mands my secession, I shall devote, to my last hour, every energy I can command to the maintenance of that post with which I am entrusted, and in which my humble efforts shall always be directed to the advantage of the country."

The loss of Mr. Huskisson, serious in itself, was more serious in its consequences, as it transpired, that if he were not recalled, other important members of the duke of Wellington's government would be withdrawn. A hope was held out by the ministerial journal that the differences would be arranged; but, at the same time, its apprehensions were clearly indicated; and its readers were told "Visits and interviews which, in other circumstances, would be little more than common occurrences, assume, under the present, an air of great interest and importance, and may be taken as indications of the events that may be expected. Thus, councils are held, from which certain members are absent. The duke of Wellington, earl Bathurst, viscount Melville, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Goulbourn held a meeting on Saturday. Earl Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant were absent." It was soon announced that earl Dudley, lord Palmerston, Mr. Grant, and Mr. William Lamb had resigned. The duke hastened to fill up the vacancies. Sir George Murray, who had been quartermaster-general of the army, under his grace, and afterwards commander-in-chief in Ireland, became the successor of Mr. Huskisson. The earl of Aberdeen accepted the seals of the foreign office, which had recently been held by earl Dudley. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald took the place of Mr. Grant; and sir Henry Hardinge was appointed secretary-at-war, the post which had been filled by lord Palmerston. The new divisions thus created awfully weakened the tory party, which had suffered much from previous differences. The friends of some of the ex-ministers put forth a charge against the duke, to which the whole tenour of his life seems to offer a flat contradiction—that he had secretly desired to get rid of Mr. Huskisson; and that the circumstances which had caused that right honourable gentleman to resign, had been artfully contrived by the premier himself, to cover a design which he wanted courage to avow. On the other hand, the valedictory speech of Mr. Huskisson was angrily criticised by the duke's supporters, and it was affrontingly assumed, that he was exceedingly hurt at finding the duke of

Wellington could think of dispensing with his services. It was remarked—"Neither the soreness of his spirit, nor the novelty of his situation, can fully excuse Mr. Huskisson for the bitterness of his farewell to office. In his own unlooked-for act of resignation, he can see nothing but abrupt dismissal—in himself a voluntary exile from place, he can see nothing but the *victim* of aristocratical ostracism—and in his own sleepless hurry to divest himself of power, he can see nothing but the *alacrity* of others to strip him of what he had cast away! In rank and fortune (hitherto not beneath his courtesy), he can find nothing but a 'confederacy' against all that is liberal and wise; in 'the friends of tory principles,' nothing but 'the enemies of all improvement;' in respect paid to the memory of his patron, he can read nothing but libel and fraud; and in 'one cheer more' to the principles which placed his sovereign on the throne, he can hear nothing but the ebullition of intolerance!"

It must have been grateful to the duke's feelings, after being considered the antagonist of Mr. Canning and his friends, to find an opportunity for expressing his admiration and regard for the departed; and, at the same time, to prove his anxiety for the welfare of his surviving family. Like other distinguished ministers who had gone before him, Mr. Canning's great talents had not proved to him the source of wealth; and it became the duty of the minister to recommend to the crown that a provision should be made for the Canning family. In a committee on the officers' pension act, the chancellor of the exchequer had, on the 13th of May, proposed an alteration in that act, with a view to "enable the crown to perform an act of simple justice," by making a reasonable provision for the family of the deceased statesman. The right honourable gentleman proposed to enlarge the powers of the act, that his majesty might, under it, grant the sum of three thousand pounds per annum to the representative or representatives of Mr. Canning. The resolution submitted to the committee was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-one to fifty-four; and a bill, founded on it, passed the house of commons, which, being sent up to the lords, was there read a first, and ordered to be read a second, time on the 7th of June. On that day the duke of Wellington brought the subject under their lordships' consideration; and, doing so, spoke to this effect:—

“ My lords, in moving the second reading of the bill which has been sent up to this house, the object of which is to enable his majesty to make some provision for the family of the late Mr. Canning, I am anxious to state to your lordships the grounds upon which I have been led to give my full concurrence to the introduction of the measure to parliament, and upon which I feel myself called upon to recommend to parliament to give it their support. Mr. Canning, whose talents, qualifications, and abilities are well known in this country, entered into his majesty's service in the year 1796, and having filled several high and important offices in this country, died in the year 1827, at that time filling the offices of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. My lords, you are all aware that the salaries attached to high offices in the government of this country, are very inadequate to defray the necessary expenses of those who fill them. This may be good policy: it may be right upon the ground of economy; but it is quite clear, that when a person—such as was Mr. Canning, with a small fortune—was called upon to perform the duties of such high offices as he for a long period held, he must either inadequately perform those duties, and live in a manner unbecoming the dignity of his station, or must have recourse to other funds for his support. This, I regret to say, was unhappily the case with Mr. Canning; and he was compelled to sacrifice those funds which ought to have been reserved for the future support of his family. I think, my lords, I may confidently venture to assert, that if Mr. Canning, instead of entering upon the service of his country, had adhered to the profession with a view to which he had been educated, and for which he was so eminently qualified by his brilliant talents and unceasing industry, he would no doubt have reached the most exalted station at which it is possible for any individual engaged in such a profession to arrive, and would have had the additional happiness of leaving his family in wealth and affluence. I may also, my lords, venture, perhaps, to state a fact, of which my own personal knowledge leaves me no room to doubt the truth—that, in the year 1821, Mr. Canning being appointed to the office of governor-general of India, when he was on the point of setting sail, having accepted the appointment, was called upon by his majesty to fill the situation of secretary of state for foreign affairs, vacant

through the severe loss sustained by his majesty, in consequence of the death of the marquis of Londonderry. If, my lords, he had taken the situation, and, agreeably to his first intention, had sailed for India, it is more than probable that he would now have been on his return, possessed of sufficient wealth to render his family independent, and screen them from that distress and anxiety which they now experienced. After a few years from Mr. Canning's having entered upon the office of foreign secretary, his majesty, considering that he had given up a situation from which so many pecuniary advantages were likely to arise, thought proper to confer upon him a pension, which his majesty, by the provision of an act of parliament—the powers of which it is the object of this bill to enlarge—was enabled to do. I must say, my lords, and I believe I am almost the only person, if not in reality the only person, who, from personal knowledge, am enabled to assert, that this act of free grace on the part of his majesty was quite unsolicited by Mr. Canning. But, my lords, Mr. Canning having never been out of office from the period at which this grant was conferred upon him, never received any part of the pension, and, in consequence, had nothing but the emoluments arising from his situation of foreign secretary to support the expenses which such an office necessarily forced him to incur. Under these circumstances, Mr. Canning found he could but ill afford to make that appearance which his office required; and his family were in a condition by no means affluent, or such as they ought to be, considering their rank and situation. I will beg to call your lordships' attention to the alteration which this act made in the prerogative of the crown, and, consequently, in the situation in which Mr. Canning's family were placed. If, my lords, the act of parliament conferring this pension on Mr. Canning had not passed, that prerogative which the crown possesses in all cases of property, would have acquired for Mr. Canning some other adequate means of support; and the same grace and favour which procured for him this grant, would have induced his majesty to confer upon him some sinecure office, which could have enabled him more fully to support the dignity of his station. When Mr. Canning died, it is well known that he possessed the favour and gratitude of his country; and there is no man but knows, that, if his majesty possessed the power, he

would have taken care to relieve his family from the oppressive circumstances in which they had been left, either by granting a sinecure office to his son, or by any other means which might have appeared to his majesty more effective. Under these circumstances, I am called upon to ask your lordships to support the second reading of this bill, to enable his majesty to do that which ought in justice to be done. Another reason which should influence your lordships to support the present measure is, that it can create no improvident expense, and it will form no inconvenient precedent. I hope that your lordships will now grant to his majesty the power of giving a proof that he is not insensible of the many services which the right honourable and lamented gentleman had rendered to his country."

The motion was agreed to; and the pensions' act amendment bill, giving his majesty the powers called for, was speedily passed.

Plain writing, or plain speaking, has been described to be the leading feature in the duke's character. It may be recognised in the measures of his government. The sinking-fund had long been kept up, at a large nominal amount, while the income of the country presented little or no excess over the unavoidable expenditure. There can be no doubt, that, at certain periods, it had proved useful; the understanding, that when a loan was called for, its extinction within a given time was duly provided for, quieted alarms which would otherwise have been clamorous, and prevented effects being produced on the money-market which might have been fruitful of financial disasters. But the sinking-fund had served its purpose, and was no longer of importance; as, to the great body of the nation, it was obvious, that if five or ten millions were borrowed to keep up the sinking-fund, the national debt could not be reduced lower by the amount so raised, than if the payment to be effected by its means were left unliquidated, no new loan being contracted for. When Mr. Goulburn brought forward the budget, on the 10th of July, he called the attention of the house of commons to this view of the case. He declared he wished to have no concealment, but would fairly state everything connected with the finances of the country, and leave the decision to the good sense of the house. The income of the nation, it was stated, at this period, reached fifty-three millions nine hundred and two

thousand pounds; the expenditure, to fifty millions one hundred and four thousand five hundred and twenty-two pounds. This, he said, presented an increase in the former of more than two million pounds over the income of the preceding year; but if the surplus of income over expenditure were compared with the amount at which parliament had resolved the sinking-fund should be maintained, there would be a deficiency of three million pounds; to raise which, one of two courses must be taken—a loan would be necessary, or fresh taxes must be imposed. He had a strong objection to increase the funded or the unfunded debt in time of peace, and to doing that which tended to create a delusion, without producing any substantial advantage. Mr. Pitt, in establishing the sinking-fund, had contemplated the application of surplus means to the reduction of debt: but, to keep up a salutary sinking-fund, a real surplus was necessary. At that moment, he was reluctant to have recourse to new taxation; but, at the same time, he would not be thought to abandon the idea of making a regular and consistent effort to redeem the debt. That he considered absolutely necessary to its present safety and its future strength. He, however, proposed to get rid of the anomaly of borrowing with one hand to pay off debt with the other, by reducing the nominal amount of the sinking-fund, and looking to real resources for its payment. The house would understand, that declaring to borrow money to the amount of three million pounds, he should retain as much as would otherwise be applicable to the reduction of the national debt. Nor did he, in this, depart from the policy of Mr. Pitt. The sinking-fund was not established on the principle of borrowing money for its support. Mr. Pitt only contemplated reducing the public debt by means of surplus revenue; but long and extraordinary wars interfered with the whole of his projects, and left him only the privilege of choosing between two alternatives—to abandon the system of the sinking-fund altogether, or to maintain it by borrowing—borrowing to pay debt, which was contrary to the principle on which it was originally founded. Under the circumstances of the case, Mr. Pitt had decided for that which he considered the lesser evil of the two.

The speech of the right honourable gentleman gave general satisfaction, and the plans of the government were adopted.

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF IRELAND; THE RIBBON CODE; GREAT DEBATE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION; SPEECHES OF THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE SLAVE-TRADE; PROCEEDINGS OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE; APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC MONEY WITHOUT THE SANCTION OF PARLIAMENT.

IRELAND, the unfailing source of embarrassment to every minister, was, at this juncture, a subject of great anxiety. The hopes of the Roman catholics had been excited by the progress which the cause of emancipation had evidently made, and their protestant friends indulged a confident hope, that that, and that alone, would prove a cure for all the evils the sister-kingdom had to deplore, consolidate the union of the two countries, and give additional strength, repose, and security to England.

Whatever the cause, it could not be denied that the present condition of Ireland loudly called for amelioration. Outrages were frequent, and juries had no disposition, or they were afraid, to perform their duty. Murderous conspiracies were organised with a degree of skill and contrivance that was truly alarming, and their behests were carried out in a spirit of awful fidelity which was absolutely terrific to those who desired to live under the protection of known laws. The Ribbon code, as it was called, was a scheme for employing assassins, the fatal perfection of which surpassed all that tradition has preserved of the deeds which gave celebrity to "the old man of the mountains." A Ribbon lodge, a Dublin journal described to be "an affiliated branch of a secret society, composed exclusively of Roman catholics, having, for its object, the two-fold purpose of extirpating heresy and regulating the occupation and possession of land." The editor added—"It is both a religious and an agrarian society. Each separate lodge is composed of forty members; it has a master, secretary, delegate, three committee-men, and thirty-four members. These are admitted with a solemn oath to yield unlimited obedience to the authorities of the institution, and to maintain the utmost secrecy; they pledge themselves 'to wade knee-deep in protestant blood, and to spare none of the heretic race from the cradle to the crutch.' The members are known to each other by secret signs and pass-words, changed every three months by a central authority, unknown even to the conspirators themselves.

They meet by concert at fairs, and on market-days at some public-house, known to be friendly, and drop in, one by one, till the room is full, and then proceed to business. They avoid night-meetings as much as possible, lest they attract attention; and, when they do meet at night, it is generally at dances got up for the purpose, when the junior members are dressed in women's clothes; all that appears to the observer is rustic hilarity and merriment; but the work of death is going on within. When an offence is committed against the barbarous code of law this society has established, either by an agent ejecting non-payment tenants from land for which they are unwilling, or unable, to pay any rent, or by a farmer in becoming tenant for such ejected land, or by a landlord preferring a protestant to a Roman catholic tenant, or by information given for the purpose of bringing to justice members of the association, then, on the next meeting of the lodge, a complaint is brought forward against the offending individual; a jury is forthwith empannelled and sworn, consisting generally of seven members; the master of the lodge acts as judge; the complainant is sworn and examined by counsel; members volunteer evidence on one side or other, and the judge charges the jury; the verdict is brought in by a majority, and the sentence of death pronounced in hideous mockery of justice by the presiding conspirator. The appointment of the executioners next follow; lots are drawn; and they on whom the fatal billet falls, must, on pain of death, carry out the merciless sentence. Frequently, however, the trial and sentence are reported to a distant lodge, which furnishes the executioners, on the understanding of the service being returned in kind, when demanded. There is no hurry about the matter—all is conducted in the most sedate and business-like manner. The victim is watched—his habits examined and reported—accurate information of all his movements obtained—a time is appointed for his execution; if unfavourable, it is deferred with

perfect coolness; if favourable, he is executed without remorse and without mercy."

This sad state of things it was impossible to contemplate without deep concern. There was but too much reason to believe that the startling crimes which were from time to time reported, grew on distress. When the earl of Darnley, in the month of May, called for a committee on the state of Ireland, the duke, while opposing the motion, proved that he was awake to the importance of the subject. His grace then said—"I am fully impressed with the conviction, that there is no part of his majesty's dominions that so imperatively demands the constant attention of his majesty's government as Ireland. My noble friend (earl Darnley), tells us, that in Ireland there are six million of people who require employment. He has, moreover, told us, that all the wealth of Ireland would be insufficient to supply that employment. I think my noble friend has, in both cases, exaggerated. I think," he, however, added, "it is not the fact that six million of people in Ireland require employment. But it is no use inquiring into that part of the subject, because, in point of fact, we have abundant evidence before us, as the noble lord very truly stated, to convince us, that the poor of Ireland are suffering under very considerable distress. It is not true that they suffer under the infliction of that distress at all times, or in every year; but it is true, that at particular seasons of certain years, from the nature of their food, very great distress and suffering is experienced by them. The noble lord tells us, that to that food might be traced many of the miseries of Ireland—that it (potatoes) can be procured for a mere trifle—he has said for three farthings per stone. Now, it appears to me, that the fact of provisions being to be had at that price, can hardly be brought forward as an argument to prove the necessity of inquiry, except when that food shall at any time have been found to have failed. No inquiry is necessary to prove that when that event happens, distress must ensue. If we want evidence of that fact, we have it before us in the statements of persons of authority. There can be no doubt of it. Then, I say, that that distress has no regard to the want of work among the people. That want of work the noble earl does not call on us to relieve, for, to that relief he says, that all the wealth of Ireland is insufficient; but he requires us to relieve the

lame, the impotent, the aged, and the sick. Now, I believe it is true, as the noble earl states, that we may relieve the second branch, but not the other. The gentlemen of Ireland have already contributed largely to the relief of that casual distress. It is true, with all that can be done, when there is general distress arising from the circumstances I have already stated, that all they can do will not relieve all the cases, and that shocking instances of distress will happen; but I must beg leave to say, that if he intends to confine relief solely to the aged, the impotent, the lame, and the sick, it will fall short, very far short, of doing away with that distress which arises from the want of employment. The poor-rates of this country are applied, in many instances, in furnishing work to the able-bodied; and the reason why that system must be persisted in is, that if the work be not supplied to the able-bodied, the able-bodied will become sick. Now, I entreat your lordships to consider, that in Ireland, if the poor-laws are once established there, it is not merely that these persons require employment and food, but, in truth, if work is not furnished, and food given to these able-bodied persons, they will immediately fall sick; and I beg your lordships to look to this—that if this is a burden on the landed property of Ireland, you must suffer it: for if it is admitted to be necessary to give food to the sick, while it is refused to the able-bodied, the consequence will be, that half the population will claim it; for nobody will work; and when they fall sick, they will come on the rates. It has been said, truly, that one of the great evils of Ireland is a want of capital. I beg, however, to remind your lordships, that capital alone will not necessarily prevent the existence of the evil, and remove the burden of the poor; and, as an evidence of the truth of this assertion, I may refer to the example of this country, in which there is no want of capital. It has been said, that ninety-five million of capital were to be found in England alone; and yet, for the sustenance of the poor of this country, seven millions were required in the course of last year."

The resolution in favour of catholic emancipation, carried by sir Francis Burdett in the house of commons, became the subject of an interesting debate in the upper house. It commenced on the 9th of June, the subject being brought forward by the marquis

of Lansdowne, and concluded on the 10th, when the numbers were—non-contents, present, one hundred and twenty-three; proxies, fifty-nine: total, one hundred and eighty-two. Contents, present, ninety-two; proxies, forty-five: total, one hundred and thirty-seven. For the speeches made on either side the reader must be referred to the parliamentary debates; but the course taken by the duke of Wellington will be traced with eager curiosity, more especially when attention has been called to what he felt prescribed to him by his public duty in the following year. On this occasion he was opposed to his brother, the marquis of Wellesley. That noble person had long been one of the most strenuous advocates for catholic emancipation. He now expressed his entire concurrence with the resolution which had been sent to them from the other house—a concurrence founded, he said, upon a conviction that the effect of the laws (to repeal which was its remote object) was, instead of tending to the security of either church or state, greatly to endanger both. The noble marquis proceeded—"It has been my lot, for many years, to watch closely the state and the effect of those laws, and I have no hesitation in declaring to you, that the result has been to impress upon me the conviction I have just now expressed with a degree of strength which it is impossible for me to describe. I have no hesitation, from the results of the knowledge acquired by that attentive observation, to declare, that it is my opinion (an opinion which I have often had occasion to see confirmed), that this boon will be received as one of favour and grace by Ireland, if it is conferred at this moment by this country, in its plenitude of strength and power. It is impossible for me to express by description all I have seen in the discharge of my duty in that country. In discharging that duty, I have had—and I acknowledge with gratitude, which I expressed at the time—the support of individuals of rank, of power, and of influence in Ireland. But all that I could do, even with the assistance of those persons—supported also, I humbly persuaded myself, with the favourable opinion of my sovereign, and by the co-operation of those distinguished individuals who held high offices in the government of the country—I felt my desire and my capability to be of service, marred and rendered unproductive by the dreadful influence of those laws, balefully operating, as they did, upon the

best interests of the country. I therefore give my vote with sincere pleasure for the examination of those laws. The resolution before your lordships binds you not to any particular course, after a due consideration of those laws, nor to the adoption of any measure founded upon that investigation. It goes merely to declare—"That it is expedient to consider the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom—to the stability of the protestant establishment—and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." Now, I have to inquire of any person acquainted with Ireland—is the state of the law respecting the Roman catholics there anything likely to 'be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom—the stability of the protestant establishment—and to the general satisfaction and concord of all his majesty's subjects?' Having strongly pressed on their lordships the importance of immediately entering upon the proposed inquiry, he glanced at the opinions entertained by the duke of Wellington at that time. His lordship said—"Let the result be what it may, I shall derive consolation from the tone and temper in which this discussion has been carried on; and particularly by the conduct respecting it of one to whom I have the honour of being the relative, and who now sits opposite to me; who has, with the most candid and manly spirit, declared that he would be favourable to the revision of the laws now under your lordships' consideration, provided he could be assured of security to church and state." That avowal, and the admission of a noble and learned lord, constituted, in his opinion, a strong case for inquiry.

The duke of Wellington then spoke as follows:—"My lords, I rise under extreme difficulty to address your lordships on this most important subject. I feel particular concern in being under the necessity of following my noble relative, and of stating that I differ in opinion from him whom I so dearly love—him for whose opinions I entertain so much respect. I cannot, however, prevail upon myself to declare anything but my own conviction, hoping that the views of my noble relative and my own do not differ in reality. I wish, as much as my noble relative does, that this question should be

brought to an amicable conclusion. But I do not see in the measure proposed to your lordships the means of bringing it to such a conclusion. I, in common with the noble and learned lord who recently addressed your lordships, must see clearly and distinctly security to the state before I can vote for this question. My noble relative says, that our security will be found in the removal of the securities which now exist. I say that the securities we now enjoy, and which, for a length of time, we have enjoyed, are indispensable to the security of the church and state. I should be glad to see the disabilities of the Roman catholics removed; but before I can consent to their removal, I must see something in their stead which will effectually protect our institutions. I feel exceedingly happy at the good temper and moderation in which this debate has been conducted; and your lordships may rely upon it, I shall say nothing calculated to disturb that desirable feeling; but it is impossible for me to avoid referring to some observations of noble lords who have preceded me in this discussion. The noble marquis who introduced the resolution now before your lordships, took occasion to refer to some expressions of mine, uttered in a former debate, respecting the state of Ireland at, of course, a previous period, and with particular reference to the claims set up for the restoration of confiscated property. When I alluded to those transactions, I expressed my apprehensions that concession might lead to similar events. I believe, however, that I stated then, as I do now, that I was as I am now, extremely anxious that something might be found—some mode discovered—by which this unfortunate state of things might be remedied; but I never said otherwise than that I sincerely wish that it might be brought to an amicable conclusion. My lords, my own opinion is, that we have never objected to the Roman catholics on the ground that they believe in transubstantiation, or in purgatory, or in any other of those peculiar doctrines by which they are distinguished—doctrines which a most reverend prelate conceived it his duty to examine. But, my lords, we objected to their opinions, because upon those opinions was founded a system of political conduct. I am now to consider this question, in which the noble marquis has put it as one of expediency, and I agree with a noble and learned lord in thinking, that we are bound to respect civil power and political right; but I am sure the noble and learned lord will agree with me when I say, that if it be expedient that this question should be granted, that civil power and that political right ought not to be exercised. The question then resolves itself into one of expediency; and I ground my opposition to it, not on the peculiar doctrinal points of the Roman catholic faith, but because of the nature of Roman catholic church government. I am sure I do not wish to say anything that will be deemed invidious, or that will tend to hurt the feelings of any man; but when we recollect the transactions that have taken place in Ireland during the last twenty-five years, and see how the Roman catholic church has been acting there—in a spirit of combination—in a spirit by which the laity has been governed—it is this, my lords, I confidently affirm, that is the cause of the present disturbed state of things in Ireland. The noble marquis talked of the power of the people, and of a powerless aristocracy in the country to which he referred—of a people, guided and governed by demagogues and by the priesthood; but, my lords, that is the consequence, not of the state of the law, but of that combination to which I have alluded. Then, my lords, I say, that if you grant this catholic emancipation—if you give all that the Roman catholics require—what security have you that this combination will not still exist? My lords, we are told that there are securities; and I admit, from the first moment that this question was launched in this country, from the passing of the union down to the present day, all those who have ever moved this question, have stated that securities there must be. The right honourable gentleman to whom the noble lord had alluded, stated in that very letter to which the noble lord referred, and stated most explicitly in parliament, that there must be securities. But that right honourable gentleman never, in the cabinet at least, so far as I have been able to learn, set forth what those securities were. I have repeatedly conversed with those that were intimately acquainted with the right honourable gentleman, and with some who were connected with him in office at the period to which I advert, but I have never heard, nor could I ever learn, in what those securities consisted. A noble and learned lord (lord Plunkett) has given a detailed history of such securities as have been proposed for consideration; but he has not told us, al-

though I am sure he will not deny it, that the Roman catholics themselves have objected to all such proposed securities. But the noble and learned lord tells us, that we ought not to attend to what we hear in Ireland on this subject; but though he may know these things, I do not see how we, in this country, and in this house, are to get at them, or, indeed, how the people of England are to become acquainted with them. These things may be known to the noble and learned lord, but I do not see what we can do but believe what we see for ourselves. And he cannot be surprised that we should require provisions for the security of the church and state: such as are acknowledged to be necessary, are refused by the Roman catholics, whose conduct they are intended to regulate. Under these circumstances, my lords, it is not extraordinary that we should have strong feelings on the subject. We feel deeply interested for the safety of church and state, and we feel therefore that we ought to be sufficiently assured that no danger exists before we incur any risk."

His grace proceeded to reply to a statement, that the Roman catholic religion, in its natural state, was not unfavourable to the government of any country. On this point he said—"I beg your lordships to observe, that in all the countries of Europe, the sovereigns have been under the necessity of calling in the aid of the pope to assist them in governing their subjects. The Roman catholic subjects of Europe have thus been gained over, by an instrument issued in some way or other by the pope, and such instrument as afforded sufficient knowledge of the intercourse that existed between the pope and the subjects of any particular state. The protestant kings of Europe, before they could obtain possession of the complete allegiance of their catholic subjects, have been compelled to procure concordats or bulls from the pope. The sovereigns of Europe, so long as three hundred years ago, obtained an instrument, or whatever it might be called, from the pope, by which they obtained that power which it was necessary for the civil government to have over the clergy of the country; and besides this, these treaties all contained the means of obtaining that influence over the priests and the people together, without which it would have been impossible for the civil power to exist. The protestant sovereigns who, subsequent to the French revolution, obtained the pos-

session of territories which heretofore had been in the possession of catholics, found themselves obliged to obtain a bull from the pope giving them the means of restraining the clergy of the catholic church; and I must, therefore, say, that we who look with something of jealousy at the catholic subjects of the king in Ireland, have a little more to do than merely to go on with surmises; when the fact really is, that till a concordat should be obtained, it would be found impossible to govern the catholic subjects of that country, were any further concessions granted to them. The emperor of Russia, notwithstanding his power, was obliged to call on the pope to assist him to govern his own subjects. Let us not be told, then, that we are unnecessarily apprehensive of the safety of our state, when the same apprehensions exist in every country, and means of protection have been resorted to against them. I, as well as many others, have recently seen an ingenious publication—that of Mr. Gally Knight—which has been frequently alluded to in the debates that have taken place on this question within the last few weeks. I confess it has perfectly astonished me, that any gentleman should gravely propose that we should follow the example of other countries, considering all the circumstances that have taken place in those countries, or have long existed there. There are several points with reference to our country which it is most material to consider. One of these is, that our church forms a main portion of our constitution. Another is, that our sovereign is the head of that church, and that we are bound to him by an oath of supremacy—an oath not only to acknowledge his supremacy, but to deny and abjure the existence of any other power to have jurisdiction within these realms. My lords, I wish the house would examine the details of some of those concordats, and see how far they agree with the circumstances under which this country is placed. I am induced to allude to this portion of the subject more particularly, because of the observations of my noble relative. I have now within my view the concordat, or I should say, the arrangement entered into by his majesty the king of Hanover with the pope, in respect to his Hanoverian subjects, which arrangement amounts to nothing more nor less than a bull from his holiness. By this arrangement, the kingdom of Hanover is divided into two dioceses—that on the right,

and that on the left of the Weser—by which the pope conveys the bishops and all their jurisdictions and authority, and every jurisdiction and authority by possibility belonging to a bishop, freely to the king of Hanover for ever. And his majesty, on his part, engages to pay to those bishops certain salaries to provide land for their subsistence, and to defray all the expenses of their several establishments, with the exception only of the parochial clergy. Now, there can be no doubt that this arrangement is nothing more nor less than the establishment of the Roman catholic religion in the kingdom of Hanover. The same thing has likewise been done by the king of the Netherlands, in the low countries—a catholic bishop having been admitted into the town of Amsterdam. What I want the house to advert to, now that it is in possession of these facts, is this—that it is impossible for England to make any such arrangement as this with the pope. That no other arrangement can be made, I will not take upon myself to say: I will not say that an arrangement cannot take place, under which the king shall have the power to nominate the bishops, and likewise possess the authority of counteracting and interrupting the intercourse of the bishops with the see of Rome. But I will say, that to enable the see of Rome to appoint the bishops to the dioceses in Ireland, will be impossible for parliament to allow, under the present constitution of the country. My lords, I call your lordships' attention to that particular part of the subject, because I see that such a result is at the present moment impossible. What are we to do, then? Whatever we do must be done by legislation, although legislation has not been hitherto tried; but whatever we do, must be done firmly and fearlessly. We must carry our legislation to whatever extent we may consider proper. My lords, as I have before said, I was anxious to avoid addressing your lordships at all on this subject. I have delivered my opinion upon it; and I am anxious again to impress upon your lordships, how desirable it is that discussions upon this question, introduced in this way, which can lead to no practical result, and can only disturb the public mind, without leading to any conclusion, should be discontinued. I will now refer your lordships to the fact, that in Ireland, previous to the enactment of that law which forms the basis of this question—from the

year 1781 to the year 1791, a period of ten years, during which there were many and great troubles in Ireland—the Roman catholic question was never heard of. So little was it heard of, that when a noble friend, who now sits near me on the woolsack, brought a bill into the house of commons with reference to the Roman catholics of England, it is positively a fact, that the lord-lieutenant of Ireland was not only not consulted on the subject, but does not seem to have heard of it until it had been actually introduced—so little was the subject then discussed or thought upon in Ireland. If, then, the public mind is suffered to rest for a short time—if the agitators of Ireland will leave the public mind for a time quiet with respect to this question—men's minds would then become more satisfied upon it, and then it would be possible to do something."

This speech it is necessary to bear in mind. It was often referred to at subsequent periods of the noble duke's career; but those who became his bitterest assailants lost sight of the fact, that he had intimated, if agitation were abated, something might be done to meet the wishes of the catholics. This suggestion was, however, in direct opposition to the principle acted upon by the great catholic chief, O'Connell, whose cry was ever and anon—"Agitate! agitate! agitate!"

Among the various topics pressed on the consideration of the minister, the then state of the slave-trade must be mentioned as calling for an exposition of his views. On the 23rd of June, earl Grosvenor, on presenting a petition from Chester, for the abolition of slavery, dwelt upon the sufferings and privations endured by the slaves in the West Indies, and urged the adoption of energetic measures to do away with slavery. He wished to know whether it was the intention of his majesty's government to carry the resolutions into effect which had been passed by the two houses of parliament with regard to the West India colonies? He thought it was incumbent on the country to see that those measures were adopted. He wished to know what were the intentions of government with regard to the manumission of slaves? He wished also to learn whether anything had been done with regard to the inhabitants of colour? He hoped, at all events, that still more would be done for the colonies.

The duke of Wellington said—"He would

confine himself to answering the questions which the noble earl had put, and, in particular, one question, or rather an insinuation he had thrown out, that it was not the intention of his majesty's government to act upon the resolutions which had been passed by both houses of parliament. He thought he could answer for the late administration, as he could assure their lordships, it was the determination of the present government to carry the measures into effect which were recommended by those resolutions; but it was in the sense in which they were adopted by parliament—gradually—and in such a manner as would not disturb the peace or tranquillity of the colonies, or endanger the property of those individuals who had risked their entire fortunes in the West India islands. To effect those objects, his majesty's servants had proceeded slowly he admitted, but he thought he might say effectively; and he trusted, that before he sat down, he should be able to convince their lordships that some progress had been made towards carrying the resolutions into execution, and a great deal had been done in establishing the principle thereof. The noble earl had alluded to the irritable feeling which had been evinced in the colonies; but he thought their lordships would agree with him, that that irritability was natural, when they considered the strong interest which those gentlemen who possessed property in the islands must have in preserving them from disturbance or innovation. It was natural that prejudices should exist in the minds of the several proprietors; but notwithstanding those feelings and prejudices, he repeated, that it was the determination, as well as the duty of his majesty's servants, to persevere until they should carry those measures into effect, which were not less calculated to benefit the general interests of the country, than to meliorate the condition of the slaves. He could assert, that in every one of these measures, something had been done towards establishing the principle. The noble earl had alluded to a law which had been passed by the legislative assembly of the island of Jamaica, to which his majesty had not thought proper to give his assent. But the noble earl was in error in supposing that his majesty had refused his consent from any objection to those parts of the bill which had been alluded to; there were other subjects—there were certain provisions in the bill, of which his majesty did not ap-

prove. The principle of the measure, he repeated, had been universally adopted, and much of what had been adopted in the island of Trinidad, and which was the model of what was generally desired, had been carried into effect. With respect to the other considerations, the prejudices and objections which existed in the colonies to the introduction of those measures, he did not think it necessary to enter fully into them; but it was the duty of the government to persevere, by the modes they thought best calculated, to carry the resolutions adopted by parliament into execution. The principle of the measure had been adopted not only in the colonies which were governed by council, but even in the chartered colonies. With respect to the slave-trade which was carried on by foreign powers, he regretted to say, that notwithstanding the treaties which this country had entered into with every power in Europe, and the efforts which were made to enforce those treaties, it was lamentable to reflect to what extent that trade was continued. He feared that it was as much practised in Africa and the colonies of America as before any steps had been taken to suppress it.—Earl Bathurst: Not in our colonies.—The duke of Wellington continued—"Not in our colonies, but in others; and, in Africa, he could not but deplore the extent to which the slave-trade was carried on. In reply to the last question which the noble earl had put, with regard to persons of colour, the island of Jamaica had passed a law, entitling those persons to hold certain offices; and exemptions had been made in favour of several individuals, qualifying them to fill all offices, and enjoy all the benefits of the West India colonies."

Lord Calthorpe expressed satisfaction at the statement which had been made of the policy ministers were prepared to act upon with respect to the colonies; but he confessed he was not satisfied at the manner in which the noble duke had alluded to the proceedings of the legislative assemblies of the West Indies, as if indeed everything were going on well there. He could not see what grounds the noble duke had for the hopes which he had expressed, when he recollected that two or three years back the very same hopes had been expressed by a right honourable gentleman, now no more, and by the noble lord at that time at the head of the colonial department. He would ask, what improvements had been made since

that period? He was unwilling to rest on the description of cruelty and outrages which came from those islands; and it was natural to expect that they should be more or less exaggerated; yet he could not close his ears against all their complaints. If the noble duke continued to express those hopes without giving any distinct pledge, which might be considered decisive, he thought the tendency of it would be to destroy all grounds for hope. A hint could be thrown out, that if the colonists did not meet the views of the house by withdrawing the troops, to which they owed their security, ministers might be compelled to take a different course.

To this the duke replied, that he had not expressed his satisfaction so much in consequence of anything that had been done, as at the principle of the measure being acted on, not only in those colonies which were governed by his majesty's council, but in chartered colonies. When he saw, that notwithstanding the opposition which had been offered, the principle had been established, he contended that it did afford grounds for hope that those measures should be acted upon in their fullest extent, and if they were not sufficient when received, that they should adopt additional measures; but still, on the same principle, and in such a manner, as to avoid what the noble lord seemed to recommend—the use of physical force. He thought it would be the duty of government even to delay those measures, for the purpose of establishing them peaceably.

To a general measure of parliamentary reform, the duke had ever been, and now continued to be opposed. His feeling was, that the condition of the country would be most effectually improved by making such specific changes as the lapse of time and varying circumstances might prove to be necessary or desirable. This had been seen in more than one instance since he became prime minister. The powers given to the committee for inquiring into the state of the public income and expenditure of the kingdom, were well calculated to discover and expose abuses which had previously escaped detection. Its labours caused a motion of considerable interest at the time to be submitted to the house of commons. On the 23rd of June, Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor complained of what he deemed a gross violation of the privileges of the house of commons, which had thus been brought to light. From papers before the house,

and from facts that had come to his knowledge, and which he believed to be true (and he challenged honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house to disprove them), he meant to show that the resolution with which he should conclude was correct. All present, or at any rate a great number of the members, must recollect the unfortunate war which so long distracted Europe, and wore out this country. From the consequences which followed that war, the country might never recover, and it was from some of them that his motion took its rise. At the close of that unfortunate war, it was found that many of the subjects of Great Britain had strong claims on the government of France; and in the treaty of Paris, therefore, in May, 1814, it was stipulated that the French government should transfer a certain portion of money into the hands of commissioners appointed by this country for the liquidation of these claims. An act was passed (the 59th of the late king), in which certain commissioners were nominated to award and liquidate these claims; and, of course, they proceeded to the objects of their inquiry, and had, no doubt, acted as persons so circumstanced ought to act. He did not mean to refer to the whole of that act of parliament; but there was the conclusion of one clause which it was necessary the house should be in possession of. The part to which he alluded was as follows:—"And in case all such claims are liquidated, the money which remains shall be applied to other purposes; and the said commissioners shall so apply this money as they shall be directed by three commissioners of his majesty's treasury to apply it." The number of three commissioners was mentioned, because he believed it required three to make a board and sign a treasury warrant. There was an act of the 6th of George IV. to enable the commissioners of woods and forests, who, by the 4th of the king were to pay certain sums to the consolidated fund, instead of so doing, to pay over seventy thousand pounds per year of it, to defray the expenses attending the building, or rebuilding, of Buckingham-palace. Of this grant, only twenty-seven thousand pounds were really advanced to defray the expenses attending the actual building, the rest having been applied to the alterations of the gardens and building of the stables. At the same time, the words of the act might be so construed as to mean, that all the expenses attending any part of

Buckingham-house were to be defrayed out of the hereditary revenue of the crown, subject to the control of the commissioners of woods and forests.

The palace had been erected in 1825. Mr. Taylor did not propose to enter into the question as to the propriety of then calling for it. He was quite convinced that the vote of any sum necessary for the maintenance of the splendour of the crown, would be cheerfully acquiesced in by the people of this country; but he was equally convinced, that any improper diversion of a sum voted by act of parliament from its intended purpose, would be deemed unjustifiable, and ought to be visited with punishment. This was no party question, but one which would go to decide whether the king's ministers had the power of disposing, at their pleasure, of any surplus sum of money that might by accident fall into their hands, without consulting parliament, even though parliament should be then sitting. The case before the house, he considered to involve a most clandestine issue. During the whole of the periods in which the money had been issued, parliament had actually been sitting—no delay could therefore have been apprehended; and, consequently, no excuse could be offered for ministers in having omitted to apply for the consent of the legislature to that which, without it, became a misappropriation. Parliament would have only to declare, that although only one sum of seventy thousand pounds had been paid out of the gross amount ordered to be advanced, by annual payments of seventy thousand pounds, for the building and repairs of palaces, it would be expedient to appropriate the surplus in question; and there would have been an end of the difficulty. That had not been done; and he could only account for lord Liverpool omitting the formal necessary steps by supposing, that his lordship found that large sums of money were demanded from him, and that he had no other mode of meeting those demands than by this misappropriation. It happened that his right honourable friend, who was then chief commissioner of woods and forests, had found himself in a very unpleasant situation—namely, that of finding large sums were required of him, without his having one shilling to meet the demand—and he was willing to confess, that had such been his own predicament, he should have found himself equally awkwardly circumstanced. Under these circumstances, his

right honourable friend had applied to lord Liverpool, stating the unhappy deficiency of the funds of the woods and forests: at that meeting there were present, besides lord Liverpool and his right honourable friend, Mr. Canning, lord Goderich, and the right honourable gentleman who was now master of the mint. He (Mr. M. A. Taylor), however, begged to be understood, when speaking of lord Liverpool, to be considered as speaking of a person for whom he had the highest respect, and whose loss no one lamented more. With respect to Mr. Canning, he had known that right honourable gentleman in early life; and he was sure that no one would suppose that he mentioned his name, or that of other persons, but from the necessity of elucidating the facts. On the representation of his right honourable friend at that meeting, the chief commissioner of liquidation, arbitration, and award was sent for, and asked whether there was not a something—a God-send as it were—left out of the sum that had been voted for the liquidation of the British claims with respect to France? The commissioner (of liquidation) was asked, "what money of this fund is there remaining?" He replied, "three hundred thousand pounds, I think; but I am quite sure we have at our disposal two hundred and fifty thousand pounds." "Well," said the other party, "we will dispose of it for you." The appropriation consequently took place, but without authority. In this case it was remarkable, that the treasury minute for the issue of the first hundred thousand pounds was dated twenty days after the issue. The issue took place on the 10th of March, 1826, and the treasury minute of lord Liverpool bore date the 30th of March, in the same year. The treasury minute stated, moreover, that the money was to be appropriated to defray the expense of erecting and improving Buckingham-palace, which appropriation was in direct contravention of the act of parliament which had appropriated other funds for that purpose. This was the largest sum that had been clandestinely applied since the revolution. The commissioners of woods and forests had no power to accept of it. No honourable member could for a single moment attempt to maintain, that the framers of the bill for the appropriation of the fund in question, had ever in view a disposal of the money different from that presented by the act. Money advanced for other purposes

had been repaid; but of the sums he had described to be misappropriated, not a single shilling had been repaid by the commissioners of woods and forests. The sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been thus advanced:—On the 10th of March, 1826, one hundred thousand pounds; on the 8th of February, 1827, thirty-five thousand pounds; on the 25th of March, 1827, one hundred thousand pounds; on the 30th of June, 1827, fifteen thousand pounds. Part of that money, it would be seen, had been advanced while lord Liverpool was, unfortunately, not able to attend to business. But was the case the same with the other commissioners of the treasury? Here were two hundred and fifty thousand pounds issued, within two years, as a loan to the commissioners of woods and forests. When was the power to grant such a loan given to the commissioners of the treasury by statute? They had no right to divert the funds which came into other hands for public purposes to such objects. He would not say that the act of the treasury in thus disposing of this money, without the consent of parliament, was a silly act; but this he would say, that he could not have supposed that any but children would have erred so much in their conduct, especially as parliament was sitting, and the lords of the treasury might easily have obtained its sanction in the course of a single week. He would now cite cases in support of the line of argument he had pursued, and of the resolutions, with proposing which he meant to conclude. The first of these was the case of sir E. Seymour, who, in the reign of Charles II. (1680), was impeached, for that he, being treasurer of the navy, did lend ninety thousand pounds, out of a sum of five hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds appropriated for the building of ships, towards the contingencies of the army. In the year 1711, a committee had been appointed to inquire into the reasons of the increase of the public burdens, and reported that that increase had been partly caused by the misapplication of the public money, with reference to that particular case. In 1796, a stronger precedent occurred, but which was, at the same time, nothing like the present. Mr. Pitt's excuse was founded on extreme necessity; but in the present instance, no such necessity could be pleaded. When attacked by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt replied, that while we were at war he did not like to open

the councils of the country to the public. He had advanced two hundred thousand pounds to the prince of Condé, and other sums to the emperor; yet, with all the eloquence Mr. Pitt was master of, and with all his popularity, he felt himself placed in a predicament, in which, had he not been aided by Mr. Bragge and other friends (of whom lord Sidmouth was one), the vote of censure moved by Mr. Fox would have been carried. The city of London and the whole country became alive to the matter. Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure on the ministers in these words:—"That ministers having applied and appropriated, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, various sums of the public money, have acted contrary to their duty and the trust reposed in them." The thing had been done, it would be observed, in the time of war, and the plea of necessity was put forward as its justification. Accordingly, the following amendment was proposed and carried:—"That the measure of advancing several sums of money which had been voted for the public service to the emperor, and appropriating them to his service, though it should not be introduced as a precedent, had been occasioned by the special necessity of the case, and was, under the peculiar circumstances, a justifiable exercise of the discretion vested in the ministers."

In the long debate to which Mr. Taylor's motion led, Mr. Huskisson took a prominent part. He insisted, that what had taken place was not irregular in the case of a fund like that which had been brought under the consideration of the house. "But that fund," he said, "was never in the exchequer of this country—it was never included in any annual bill of appropriation. It was one of those funds which had arisen incidentally, like droits of the crown; and but for the act of the 59th of the late king, assuming (for this I must assume) that all the claims are satisfied, the surplus might be applied just in the same manner as any other droits of the crown; and if the crown appropriated it like other droits, all purposes would have been satisfied by laying it before parliament in the course of the next ensuing session, with a statement of the manner in which it had been applied. With respect, however, to the present fund, parliament has never appropriated it, and, therefore, there can be no misappropriation. I will just assume, that the crown has applied the

surplus fund as it has been applied; and I contend, that every claim of parliament must be satisfied by stating, in the ensuing session, the manner in which it has been applied. It cannot, therefore, be considered as a sum in the exchequer. I leave it to the common sense of parliament, or of the public, to say whether I am not right in this construction of the act. The words of the act are these:—‘That, after the claims are liquidated, the surplus, if any, shall be appropriated as the commissioners, or any three of them, shall think fit.’ If the words were added, ‘and such appropriation shall be laid before parliament in the next session,’ then, indeed, it might be said that there was a departure from the letter of the law; but there were no such words, and, therefore, there was no departure from its express letter. The fact is, that this money is not yet appropriated—it is not yet applied—and, therefore, parliament has not been informed that the money has been used. The money has been advanced only as a loan by these commissioners—it has been only advanced by these commissioners towards the building of this palace, and not appropriated for that purpose; therefore, it was unnecessary to lay it before parliament until the sum was finally appropriated. I remember a case in point. Immediately prior to the seven years’ war with France, orders were issued to bring in all French ships, and a number were taken before the declaration of war was issued. I am not now about to defend this measure, for it is unnecessary to my object; but, after the declaration of war, the vessels were sold and the produce became the property of the crown. What was done with this money? During the seven years’ war it was lent for one branch of the service, and for another, as exigency required, and was always repaid by votes of this house of parliament, and, at the end of the war, France, not being in a situation to call for its repayment, this money was, for the first time, appropriated to the public service. This was a perfectly analogous case. It was a fund precisely in the same situation with parties having claims against it. The fund which is now under the consideration of the house is also liable to claims against it; and while those claims are unsatisfied, the fund cannot be appropriated or applied to any other purpose. I, therefore, say that the whole case is different; for it is impossible that ministers

should account as for a final appropriation; because the money was advanced but as a loan, and then it would have to be accounted for in the triennial account of the department of woods and forests—not as an appropriation, but as an assistance to expenses accruing more rapidly than they could be met. The whole then stands in this way—that, whereas in 1825, parliament decided upon the application of an unlimited sum of money to the repairs and improvements of Buckingham-house, and those repairs having been carried on more rapidly than there were funds to meet—not that the funds were not adequate, but that they were not forthcoming—finding, therefore, one on which there was no claim, and which might be appropriated by the crown, and with which, if the accounts were laid upon the table as a fund appropriated by the crown, there could be no fault found; but which not being done, the crown thought fit to advance as a loan; and I say, that if the crown had appropriated this sum finally, it would have changed the nature of the fund, which, although not applied perhaps strictly according to the letter of the law, has certainly been dealt with according to its general spirit.”

A different view was taken of the case by Mr. Stanley. He was of opinion, that he should fail in his duty if he did not clearly and openly give his disapprobation of what he must call this disingenuous, shuffling, and underhand transaction. He had to complain of the introduction, too, of many irrelevant topics; for when the house was led to consider of claims still unsatisfied—when they heard, for the purpose of exciting feelings against that side of the house, of the proper magnificence of the monarch—when they were led to talk of characters gone by, and allusions had been made to grants for purposes of charity at a period of unparalleled distress—he could not help feeling that they were led to do so solely for the purpose of confusion, which he considered most disgraceful to the house when they were upon a question of pure constitutional right. He hoped the course which had been taken would not succeed in catching the votes of the friends of lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning. He wished the subject to be divested of all technicalities of the law and the subtleties of his right honourable friend; and he was sure there was no one, laying his hand on his breast, who would not say,

that this, if not a misapplication, was, at least, a neglect.

The feeling which the members of the duke's government had on this subject was thus communicated to the house by Mr. Peel:—The main question was—had the treasury the power of appropriating two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and, admitting it to be legal, still did they exercise their authority so improperly, as to call on the house to mark their conduct with censure? Nothing was more unjust than the proposal, and he was prepared to concur in a direct negative. He wished, in considering this part of the question, that all who were inclined to censure, would look to the debates on the power of the crown, after the treaty of Paris, in 1816. That power the crown had over other funds derived both from, and subsequent to, the treaty. The triumphant issue of the war gave us funds of three descriptions: first, seven hundred thousand pounds in the shape of booty; then an indemnity to Great Britain, to a considerable amount; and then the money now the subject of consideration. The first fund was given by the government to support the army in France, without any vote of parliament; and the right to do so was never denied. Of the indemnity, one million pounds was also applied for the British army, without the intervention of parliament, and with its tacit acquiescence. How, then, could they vote for the motion of the honourable gentleman, who said, that all grants of money, without the interference of parliament, were unconstitutional? The question was brought forward by the honourable member for Knaresborough—"That the application of any moneys granted by treaty to other purposes than the public service, without the consent of parliament, had a tendency to impair the constitutional power of the house of commons." That motion was negatived without a division; and when lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning knew that, he asked, was it fair that the house should turn round and vote contrary to their previous resolution? He admitted, that those funds of which he spoke were of a different nature from that at present before the house. That fund came from France, for individuals who suffered by confiscation; and, if ever the claims of parties were made good, the crown had still the power to pay them by the sale of its property in Ireland. The words of the act of parliament were—"That the balance should be reserved, and

applied to such other purposes as the said lords commissioners should direct;" making no reservation of it in favour of the exchequer, but expressly stating, that it was to be applied to such other purposes as the treasury should direct. In the year 1767, the 7th George III., a sum of four hundred thousand pounds was received in respect of the revenue of certain territories, then lately acquired by the East India company. That revenue, the house would observe, resembled, in one respect, the money which formed the subject of the present motion. It was a revenue of a peculiar nature—it was a casual revenue, not anticipated, not provided by the votes of parliament, nor referred to in the estimates laid before the house. That sum was paid over to his majesty—that is, paid over to the ministers of the crown, to be appropriated to public purposes. It was paid to his majesty, not for his private or personal expenditure, but, as he (Mr. Peel) had stated, for public purposes. He would again call on the house to refer to the terms of the act, where it says—"And be it enacted, that the moneys paid in pursuance of this act be reserved, disposed, and applied as parliament shall direct." In legislating on subjects of this nature, it was evident that a clear distinction was uniformly maintained between the sums placed at the disposal of the treasury and those to be appropriated according to the directions of parliament. Was there not, therefore, in the existence of such a distinction, sufficient to create a doubt, in the mind of an honest and independent minister, as to the necessity of calling on parliament to sanction the appropriation of that money? Was there not sufficient to warrant him in adopting the opinion, that he was at liberty to apply it to any part of the public service, the execution of which had been directed by parliament? Was there not sufficient, in all this, to shield him from any charge that would justify an impeachment—nay, even to protect him from the mitigated censure that the vote of the honourable member was meant to convey? Then he would entreat the house to observe—and he trusted they would not lose sight of the consideration—that this money was applied to the purposes of a loan; at the same time that he was perfectly willing to admit, that if the step were to be taken over again, he should advise the communication of it to parliament. However, in making that admission, he was not to be considered as

acknowledging, that if a public minister, in the inadvertence and hurry attendant on the business of the session, had done such an act, and had not so deliberately considered the question in all its bearings as to see the expediency of taking the sense of parliament upon it, that he, as a member of parliament, was to blame. Mr. Peel added—he was willing to concur in any remedy that might be deemed necessary for the public service or the public satisfaction. But if such a course were taken under the sanction of the finance committee, he would not vote for a censure upon public men who had been removed from the stage of public life. He would not consent, directly or indirectly, to stigmatise the conduct of ministers, one of whom had been removed by death (Mr. Canning), and one by a calamity which had equally disqualified him from defending himself. If any imperative public duty demanded that such censure should be pronounced, no personal consideration—neither the death of one, nor the calamity of another—should interfere with the right performance of that duty, or prevent that visitation of censure which the conduct of the parties might seem to deserve. But he could not conceal from himself, that, were he so called on, it would be the most painful task which, under any circumstances, he could conceive possible. He never should perform a duty with half so much reluctance as—with his knowledge of the talents and integrity of Mr. Canning, who was now no more, and with his knowledge of the talents and integrity of lord Liverpool, whose memory might also be spoken of—to tell that noble lord, on the first return of consciousness, that the notice which the house of commons had taken of his talents and services, was to stigmatise him for having put an erroneous interpretation on an act of parliament. He could not consent that such should be the only public notice to be taken of the services of lord Liverpool.

Mr. Brougham gave the motion his support; but was of opinion that the subject of it would never have been brought to light, had it not been for the searching inquiries of the finance committee. The previous question being moved—on a division, it was carried by one hundred and eighty-one to one hundred and two.

The finance committee having commenced their labours with the estimates of the army, navy, and ordnance, in their second report announced to the house, that, after full

deliberation, they adopted the opinion expressed by the select committee of finance of 1819, that “it is difficult to determine the proper mean to be preserved between a position of complete preparation for defence, and that state of economical reduction, which may prudently be conceded to the resources of the country.” But, during a period of peace, the committee must advert, as that committee did, “to the necessity of turning times of tranquillity to the improvement of the revenue by retrenchment and economy, without which the best means of defence may be rendered incapable of exertion in moments of alarm and danger.” This consideration they earnestly pressed on the serious attention of the house.

The house concurred with the view taken by the committee of this subject, and their report showed important savings to have been effected under the duke of Wellington. There appeared a reduction, in favour of 1828, of one hundred and seventy-four clerks and civil officers, and a saving of forty-seven thousand four hundred and six pounds. It was, however, added, “while called upon to bear testimony to the great exertions made by the duke of Wellington, and to bestow praise on the board of ordnance for the improvements they have effected during the last eight years, they would fail in the proper discharge of their duty, were they not to mention that many valuable reforms were made by his predecessor in office.” They remarked, that sir Henry Hardinge had stated in his evidence, that “it would be a great injustice to those who preceded the duke of Wellington, if he were to attempt to claim the saving which had been made in the expenditure of the department as a merit solely effected since 1820. The reductions that were made by the master-general who preceded the duke of Wellington, were made on a large scale.” Sir Henry gave details which it is not necessary here to repeat. It will suffice to say, he showed great reductions had been made before the duke became the head of the ordnance department. That such was the case, did anything but detract from the merit of his government in largely improving on what had previously been done so well.

The committee called the duke of Wellington and sir Henry Hardinge before them. The latter, on being asked, “Who are the officers who constitute the board of ordnance?” replied, “The lieutenant-gene-

ral, who is the chief officer of the board, the surveyor-general, the clerk of the ordnance, the store-keeper, and the clerk of the deliveries." He then proceeded to say, "Each officer has a separate control over his own department: I conceive great advantage is derived from the present constitution of the board of ordnance; each board-officer has a separate responsibility, as the head of a department, and he, therefore, incurs the responsibility of taking care that the department of which he is the head shall be conducted according to the regulations laid down; he has the power of investigating and rectifying any mismanagement, if any such exists, in his own office, and he meets at the board three times a-week for general business, where others have the power of checking the arrangements in his office, if anything is going wrong; and I consider the system a much better one than that of mere board-officers, where no one has a control over a separate department. I consider myself responsible that all regulations relating to the accounts are carried into execution; the surveyor-general is responsible that the duties of the department which he superintends are properly executed; and then the master-general, having a controlling power over the whole, can check any act of the board, and is, in fact, supreme over the board and the department."

The committee, having read to the duke of Wellington the foregoing evidence of sir Henry Hardinge, asked his grace the following question:—"Does your grace concur in the opinion expressed by sir Henry Hardinge?" To which his grace replied, "Entirely." His grace proceeded to say, in answering other questions, "The board of ordnance is, in my opinion, a model for boards; for every member of the board has a particular department. This is always an advantage, on account of the celerity with which business can be done; and at the same time there is every check, because everything comes under the view of the board, although in its details it is managed by one head; and then the whole business comes daily under the superintendence of the master-general, from the reports which he requires: there is a detailed minute of all the proceedings of the board, and the master-general has daily under his view a knowledge of everything which is going on in each department. There is hardly any duty that an officer performs that does not

come, in some degree, under the revision of the board: for instance, each of these gentlemen making a report, periodically, of all the business they transact—of the number of accounts that they have settled—the number of returns they have examined; all this is reported to the master-general; so that it comes before the board, and any transaction at the board itself comes before the master-general."

As to the best manner of forming a board for controlling the public expenditure, the following part of the examination of the duke of Wellington appeared to the committee to be of great importance:—"Is your grace of opinion that this system of individual management is better than by committees of boards?"—"Yes, certainly." "Does your grace conceive that, in the former case, the inferior officers and clerks perform their duty better?"—"Yes." "Has each individual officer the patronage of his department?"—"Each of the principal officers of the ordnance has the patronage of his own department. The master-general has the patronage of the appointment of all the officers out of those particular departments."

The report proceeded.—The committee have given to the evidence of the duke of Wellington and sir Henry Hardinge the consideration that is due to it, in consequence of the high authority from which it proceeds. They have considered the circumstances on which it is founded; and the result is, their concurring in the conclusions which the duke of Wellington and sir Henry Hardinge have come to, in favour of the general constitution of the ordnance department. The committee are of opinion that, where there is collective responsibility, each individual is disposed to consider himself as in a great degree relieved from personal responsibility; but that, where there is individual responsibility, no such feeling can exist; responsibility is then brought home to each individual, and is a constant motive to render him faithful in the discharge of his public duty. The committee think, that in the latter case (which is the case of the ordnance department), while, on the one hand, the advantage of a prompt and consistent administration is secured by personal responsibility; on the other, the tendency which there always is, when power is vested in a single person, to abuse it, is effectually restrained by the continued checks of the controlling authority of the board and mas-

ter-general. But however wise the principles may be which are the basis of the ordnance system of administration, the committee cannot forget the waste and profusion which marked the conduct of this department during the last war—a circumstance which proves that, notwithstanding an establishment may be framed on the best principles, matters may go on wrong unless it is controlled by some higher power. So that, although the committee have no hesitation in expressing their approbation of the administration of the ordnance department, as it is now conducted, they feel, at the same time, as experience shows, that no perfection of the forms, or of the organisation of a department, can alone be a security against abuse; but that it is indispensably necessary that the treasury should at all times, and on all occasions, exercise a real authority over it.

The following extract from the evidence of sir Henry Hardinge will explain to the house the improvements which have been introduced into this department since the year 1820:—"The ordnance civil establishment," he says, "in 1820, consisted of five hundred and four civil officers and clerks, and the expense was one hundred and twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-two pounds. The consolidated establishment of 1828 consists of five hundred and thirty civil officers and clerks, their salaries amounting to one hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds; that is, including the whole of the departments transferred to the ordnance. So that, in 1828, we are performing all the duties of the departments transferred, for six thousand pounds less than the ordnance alone cost in 1820. In the four departments which have been transferred to the ordnance since 1820, there were two hundred officers and clerks, and their salaries amounted to forty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds; adding the ordnance of 1820, the total number, previous to the consolidation of the four departments with the ordnance, will be seven hundred and four civil officers and clerks, amounting to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand and eighty-seven pounds. The total number, this year, amounts to five hundred and thirty civil officers and clerks, their salaries amounting to one hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and eighty-one pounds, being a reduction, in favour of 1828, of one hundred and seventy-four clerks and civil officers, and a saving of forty-seven thousand four hundred and six pounds."

If the finance committee were successful in discovering evils which called for amendment, still more so was the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the increase of crime. Their report disclosed scenes of horror and depravity which, it had been supposed, had no existence but in the imagination of the satirical novelist. It was shown that, in various shapes, allurements were held out to the young and the thoughtless, which tended to plunge them into irretrievable misery and disgrace. Deleterious liquors, supplied at a low price, stupified and maddened the brain, and created utter distaste for healthful exercise or useful occupation. Artisans, giving themselves up to dissipation, refused to work on the first days of the week. Habits thus acquired, the committee were led to conclude, were the true source of the distress complained of in the metropolis, rather than the want of employment for industrious hands. Another fruitful cause of mischief, was the hope of perfect impunity held out to those who offended the law. To this end, ceaseless exertions were made by a clique of infamous wretches, calling themselves attorneys, some of whom were mentioned as being "respectable." Such men made it their business to save the depredator from the consequences of his misdeeds; and, more than that—in many cases, by their means, the robber was enabled, with perfect security, to call a considerable portion of the property he had stolen his own. When the plunder was of sufficient value to make it worth while, these "respectable" solicitors became go-betweens; they negotiated between the parties who had been robbed and the thieves. The former, glad to get back a part of what they had given up for lost, readily listened to a proposition for the restoration of half, or something less than half, on condition that no attempt should be made, on their part, to bring the culprits to justice. Law was thus set aside, and an individual grievance abated, by pursuing a course which encouraged and multiplied new attacks on the means of the honest portion of the community. With unblushing front, the legal abettors of crime—not less villainous than those for whom they pleaded, and who, as they claimed in the shape of fees no small share of the booty, were really their accomplices—would stand up in court, endeavour to put an honest prosecutor out of countenance, and atrociously impute to him the worst designs,

Sometimes their associates—members of a neighbouring concern of like character—would offer their services to the bewildered sufferer; undertaking to defend, only to betray. By these practices low adventurers, of moderate talent, rose from beggary to affluence; and, ignominious and vicious as their career was known to have been, were not only suffered to go unpunished, but treated as if they could be mistaken for respectable! On such parties as we have described, the report justly remarked—"They ought to be deterred from such proceedings by fear of censure from the courts to which they belong. But those courts appear to possess very little jurisdiction over them; and the committee, though they regretted that those who had such frequent opportunities of promoting compromises were not more effectually restrained, had no specific provision to suggest."

The case was melancholy. It was well to discover and expose the evil; but to proclaim that no remedy could be offered, was to comfort and encourage the abominable crew good men would desire to extirpate. To ordinary minds, it would have appeared practicable to give a judge or magistrate power summarily to deal with those who lived but to defeat the ends of justice, and to make law the instrument of crime. A scamp attorney, trying to deceive a magistrate, ought to be committed like a less-culpable cheat. It was known that great facilities were offered to further the escape of those who were guilty of the crime of forgery. The following case was stated to the committee:—"A person had obtained the money for three forged cheques, from the house of —; the cheques are entirely in the hand-writing of —; but he cannot be tried for the forgery of them for want of a venue: for as the law at present stands, although you can show the whole of the cheque or bill of exchange to be in the hand-writing of a certain individual, you cannot prosecute for the forgery, unless you can show where it was written; and, in nineteen cases out of twenty, that is impossible; thus the person committing the forgery escapes punishment, unless he were the utterer of the instrument also, which is very seldom the case, as the bill or cheque is generally given to some porter or boy, who, for a shilling or sixpence, would take the cheque to the banker's, when, if it is discovered at the counter to be a forgery, the man is on the look-out at the door, or in the neighbourhood, to

ascertain the fact; and immediately he finds his messenger does not return within the time by which he supposes he could get the money, he is gone. Those who are in the habit of committing forgeries, confidently screen themselves by this defect in the law; and there is not one case in a hundred where you can get a conviction for the forgery."

On another subject the committee furnished information of painful interest. Places of low dissipation, called "Flash houses," were shown to produce ills of no common magnitude. Under various appellations, they had been opened in bye-lanes and courts in every part of London. Of these and their supporters the committee thus reported:—"To these dens of profligacy, notorious thieves, professed gamblers, and dissolute persons, of both sexes, were accustomed to repair. They were frequently kept by persons who had no license, and never regulated in conformity with the provisions enacted by law. The keepers of them gained security by paying annual tribute to common informers; and to these sinks of infamy, the committee learned, that sundry police-officers (as had been the case in former times) were in the habit of resorting, under the specious pretext that their object was to become acquainted with the persons of notorious characters, that they might, the more readily, at a fitting time and occasion, render them amenable to the law. Were such really the genuine purpose," the committee justly remarked, "under which they act, the objection would scarce be mitigated. Such, however, is evidently not the motive. Habits of intimacy are formed with those that ought to shun their presence; in proof of which, sanctioned by the invitation of the very keepers of these brothels, officers participate in the annual feasts and entertainments, prepared to welcome and to gratify the abandoned and accustomed frequenters of such places."

Every one must approve of the strong condemnation pronounced by the committee on such places and such abominable practices. They recommended magistrates to exert themselves to suppress the nuisance. The keepers of these hateful places—or, at all events, their owners—could not escape vigilant inquiry; and in directing attention to such abominations, the Wellington government marked their anxiety to accomplish at least one important reform.

CHAPTER XI.

TURKISH AFFAIRS; CHANGES IN PORTUGAL; DON MIGUEL, APPOINTED REGENT, ASPIRES TO THE CROWN; THE AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF ENGLAND PROTESTS AGAINST HIS PROCEEDINGS; THE COMMON PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL ARE EXCITED AGAINST THE ENGLISH; THE TROOPS AT OPORTO DECLARE IN FAVOUR OF DON PEDRO; MIGUEL CONVOKES THE THREE ESTATES; DON PEDRO'S ABDICATION; RUSSIAN POLICY; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LONDON UNIVERSITY; AGITATION CONNECTED WITH THE CATHOLIC QUESTION; STATE OF IRELAND; PROGRESS OF THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

THE Turkish government, as the year advanced, confessed a desire of being reconciled to England and France. When the alliance was thought to have accomplished its object, Russia made war on the Ottoman Porte, complaining of wrongs affecting her and her only. With these, as France and England had no concern, they did not assist the arms of Russia; nor did they consider it necessary to interfere on behalf of the sultan. Peace with the western powers was, for him, it may be fairly presumed, extremely desirable; and a communication by the Reis Effendi to baron Von Zuylen, minister of the Netherlands, and to baron D'Ottensfels, the Austrian internuncio, caused a note to be addressed to the ambassadors of France and England, then in Corfu, in which those ambassadors were invited to return to Constantinople to renew the former friendly relations between the Porte and their courts, and to negotiate concerning the affairs of Greece. This was thought (though no formal acceptance of the convention of July 6th, 1827, was mentioned) the first official step to a pacification. It was, however, doubtful whether the disposition of the Porte was such as to promise an early restoration of peace, as while the Reis Effendi took the conciliatory step just mentioned, the Greek patriarch was stated to have received orders to read, with his synod, forty masses, to implore success for the Ottoman arms against Christian adversaries.

The ministers of the sultan do not appear to have acted that straightforward part which best consorts with true policy. They—what subsequently transpired suggests—had cause to believe they had to deal with an enemy in Russia, who scrupled not to have recourse to any artifice which promised to favour its long-cherished views; and held it justifiable to have recourse to like weapons. It appeared to the English government that Turkish dissimulation was opposed to Russian good faith; and the disinterestedness and upright conduct of the emperor Nicholas,

were the theme of animated eulogies in parliament. The opposition leaders of that day were still more unfavourable to the Turks; and the very existence of their empire was spoken of as an evil. Language like this, however, was not countenanced by the duke of Wellington. Members of the administration, in the debates on this subject, insisted, that whatever grounds of complaint Russia or other powers might have against the Porte, the independence of the Ottoman empire ought to be maintained, as it had considerable weight in the affairs of Europe, and was essential to preserve that balance of power on which the general peace of the world depended.

But serious events in another quarter were pressed on the consideration of the English ministers, which here claim a somewhat lengthened explanation. From circumstances on which it is unnecessary to dilate, no great change could occur in Portugal (long our intimate ally) without seriously affecting England. John VI., king of Portugal, died in 1826, having appointed his daughter Isabella to act as regent for his eldest son, Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil. By the constitution of Brazil, the crowns of Brazil and Portugal could not be worn by the same prince, and Pedro had to make his election which he thenceforward would claim. With that lust of dominion so commonly ascribed to sovereigns, he was desirous of retaining both; but as this could not be, after mature deliberation, he decided to remain emperor of Brazil, and abdicated the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria, then but nine years of age. During her minority, he proposed that his brother should exercise the powers of regent, and, in the fullness of time, become the husband of Donna Maria. The younger brother of Pedro, Don Miguel, was no common character. His vicious propensities had been largely developed at an early age. He had repeatedly conspired, not only against the

authority, but against the life of his father. That weak-minded monarch having first denounced his offending son, afterwards not only pardoned, but took him into favour. The unmerited kindness of which he thus found himself the object, did not change his savage, selfish nature. In May, 1824, it was discovered, that he had formed a parricidal conspiracy against the king, whose chamberlain he assassinated, and whose person he imprisoned. But for British interference, it is probable he would then have filled up the measure of his infamy, by putting John VI. to death. This was prevented, and the unnatural son was sent into exile, under pretence of travelling. He repaired to Vienna, and there he appears to have laboured to make it believed that he was perfectly reformed. His sister, the Infanta, who acted as regent for a short period, addressing the Portuguese Cortes, on the 26th of October, 1826, spoke of the prince (who had previously taken care to forward assurances of "fidelity to his lawful sovereign and the established laws of Portugal") in the following terms:—"A very few hours ago, I received from Vienna, intelligence that my dearly-beloved and much esteemed brother had taken the oath to the constitutional charter without condition or qualification." The constitution had been forwarded to him in the Austrian capital. On his way from Vienna to Lisbon, he came to England early in 1827, where he passed some weeks, and so conducted himself as to become a favourite. On his departure, he wrote a letter of thanks to the British monarch, in which he thought fit to declare, that if he attempted anything in Portugal against the rights of his niece, or against the constitution, he should "be a perjured usurper and a wretch."

Soon after his return to Portugal, notwithstanding what he had written and sworn, he began to intrigue with a view to make the crown his own. Pedro, anxious to conciliate his brother, had not only appointed him regent of the kingdom, but further, to conciliate and flatter, destined him to become the husband of Donna Maria. In the Peninsula, a matrimonial union between uncle and niece, though deemed incestuous elsewhere, is sanctioned by both law and custom. A popular cry disparaging the constitution was got up, and shouts in favour of an absolute king were raised. These proceeded from creatures of Don Miguel, who had determined to be king without regarding the dis-

position made by Don Pedro. Disorder soon broke out in various parts, and care was taken to discourage all demonstrations of loyalty to the young queen. Several bands of guerillas, rebels, and assassins ravaged the provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Alemtejo. They committed the greatest depredations and assassinations wherever the people were inclined to favour Don Pedro. At Serpa, one of those parties of guerillas met with general resistance, and was repulsed with the loss of ten men, who were shot: whilst in Tras-os-Montes, as they were seconded by the disposition of the inhabitants, the guerillas got the upper hand, and committed horrid cruelties. The Miguelite journal said nothing to discourage *legitimate rebellion*. All preparations of illuminations in honour of the 25th, the old queen's birth-day, were ordered to be deferred, to give time for the municipalities to make their new addresses, and to manage those who might not be quite disposed to accept the invitations they had received by circulars in favour of the pretensions of Miguel. Most resolutely Miguel continued his efforts to secure the

"Bright reward of ever-daring minds;"

but so artfully, that at times he was supposed to have abandoned the project known to have been his; and it was told, that he "listened to the counsels of duty and of sound policy—as if he had ascertained that not only every court in Europe set itself against his assumption of the regal title, but that even the support of the Portuguese themselves was not to be relied upon—that the prosecution of such designs must involve the ruin of external and internal trade, and consequently render the revenue incompetent to meet the exigencies of the state—that such a state of affairs would not fail to make him unpopular and odious; because the people would view him as the sole author of their misery and distress—that his brother would not remain passive whilst his authority was thus defied and trampled on; and that his return to Portugal, an event extremely probable, would at once destroy the fabric of his power."

It was soon seen that these reflections, however natural, had little or no weight with the royal subject of them. The plot continued to thicken, and the purpose of Don Miguel was hardly disguised. On the 24th of April, the birth-day of his mother was celebrated. A grand levee was held at the palace of Ajuda, and the senate

proceeded in a body with an address to Miguel, favouring his assumption of the kingly dignity. In the evening there was an almost general illumination; and at the opera the royalist hymn was sung three times, under the belief that the invitation of the senate had been acceded to. Next day, the following decree was issued, in answer to the address of the senate:—

"Having received the representation addressed to me this day by the senate of Lisbon, as the representatives of the noble and always loyal city, I am pleased to answer, that my own dignity, and the honour of the Portuguese nation, requiring that matters so important as those which are the subject of the said representation, should be treated by the legal means which are established by the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and not in the tumultuous manner which unfortunately took place in the year 1820. I am certain that the senate and the honourable inhabitants of this city, often having represented in the terms which alone become them, will give to the world and to posterity another example of their fidelity, by quietly waiting in their houses for the further measures which it belongs to me alone to order.

"(With the royal signature.—Com. a Real Rubrica.)

"Palace of Ajuda, April 25th, 1828."

It will thus be seen he had, in effect, thrown off the character of regent; and it is certain the mob of Lisbon were loud and almost unanimous in their condemnation of the charter, and in their vociferous demands that Miguel should become their "absolute king." When the senate, as above-mentioned, waited on the regent with their address, sir Frederick Lamb attended, and his carriage had approached the palace entrance, when a mob of five hundred of the lowest rabble rushed out from the portals, and surrounded the vehicle, shouting with all their might. Sir Frederick, and those with him, laughed on seeing the odd assemblage. Their ridicule seemed to irritate the mob, from whom one officer, grinning with rage, came forward, and shouted—"Viva the absolute king of Portugal, Don Miguel I." Some of the mob got a large bound book—no matter what—which they called the charter, and one struck fire out of flint on tobacco, and set fire to it; they threw stones on the fire, and some spat and stamped on it, while others cried out—"Viva our absolute king, Don Miguel I"

The regent's object it was impossible to doubt. It must have been known to many, even before his return; for, on his arrival in the Portuguese capital, he was received with cries of "Welcome, king Miguel!"—"Long live the absolute king!" When he went through the form of swearing to maintain the constitution, before the two chambers and the court, his conduct was such as to awake suspicion in the minds of many who were present. He appeared confused: he repeated the words of the oath in a low tone; and it is said, when the ceremony had concluded, declared to those about him, that "he had got through it without swearing at all." By some, it was supposed that he had avoided kissing or touching the gospels; but this is idle, as it is not to be supposed that Miguel had any scruples about violating an oath. Such a surmise, the whole tenor of his subsequent conduct amply repudiates.

Usurpation was determined upon, and rebellion had been carefully organised. All classes seem to have been tampered with, from the nobles in the senate to the rabble in the streets of Lisbon. The senate having addressed him to assume the supreme authority; and the way being now, in his judgment, sufficiently prepared, on the 3rd of May, Don Miguel issued a decree, convoking the three estates of the kingdom. The necessity for their meeting having been increased by late events, Miguel described himself as desiring to satisfy the urgent representations which the clergy, the nobility, the tribunals, and all the municipalities (admitted to his royal presence) had made; and thought proper, in conformity with the opinion of learned persons, zealous for the service of God and the good of the nation, to convoke the three estates of the kingdom in the city of Lisbon, within thirty days from that date (May 3rd), for the end that they, in a solemn and legal manner, according to the usages and style of that monarchy, and in the form practised on similar occasions, might recognise the application of grave points of Portuguese right, and in that way restore public concord and tranquillity, that all the important business of the kingdom might take consistence and just direction. After this, as a matter of etiquette, the foreign ministers at Lisbon, did not and could not look upon him any longer as a regent, governing the country in the name of his brother, and according to the provisions of the constitution. The

Brazilian plenipotentiaries in Europe, the envoys to Austria and England, published (dated London) on the 24th of May, a paper, in which they energetically condemned the proceedings of Miguel as disgraceful; and acting on the "providential instructions with which they had been furnished, in case of emergency," in which they protested in the most sacred and solemn manner, in the name of his majesty, Don Pedro IV., not only against all and every violation of the hereditary rights of his aforesaid majesty, and of his august daughter, the queen Donna Maria da Gloria, but also against the abolition of institutions liberally granted by him as king, and which had been legally established and sworn to in Portugal; and, in fine, against the unlawful and insidious convocation of the states of the aforesaid kingdom, which had ceased to exist, both from the effect of a long prescription, and from the introduction of the institutions above alluded to. They proceeded to declare, that this solemn protest could not be regularly notified to the existing government of Portugal, in consequence of the regent having violated all the conditions imposed on him by Don Pedro, which could, therefore, only be regarded as a government *de facto*, with which all official communications on the part of the foreign ministers resident at Lisbon, had ceased; and they concluded, appealing to the brave Portuguese nation, firmly persuaded that it would not be appealed to in vain, and that their fidelity, inherent and hereditary, would not suffer a perfidious and perjured faction to overturn the titular principle of legitimacy, which forms the basis of the peace of Europe, and which all its sovereigns have so nobly engaged to maintain inviolate, as the surest means of securing their own welfare, and that of their subjects.

Great alarm prevailed in Lisbon while things remained in this unsettled state: the funds fell; many respectable families withdrew from the Portuguese capital; but the rabble continued to call for an absolute king, and to shout in honour of the queen-mother. The English troops sent to Portugal to protect it against invasion from Spain, were preparing to return, when Miguel commenced the execution of his unprincipled project. Sir Frederick Lamb took upon himself to order them to remain; and what, perhaps, annoyed the usurper more than anything else could have done, he sent back to this country a loan of fifty

thousand pounds, which had arrived out for the service of Portugal. Sir Frederick, in a private consultation with Miguel, so early as the 7th of March, had assured him that England would learn with great pain what had then transpired. It has been seen that the admonition, however well-timed, was of no avail.

Care was taken, in the proclamations of Miguel, to make known to the populace how highly he valued those demonstrations of attachment of which he had become the object, and how grieved he would be, should it become necessary, to check their rejoicings to preserve public tranquillity. He was careful to gain over the military, and among them, as among the common people generally, Don Pedro was everywhere extravagantly defamed. He was named the *Black Angel*; while truth and unsullied virtue were supposed to be embodied in the *White Angel*, the distinction accorded to Don Miguel by creeping adulation. The English residents in Portugal were rendered very uneasy, in consequence of the hatred with which they were viewed by the adherents of the usurper; but this did not induce the representative of England to be less firm in his language. Offended as Miguel was with him for sending back the loan, he did not fail to mark his openly-expressed dissatisfaction, by declaring that the usurper possessed no legal power but that which had been conferred by his brother, the emperor of Brazil. At first, the prince admitted to the ambassador, that to aspire to the throne would be a breach of good faith, and declared it was that of which he would not be guilty; but reiterated calls made on him to claim the crown and save Portugal—calls which were got up, in all probability, by parties in his pay, led him to change his language, while he tried to make it appear that he had no alternative. His reluctance openly to clasp the golden object of his ambition, seems to have closely resembled that of Shakspeare's Richard III., when importuned by the mayor and citizens of London. Miguel, at length, as has been related, took the final preliminary step. The three estates of the kingdom were convened in the Ajuda palace, to proclaim him king; and defective as his title was, it cannot be denied that his assumption of sovereignty was expected, and hailed with very general demonstrations of tumultuous joy.

Some idea may be formed of the spirit in which the lower orders had been moved

to favour the views of Don Miguel, from a slight sketch of the reception given viscount Pezo de Regoa, the new governor of Villa Real, in April. Regarding him as the creature of Don Miguel, most of the inhabitants, with a crowd of the regent's emissaries from Lisbon, went to meet the viscount at Mondroens; and no sooner did he appear, than he was hailed with "*Viva our restorer!*" repeated a great while; but as the march proceeded towards this place, the *vivas* were systematically given, and repeated all the way as follows:—*Viva the Silveiras!*—*Viva Queen Charlotte!*—*Viva Don Miguel!*—*Viva Ferdinand, emperor of the Peninsula!*—*Morra* (death) to the charter!—*Morra Don Pedro em quartos!*—(death to Don Pedro, not the fourth, but torn in quarters!)—*Morrao os Inglezes* (death to the English!)—*Morrao the Freemasons!* The mob continued the vociferations until late in the evening, insulting and attacking, occasionally, the persons either known for staunch constitutionalists, or against whom any of the vociferators had some private animosity. Several houses had their windows dashed to pieces. In the midst of all this saturnalia, the general, who constantly encouraged the *vivas*, occasionally added, "you must petition the Senhor Infante to take adequate measures." This was on the 25th; and on the following day, a figure of pasteboard was dragged about the streets, styled by some Don Pedro, and by others, described to be the charter. They took it at last to the bridge, and threw it over into the river, with tremendous imprecations on Don Pedro and the English.

The English were thus made objects of popular hatred in that very capital which they had entered to save from being overrun by a foreign enemy. It had been insidiously whispered, that the English had appeared in Lisbon from no disposition to protect the Portuguese, but in furtherance of sinister views of their own. Having got there, it was hinted they did not mean soon to withdraw. This was, in some measure, countenanced by their delaying their departure when sir Frederick Lamb remarked the undoubted tendency and object of Don Miguel's proceedings; but these suspicions were soon removed by the policy of the English government, when their presence seemed unnecessary to ensure the safety of the British residents in that capital; and when it had, in some quarters, been industriously told that their stay showed that England

approved of Miguel's exaltation to the throne. The fortresses of St. Julian and Bugio were, however, garrisoned by English marines. Such an arrangement was judged indispensable at the moment when Miguel was on the point of commencing his career as *rey absoluto*. It was remarked at the time, there were many recollections of pain and terror connected with the name of Don Miguel. It was from the fortress of St. Julian that he, during the usurpation of 1824, fired the cannon on the English packet, in order to take whoever was on board of it. At that time the packet escaped, from getting speedily beyond the range of the balls, after one had passed over it, and two had fallen somewhat short. Past experience of Don Miguel's nature, had taught the English who had established themselves in Portugal, that where he had power, there was no safety for them.

In England it was very soon known, that from the duke of Wellington Don Miguel could look for no countenance or support. The marquis de Palmella, the Portuguese ambassador at the English court, immediately after having received authentic information of the decree issued at Lisbon, on the 3rd of May, convoking the three estates of the kingdom, which implied the violation of the king's sovereignty, and at the same time the destruction of the constitutional charter, addressed an official note to the earl of Dudley, stating that he could not, consistently with his oath of allegiance to the king, Don Pedro, his successors and the charter, consider himself any longer connected with a government of whose intentions no doubt could exist; and that he found himself under the necessity of soliciting orders directly from the king his master, in such extraordinary circumstances.

The inhabitants and troops in Oporto, with their commanders, were desirous of remaining faithful to Don Pedro. A declaration to that effect was promulgated, and the feeling thus marked was the signal for a general illumination in honour of the triumph of Don Pedro's party. In the document above-mentioned, which was issued on this occasion, no middle course was taken. It did not touch lightly on the demerits of Don Miguel. On the doings of that prince it thus characterised him:—"Our legitimate king, at the solicitation of all the governments, named, because he did not know him, his brother regent of Portugal and his own representative. He did not quit the

court of Vienna till after he had taken a most solemn oath to sustain the beneficent institutions which the best of monarchs had bestowed upon us. All this he swore—all this he promised in presence of that great monarch, in whom he had found the attentions of a father, and in that of the ministers of all the great powers of Europe. But of what avail, Portuguese! were the solemnity of his promises and the sanctity of his oaths?

"Scarcely did he reach Lisbon, when he trampled his oaths and his promises under his feet. He surrounds himself with ministers, as ignorant as they are fanatical—as wicked as they are hypocritical; he surrounds himself with the accomplices in his horrid rebellion of the 30th April, 1824, which had for its object no less than the dethronement of his own father, whom the foreign ministers saved; he dissolves, without cause or motive, the national representatives; he separates the commanders, officers, and serjeants of the various military corps, who had been faithful to their oath, faithful to their legitimate sovereign, and faithful to their country; he dismisses a number of magistrates because they had been faithful to the charter and the laws, and he substitutes in their stead, corrupt ministers, without talent, morality, honour, or religion; he employs the money of the nation in purchasing and corrupting the various municipalities of the kingdom, and by intrigues, force, and unexampled crimes, he declares himself a rebel against his brother and his king; and in the most vile and cowardly manner proclaims himself an usurper. Without talent or learning—divested of honour and virtue—cruel by nature, excelling in hypocrisy and dissimulation, he awaits only the moment of being formally proclaimed king by a vile band, composed of degenerate nobles, ecclesiastics, and corrupt magistrates, in order to let loose his rage, his vengeance, and his tyranny. All the monarchs of Europe reprove and detest the criminal proceedings of a monster who so basely deceived them; all detest and despise him; and they also know that now the forbearance of the Portuguese must have an end. Already their ministers in Lisbon have cut off all communication with that rebellious and usurping prince; and, in a few days, they will withdraw from a court where crimes, impudence, irreligion, fanaticism, confusion, and disorder alone prevail."

That these charges were not without

foundation was apparent from the first; and that the misgivings which were indicated when Miguel first assumed the kingly power, were equally so, the subjoined dismal report of the state of the Portuguese capital at the beginning of June, will but too clearly prove:—

"Lisbon, June 3rd.

"This capital is in a state of the greatest alarm and distress. Hundreds of all ranks are daily thrown into dungeons; and as there are not enough of gaols on shore, prison-ships are prepared to receive the victims of tyranny. Sir Frederick Lamb has protested against the usurpation of Don Miguel; but what he and the other foreign ambassadors may have done, has as yet produced no effect. It is said they are not to leave this city until he formally proclaims himself king. It is impossible to give you any news of the army from Oporto, farther than that we hear the main body is at Coimbra, and the advanced guard at Pombal. The patriotic troops are collecting there, in order to march on this city. The government formed at Oporto has followed the army. My opinion is, that these corps will not fire upon Don Pedro's troops, or that the greater part will go over to them. The whole of Algarve had declared for Don Pedro; but his friends have been the victims of their moderation to the treacherous general of the province, and other rebels, who now, as you will see by a document which I enclose, boast of having duped them. Major Chateaufauf, a brave and patriotic officer of artillery, fell a victim to a mob led on by priests with crucifixes in their hands. In the Alentejo, only the opulent city of Beja has as yet formally declared for Don Pedro. Its inhabitants have formed a corps of eight hundred men, under the command of the celebrated Goes, an enterprising guerilla chief in the Peninsular war."

The troops at Oporto were joined by the garrisons of Braya Valença and Penafiel. It was proposed that their united force should advance to Lisbon. But, in the first instance, news was sent from the junta of Oporto to the marquis de Palmella, in London, of what had taken place in the former city. He, after protesting against the usurpation of Miguel, had no hesitation about recognising the provisional junta of Oporto; and, in a few days, with the most distinguished Portuguese officers who had sought a refuge in England, count Villa Flor, count de Taipa, count Sampayo, with generals Saldanha, Xavier, and Stubbs, sailed

for Oporto, which Miguel, on learning what had taken place, lost no time in declaring to be in a state of blockade. The blockade being established by the presence of ships of war *de facto*, as such was recognised by the British government, though the right of its author to the dignity he assumed was not acknowledged.

The movements of the troops at Oporto, after declaring for Don Pedro, did not correspond with the energy which, in the first instance, opposed the ambition of Don Miguel. Had they fulfilled their original intention, and marched at once to Lisbon, the general opinion was, they would have been heartily welcomed there by their comrades-in-arms, and by the inhabitants at large. This they omitted to do; and having advanced to Coimbra, halted, it was supposed, in hopes of being joined by Palmella and the generals who were expected from England. Miguel derived great advantages from their hesitation, and was soon enabled to send a superior force against them, which compelled them to retrograde. A good position was taken up by the retiring force on the river Vouga. The generals from England were now at hand. They had been six days longer on their passage than was expected. On the 29th of June, they left Oporto to join the troops on the Vouga, but had the mortification to be met with the news, that on that very morning they had been defeated by the forces of the usurper. A retreat to Oporto was then necessary, and in executing this, the numbers of the constitutionalists were greatly thinned by desertion. The peasantry, influenced by the priests, had been brought to favour Don Miguel; and the retreating army, comprehending five or six thousand men, found itself in danger of being hemmed in by double their number. It then became a question whether they should make a desperate defence in the town of Oporto, or evacuate it, and cut their way through the enemy, with a view to gain the frontier of Galicia. The latter course was deemed preferable, and the junta was then dissolved. Its members could expect no indulgence from Miguel; and they embarked in the night, escaped detention by Miguel's blockading ships, and reached England; while the troops, after some sharp skirmishes, gained the northern bank of the Douro, and on the fourth day reached the borders of Spain, whence they were permitted to pass on to Ferrol and Corunna. They were ac-

companied by many of the inhabitants of Oporto, who had been distinguished for their zeal in the cause of Don Pedro. The whole found their way to this country, where they were cordially received.

It was on the 3rd of May that Miguel issued his decree convoking the cortes of Lamego, which had not been assembled since 1697, and that body, or a number of Miguel's partisans assuming to be such, met on the 23rd of June. The bishop of Viseu, to mark the consistent loyalty of the church—the prelate who, a few months before, had opened the constitutional cortes in the name of Pedro, took the lead in the proceedings which had for their object the transfer of the crown to a traitorous ingrate. A decision was soon arrived at by the three estates, that the usurper was the only legal king of Portugal, and he, in due form, styled himself—"Miguel, by the grace of God, king of Portugal and the Algarves."

This is not the place to recount all the mad, tyrannical, and absurd proceedings which belong to the story of Don Miguel. It was necessary to give an outline of his position, that the policy of England might be understood. On the 3rd of March, in this year, while Miguel was plotting against his brother, he was abdicating the crown in his favour on certain conditions. What these conditions were will be seen from the subjoined—

"(Decree.)

"Rio de Janeiro, March 3rd.

"The period having arrived which I fixed for the completion of my abdication of the crown of Portugal, according to my decree of the 3rd of May, 1826, and it being necessary to give to the Portuguese nation, always jealous of its independence, an indubitable proof of my desire of its being perpetually separated from Brazil (of which I have the distinct glory and pride of being sovereign), so as to make even the idea of their being re-united impracticable, I am pleased, of my own free and spontaneous will, after having pondered on this most important business, to order, as by this, my royal decree. I do order, that the kingdom of Portugal be henceforward governed in the name of my dearly-beloved daughter, Donna Maria II., already its queen, according to the constitutional charter by me authorised and given, ordered to be sworn, and sworn; declaring, moreover, most expressly, that I have no further claim or right whatever to the Portuguese crown.

"The infant, Don Miguel, my much-beloved and esteemed brother, regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, and my lieutenant, is charged with the execution and publication of the present decree.

"Palace of Boa Vista, on the 3rd day of March, 1828, with the signature of his majesty the king."

When this document was signed, the latest intelligence the emperor had received was, that Miguel was in London, in December, on his way to Portugal. The decree of the 3rd of March reached Europe soon after Miguel's decree had appeared, which in effect declared, that such a decree was wholly unnecessary, as the crown of Portugal was not his to dispose of. The defect in the emperor's title was not discovered by Miguel, or, at least, was not objected to while he remained at Vienna, or while he was in England. Whatever it might be, and however imperfectly Don Pedro might act up to his professions, on the part of Miguel a case of cold-blooded treachery and perjury was proved.

From the intimate relations subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, this country could not regard what was passing at Lisbon with indifference. But the question, what was she bound to do? was not easily to be solved. Bound by treaty to defend Portugal against foreign aggression, England was not bound, nor did she claim a right to interfere with her internal concerns. There were, however, those who held, that in a case where war was made against the acknowledged sovereign by one who must be considered a rebel, that the king had a right to summon an ally to his aid. It will be seen hereafter, that this was actually claimed by the ministers of Don Pedro when Oporto was declared in a state of blockade by Miguel: the existence of the blockade was acknowledged by the British government. On that occasion the following notice was issued:—

"(Blockade of Oporto.)

"Foreign-office, June 24th.

"Sir,—I am directed by the earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you, for the information of the committee of Lloyd's, that intelligence has been received at this office, that an effective blockade of the bar of the city of Oporto has been declared by his royal highness the prince-regent of Portugal.

"I am, sir, your's, &c. &c.

"(Signed) DUNGLAS.

"To the secretary of Lloyd's."

On this, as on most important occasions,

to satisfy all who were in a position to criticise or oppose the government, was not within the range of things possible. Many argued, that it was the duty of England not to withdraw her army while Portugal was in such an unsettled state; others complained, that it favoured Miguel's views remaining there one day after his real object had been avowed, or with certainty known. To questions put on the subject in the house of commons, Mr. Peel gave this explanation of what the government had thought it right to do. Before the arrival out of Don Miguel, they had determined—all fear of the invasion of Portugal being at an end—to withdraw the British troops; those troops having been sent there in fulfilment of an ancient treaty, to protect the country against foreign invaders, and not to uphold any particular form of government. To a question, whether ministers expected payment of the sum due from Portugal as the condition of the forts being given up? he replied, that he should be sorry if England had set so bad an example in the face of Europe, as to retain them, under such circumstances, to enforce payment of a debt. The sum due to this country amounted to about one hundred thousand pounds; and, having a right to prefer such a claim, he could not think it would have been prudent for Great Britain to have insisted on keeping the forts which had, for other purposes, been placed in her hands, to secure its liquidation. These explanations were given on the 9th of June, when the right honourable gentleman further stated, the political functions of the English ambassador at Lisbon had been suspended.

The course pursued by the Wellington government met with general approval. An eminent leader of the opposition, sir James Mackintosh, in the house of commons, expressed great satisfaction that all diplomatic intercourse had been suspended with Portugal, as such suspension amounted to a declaration that the then chief of that country was a rebel and an usurper; and to an approbation of the noble efforts of those faithful Portuguese who had taken up arms against atrocious usurpations, and in defence of the cause of legitimate authority and constitutional liberty. He fervently prayed for the success of that glorious resistance pronounced to be lawful by the unanimous voice of Europe.

The foreign policy, generally, was strictly reviewed a few days before the close of the session. On the 16th of July, on a motion

of form for the production of papers, lord Holland commented, at great length, on the treaty of triple alliance, the situation of Greece, Turkey, and Russia, and the relations between England and her ancient ally, the kingdom of Portugal. He spoke with much asperity of the Turkish empire, which he rejoiced to see in a declining state, and hoped he should never see—for such a proposition would be scouted from one end of the country to the other—any preparations or attempt to defend that “ancient ally,” as she had been called, from the attacks of its enemies; for preserving the crumbling and hateful, or as Mr. Burke had described it, “the wasteful and disgusting empire of the Turks,” from utter ruin. Unless, however, it was intended to secure a free civil government for the Greeks, there was no occasion for the three great powers of Europe to unite against Turkey. With respect to Portugal, his lordship thought the only way in which an Englishman ought to look at the recent occurrences, was to ask, what effect had the conduct of his government in producing them? However anxious the country might have been for the success of the constitutional party in Portugal, they ought not to forget what might have been the very natural reflections of an individual of that party during the struggle. He might have said—“The constitution is connected with the interests of the emperor and his daughter—is it supported by England? What I see induces me to doubt that fact. If I exert myself against Don Miguel, and he should become king, I shall be hanged; but, if the constitution be really cherished by England, let that be seen, and I will boldly adhere to the cause.” This, he thought, had not been made very apparent. The breathless haste with which the blockade of Oporto was recognised by the English government, and which gave Don Miguel a title—that of regent—which he had forfeited, had, combined with other circumstances, enabled the faction in Portugal, opposed to the constitution, to triumph. This he regarded as resulting from the lukewarmness of England.

The earl of Aberdeen showed that it had been the duty of England to acknowledge the blockade without loss of time; and the title given to Don Miguel in the notification of the blockade was certainly that to which he was then entitled. Our troops had been sent to Portugal, not to maintain possession of the country, but in fulfilment of treaties;

and he knew of no good reason why they should not be withdrawn as they had been. Don Miguel had left this country, taking with him, through our intervention, supplies of money. No sooner had he given intimation of a departure from the professions he had made while in England, than he was deprived of those supplies. From that day, until the day on which the functions of the British ambassador were suspended, remonstrance (on the part of England) had followed remonstrance, each couched in stronger language than the preceding one; and, at length, all diplomatic intercourse was terminated. Did that show anything like a leaning in favour of Don Miguel? The noble lord, in his indignation at the existence of the Turkish government, seemed to think that a part of the plan of the treaty which had been made, was the destruction of the Turkish empire. The treaty, so far from having that object in view, had been founded upon an opposite principle. Of the conduct of the emperor of Russia, he spoke in terms of high praise, as being marked by sincerity and generosity; but he could by no means agree with the general view which the noble lord had taken of the Turkish empire. When the noble lord was so loud in his exultation at the prospective fall of that empire, he thought he took an erroneous view of the policy of England towards Turkey. In his opinion, the existence of Turkey as an independent country—as a power of weight and of considerable influence in the affairs of Europe—was essential to the preservation of that balance of power which it had always been the policy of this country to maintain.—Lord Goderich followed on the same side; and the duke of Wellington next spoke.

His grace assured their lordships, that “when the transactions then in progress should be brought to a close, there would be every disposition on the part of the government to give the fullest information respecting them. It had been the anxious desire of the English government to preserve peace between the Russian and Turkish empires.” The duke was led to believe, that the views of the emperor of Russia, with regard to the Porte, were widely different from what, at a subsequent period, they were shown to be. He remarked—“The noble lord had said, that Russia wished to bring Turkey under its despotic sway. He was authorised by the minister of that power to say, that Russia did not desire the

destruction of the Turkish empire, or even the dismemberment of it. He would say, the transaction with which he had been particularly engaged, as well as the treaty of the 6th of July, was founded on an anxious desire to maintain peace between those empires. In the instructions which he had received from the then government, the preservation of peace was not only the great object specified, but it was, in point of fact, laid down as the *sine quâ non* of any arrangement that might be entered into. He was absolutely forbidden to make an arrangement with respect to Greece, if measures of force and violence were the means by which that object was to be carried into execution." To an observation which was uttered, that if that were so, the emperor of Russia must have been deceived, the duke replied, by stating a fact which, in after days, was viewed as not historically unimportant. He told their lordships, that the emperor Nicholas saw the instructions in question: that he had shown them to the emperor himself; and in them it was particularly laid down, that every exertion should be made to prevent hostilities. Ministers had been described to be a set of drivellers, for expecting to carry such an arrangement into effect without force. Perhaps on that point they had been deceived; but, before their lordships decided on that question, they ought to look somewhat carefully at what the situation of Greece and Turkey had been when mediation was proposed. The Greek navy was supposed to be superior to the Turkish navy: the Turkish army had been unsuccessful; Turkish army after Turkish army had been destroyed in the Morea; and that which was essential to carrying on a war, in that part of the world—a fleet—was not possessed by the Turks. In such a state of things, the English government had thought that there was some chance of mediating successfully between the two powers; and, above all, it was thought that the originator of the negotiation—Russia—aided by this country, might have secured a peace between Greece and Turkey. "Peace," the duke proceeded to say, "was the object of the treaty of July; peace was the object when he and his colleagues came into office in January; and to restore peace was their object at that moment."

"It was with that view," he continued, "that ministers had recommended the language which his majesty had held to parlia-

ment at the commencement of the session, and they had endeavoured most strenuously to realise the hopes held out in his majesty's speech; and, if in that they had failed, it was from circumstances over which they had no control. The war in which the emperor of Russia had engaged with Turkey, it would be seen, had made a material change in the affairs of the east, and, necessarily, interfered with the object which ministers had in view.

"With respect to the British force which had been sent to Lisbon, it had been very properly settled that it should retire the moment the prince-regent arrived in that country. He had made arrangements before leaving Vienna, to which Great Britain was not a party, but which were entered into in the presence of the British ambassador. Don Miguel had subsequently subscribed to arrangements submitted to him as he passed through this country on his way to Portugal, to which England was more immediately a party. It was certainly most extraordinary that he had not acted up to those arrangements; it was certainly most extraordinary that when he arrived in Portugal he should have broken them all—all the arrangements entered into with reference to his sovereign as well as to his allies. It was, however, certainly true, that in the course of a few days after his arrival in Portugal, he had manifested symptoms of a disposition to break through them; and the very instant that intention was apparent, the British ambassador did what alone he could do to show the feelings of his government—he at once sent away the means which otherwise Don Miguel would have possessed to carry more speedily and securely into effect the designs which he harboured: he sent away the money which had been procured, by the influence of his majesty's government, for the prince-regent's use.

"An intention had existed to have the British troops a short time in Portugal before Miguel's intentions were manifest; but the moment it was known what course he was fixed to pursue—that he was determined to overturn those institutions of the country which he had been called upon to support—they were ordered home; and, when at length he had thrown off his disguise, declaring it to be his object to claim as his own the crown of his brother, all diplomatic relations with Portugal had immediately been broken off, and the British ambassador left Lisbon."

On what had been said of the recognition of the blockade of Oporto, the duke of Wellington told their lordships, that "as soon as it was ascertained it existed, it was thought necessary for this country, in accordance with the practice which had uniformly been pursued in such cases, to notify its existence. It was true that the blockade in question had not been notified to his majesty's government, as blockades were generally notified, but that was owing to the suspension of all diplomatic intercourse between the two countries. It was, however, announced in the *Lisbon Gazette*; and ministers found that such a notification had been deemed sufficient in other cases, and, therefore, they considered it their duty to respect a blockade which was so notified. No man could regret more than he did the situation into which Portugal had been brought; no man could feel more strongly than he felt the value of our alliance with Portugal; but at the same time, he must say, having looked into all the treaties, and having considered all the transactions which had taken place between the two countries in former as well as in recent times, and particularly within the last thirty years, he would say, that England had no right to take any part in the internal affairs of the Portuguese nation. Even within the last six years, he could instance the most pointed refusal had been given by this country to guarantee a constitution to Portugal, or to have anything to do with the internal affairs of the kingdom. The present situation of England he affirmed to be this: having recognised the sovereignty of Don Pedro, and, subsequently, that of his daughter, with which she had been invested by her father's abdication, she had still no right to interfere with the transactions then in progress in Portugal."

The parliament was prorogued on the 28th of July. Having, on the occasion of lord Holland's motion, explained the situation of the country in regard to its foreign relations, on the 24th, he found an opportunity of showing what was its financial position. Lord Bexley, on the third reading of the national debt bill—a bill which was to limit the issue to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to three million pounds for that year—denied that Mr. Pitt had ever proposed anything so shallow as the payment of the national debt with borrowed money, but recommended the government to preserve the machinery of the sinking-fund. The duke of Wellington said, "the

report of the finance committee then before their lordships, contained more information than any that had ever been produced up to that time. Their lordships, he said, he hoped would see in that report ample proof of the extent and solidity of the resources of the country, resulting from persevering, as long as it was possible, in the plan adopted by Mr. Pitt for the redemption of the debt. He would not then point out in what manner the sinking-fund had worked; but one obvious remark he would beg leave to make, namely, that the interest paid on all the sums borrowed in the course of the last war, exceeded but by a little five per cent. That could only be attributed to the sinking-fund, which had been so much abused. He hoped the discussion which had taken place would convince parliament that the salvation of the country depended on the establishment of an efficient sinking-fund, for the payment of the national debt. Whether that fund ought to amount to three million pounds, or to a larger sum; and whether that sum ought to be fixed or voted annually, were questions which he had no wish to prejudge; but that they must have an efficient sinking-fund, consisting of a real surplus income, no man could doubt; and he must say, that that minister would not do his duty who did not urge the country to ensure the establishment and continuance of such a fund."

In the speech of the lords commissioners for his majesty, which closed the session, it was mentioned that the emperor of Russia had found himself under the necessity of declaring war against the Porte, upon grounds concerning exclusively the interests of his own dominions, and that his majesty would continue to combine his efforts with those of the king of France and his imperial majesty, to carry into complete effect the treaty of London. With respect to Portugal, it stated that his just expectations had been disappointed; and measures had been adopted there in disregard of the earnest advice and remonstrances of his majesty, which had compelled him and the other powers to withdraw their representatives from Lisbon. His majesty relied on the wisdom of "the august sovereign, the head of the house of Braganza, to take the course best calculated to maintain the interests and honours of that illustrious family, and to secure the peace and happiness of the dominions over which it reigned."

In tracing the course of events, the reader will mark with some interest, the perfect

confidence reposed in the benevolence and good faith of the emperor Nicholas. Looking at the conduct of that potentate in after years, it would hardly be presuming too much, if we conclude that he had already entered on that course of dissimulation, the detection of which, a quarter of a century later, at once astonished and incensed the western nations; and that he had adroitly made England and France his instruments to abate the Ottoman power, which their united efforts were ultimately directed to sustain and restore.

And while they were thus engaged, it is not unworthy of remark, that Russia was putting forth her strength successfully against Persia. What she had accomplished at this period was thus proclaimed to the world by the journal of St. Petersburg; a necessity being stated to have arisen for repelling force by force:—"Obliged to pursue the enemy through a country without roads, laid waste by troops which were to have defended it, often opposed by nature itself, exposed to the burning sun of summer and the rigours of winter, our brave army, after unparalleled efforts, succeeded in conquering Erivan, which was reported impregnable. It passed the Araxes; planted its standards on the top of Ararat; and penetrating farther and farther into the interior of Persia, it occupied Tibris itself, with the country depending on it. The Khanat of Erivan, on both sides of the Araxes, and the Khanat of Nakhitchevan, a part of the ancient Armenia, fell into the hands of the conquerors. But in the course of these rapid conquests, the Russians acquired glory of another kind. In the midst of a war, the theatre of which their valour had carried into the enemy's country, the safety of persons and of all kinds of property remained as sacred and inviolable to them, as if they had been in profound peace in the country of an ally. Humane, mild, and generous, their conduct has surrounded the Russian name with a splendour superior to that which victory bestows. It is thus, that in eight months after the entrance of our troops into the Persian territory, decisive exploits and important results have crowned our arms. Their success has demonstrated that Providence defended our just cause. Covered by its mighty eyes, and considering peace as the greatest of blessings, Russia will never suffer it to be disturbed, without inflicting on the aggressor just and severe chastisement. The road to new triumphs was

open before us; but the moment that peace, which we so highly value, was possible, our only wish was to conclude it. Our object was to secure to the empire a natural and strong barrier on the side of Persia; to obtain a complete indemnity for all the losses occasioned by the war; and thus to remove all the causes which might lead to its return. Such, in fact, are the bases on which a treaty of perpetual peace was concluded and signed on the 10th (22nd) February, at Tourkmanchoi, between Russia and Persia."

That this was no vain boast, so far as the acquisition of territory and the exaction of a large payment of money is in question, the following articles of the treaty sufficiently prove. By the third article, Persia ceded the Khanat of Erivan, on either side of the Araxes, and the Khanat of Nakhitchevan; and all the public documents connected with those two provinces, which were to be delivered within six months. The fourth detailed, with great minuteness, the future frontier-line between the two empires. It begins at the point of the Ottoman states the nearest to Little Ararat, and crosses the mountain to the source of the Lower Karasan; follows the source of that river till it falls into the Araxes, opposite Cherour, and then follows the course of the latter river, as far as the fortress Abbas-Abad. This fortress, situated on the right bank, together with the surrounding country, to the extent of three wersts and a-half, to belong to Russia. The frontier-line then again follows the course of the Araxes, as far as twenty-one wersts beyond the Ford of Jediboulonk, from which point a straight line is to be drawn across the plain of Moughan, to the bed of the river Bolgarou, twenty-one wersts above the point of confluence of the two rivers Odinabazar and Sarakamyche. The line then passes across the summit of Djikdoir, so that all the waters falling into the Caspian belong to Russia, and continues to cross the summit of other mountains; observing the above principle relative to rivers falling into the Caspian to the source of the river Artara, the course of which, as it falls into the Caspian, completes the whole line of frontier. The shah confirmed the above line of frontier. Persia was, besides, to pay an indemnity of twenty million rubles.

Thus it will be seen, that while overrunning Persia with her own power, against another neighbour, she was prevailing by an

allied power. Had this been seen then, as it was at a later date, the language of the king's speech, in which the battle of Navarin was described to be "an untoward event," might have been less sharply criticised.

At home, agitation on the subject of catholic claims was continued. The London university had been established and sustained by the friends and champions of liberal principles. To the conservative protestant party, it appeared desirable that a similar establishment should be formed, in which their views might be kept in mind, or promoted; and, in consequence of this idea finding favour in the eyes of its leading members, a new institution was projected, to be called king's college. To forward that object, a great meeting was held at the Freemasons' tavern, on the 21st of June, at which the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, St. David, Durham, St. Asaph, Chester, Gloucester, and Ossory, the marquis of Camden, the speaker of the house of commons, lord Bexley, the primate of Ireland, and the lord mayor of London, attended; and the duke of Wellington consented to preside. On entering the hall, he was received with shouts of welcome; and, addressing the meeting from the chair, he said, "the object for which they assembled was the establishment in the metropolis of a college, in which all the branches of literature and science would be taught, including also a knowledge of the principles of Christianity, as promulgated by the doctrines of the established church. It was not necessary for him to delay the meeting by giving them the plan of the proposed institution in detail. It would be sufficient for him to state it generally. The plan embraced a system of education, which, combined with a general knowledge of literature and science, a particular knowledge of Christianity, morality and religion—together with that species of education necessary to youths adopting particular professions. He need hardly, he believed, at that time of day, say anything on the propriety of inculcating such a system of education, formed upon such a basis. Although he had not had the advantage of a college education, owing to the particular pursuits in which he was engaged—(here he was interrupted by tremendous applause)—yet no one felt more than he did the advantages a college offered to youth. The promoters of the intended establishment were the dignitaries of the

established religion and the governors of the church, who, he added, were not only willing to support it by their purse, but were also willing to sacrifice their valuable time towards its future management." He called on the meeting to assist in the execution of this great work. "Let an effort be made worthy of this great country, that the youth of the metropolis might receive an education by which they would be taught to love the king, obey the laws—but, above all, be made acquainted with the knowledge of their God; and, by being made acquainted with the great principles of their holy religion, be taught to rest content with their lot in this life, and to hope, through the mercy of God, for happiness in the next." His grace then read the resolutions.

Having thus opened the business of the day, a vote of thanks for his conduct in the chair, and for his cordial co-operation with the views of the meeting, was proposed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and carried with loud acclamations. The duke, having acknowledged the compliment, retired amidst the renewed plaudits of all present. After he had withdrawn, it was explained by the bishop of Chester, who had been called to the chair, that the college it was intended to establish was not to be founded on such narrow-minded views as, in some quarters, were imputed. The prelate remarked—"It has been said, that no persons are to be admitted into the college, which it is the object of this day's meeting to found, but those who are members of the church of England. As this report is unfounded, and would, if allowed to circulate, be productive perhaps of some injury, I conceive it my duty at once to contradict it. So far from such being the fact, no question whatever as to the religious opinions held by the student will be asked; and all that will be required of him is, to conform to the rules of discipline which will be laid down on that head. What I mean," said his lordship, "is, that in order to become students, it is not necessary that they shall be members of the established church; but they must submit themselves to the rules and discipline which the college, connected, as it will be, with the church, may impose on the general management and conduct of their studies."

In furtherance of the important undertaking, the duke of Wellington gave three hundred pounds: and such was the effect of his example, his great name, and powerful assistance, that, before the meeting broke

up, the astonishing amount of upwards of twenty thousand pounds was announced as having been received, in subscriptions and donations; and that, notwithstanding, not a single advertisement had appeared for the convening of the meeting. It is possible that his presence, and the speech which he made, were valued the more, as they seemed to refute the reports which had got abroad, that his grace was not indisposed to give his support to that which many friends of the church feared would be fatal to the establishment, if not to protestantism itself—catholic emancipation. This had been confidently whispered for some weeks, on the authority of those who might be supposed to have access to the best sources of information. About a month before the meeting, that such was the case, was so strongly reported, that the evening paper regarded as the principal government organ, thought it right to put forth the following contradictory, but rather equivocating notice of what had been advanced:—

“A statement has been put forth in a morning paper, with such confidence, that if it were not noticed at once, it might be inferred that there was some foundation for it. The statement would induce a belief, that a communication has been conveyed to a most august personage, upon a subject of the greatest importance; that, in submitting this communication, the person making it declared his opinion to be the same as that of the august personage; but that he must humbly beg leave to say, that his remaining in office would depend upon assent being given to the course he had taken the liberty to point out. Another personage is then alluded to, as having advised the adoption of the alternative alluded to. Something of the same kind, but not so particular, nor so direct, has been stated in the Dublin papers. They confine themselves, however, to the assertion—‘that the most flattering anticipations have been communicated to this side of the water.’ Now, without presuming in the slightest degree to enter, from authority, into any discussion of the sentiments of that most august personage, we may safely and positively assert, that the statement is altogether without foundation; that it would be improbable that any official personage would advise the adoption of a measure to which he was himself personally hostile, or that he would couple that advice with such a menace as the one imputed to him. With respect to the other exalted personage, he could not

have given any such advice; for no communication of the nature alluded to was made.”

Notwithstanding this, it soon transpired, that what the editor of the *Courier* declared he might “safely and positively assert,” was not correct. There can be no doubt, that about this time the duke, who had so long been opposed to granting the measure claimed on behalf of the catholics, felt, that to continue that opposition, might be more pregnant with danger than yielding the point. What advice he judged it his duty to give to the “most august personage,” as well as the effect produced on the mind of George IV., will be told in a future chapter. That the great concession was pressed on his majesty by the duke of Wellington, has been most distinctly proved.

Notwithstanding the anxiety he had manifested for the well-being of the established church, it continued to be told, and in many quarters believed, that his grace, who had for so many years resisted the movements in favour of the Roman catholics, and who, on this account, had refused to join the Canning administration, was about to give them the benefit of his powerful support. Some of his old political friends were shocked at his expected apostasy; others deemed it impossible. To account for that which seemed so strange, but which beyond all doubt was soon to prove true, it is necessary to look at the then state of Ireland. When the duke of Wellington lost the co-operation of Mr. Huskisson and his friends, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald became the official successor of Mr. Charles Grant. The former, on taking office, necessarily vacated his seat in parliament, where he had represented the county of Clare. He had long been a warm friend to catholic emancipation; and, on going to his constituents again, he expected no opposition would be made to his re-election, as he looked for the support of the catholic association, and of all O’Connell’s followers. But the agitator had a new game to play. That his exhibitions might continue attractive, some startling and original feature was necessary; and this his ingenuity now supplied. He announced to the Irish people, that he had discovered the law, as it then stood, gave catholics a right to sit in parliament; and he, therefore, came forward himself to solicit the votes of the electors of Clare. Should he prove so fortunate, he said, as to be the object of their choice, in that case something very grand should be witnessed; as

he would proceed to Westminster, and boldly claim a place in St. Stephen's chapel.

Cobbett, who could not contemplate the growing popularity—the greatly-increased power of O'Connell with satisfaction, remarked on this proceeding, not without reason, that it reflected little credit on Mr. O'Connell, as a lawyer, that he should have reached the age of fifty-five without knowing that catholics were eligible to be elected members of parliament, and to have found it out at last. If he were right in this, Cobbett added, he had been all his life clamouring to no purpose for catholic emancipation which was not wanted. Satisfactorily to answer this was not easy; but that did not signify in Ireland. The supremacy of O'Connell was not easily to be shaken; and the moment it was announced that O'Connell would stand for Clare, agents were dispatched in all directions to canvas the electors. The priests and the catholic orators were set in motion, and meetings were generally called in their chapels. To heighten the importance of their mission, breathless haste was affected, as if all that was dear to men on earth—as if all that could secure eternal happiness, depended on instant, united, energetic exertion. When an agitator reached a town in the middle of the night, a meeting was instantly called. All good catholics were then passionately invoked to rise in defence of their dearest rights, and in the cause of their holy religion. To the ignorant listeners, these outrageous spouters did not scruple to describe English protestants as monsters of iniquity—as base, persecuting wretches, who thirsted for the blood of pious catholics; and they were further told, that to save themselves and their children from misery or death, as well as from eternal perdition, it was absolutely necessary that they should instantly bestir themselves to secure the return of O'Connell for the county of Clare. He, according to them—he only—could avert the impending danger; and for him they must forthwith raise their voices, if they wished to deserve well of their country, or hoped to save their eternal souls.

It is true, the landed proprietors of Ireland, and all sober-minded men, regarded these inflammatory harangues with contempt and horror, when they heard hypocritical priests irreverently coupling the name of their favoured candidate with that of the Deity; whilst their flocks were solemnly exhorted to vote “for O'Connell and God.” But it was the lower

classes that were to decide the question then agitated; whether Mr. Fitzgerald or Mr. O'Connell should be their future representative? It was in vain that the landlords held meetings, and expressed indignation at the unlooked-for opposition which had been got up against the former gentleman, and resolved to give him their best support. When the day of election arrived—the 30th of June—the forty-shilling freeholders, in regular bands, or organised mobs, were marched to the hustings by the catholic priests, and directed by them what to do. A more abominable abuse in the name of freedom of election it is not easy to imagine. To unprejudiced minds it seemed equally at variance with law, common sense, and religion. One priest, satisfied that Mr. O'Connell, if returned, would not be permitted to sit in parliament, thought it would be a safer course to return a tried friend, than to venture on the proposed experiment. His people were, in consequence of this view of the subject, disposed to vote for Fitzgerald; but when they approached the hustings, they were vehemently called upon by some of the orators of the association to abandon their design; and, moved by the eloquence of the speakers, or intimidated by the shouting mob who were marshalled in favour of O'Connell, they immediately changed sides.

Mr. Fitzgerald, on being proposed by his colleague in the representation of the county, invited the electors to review his parliamentary career. He said, it was only by a mixed administration that the catholic question could be carried. To his opponents he remarked, that his joining the government of the duke of Wellington appeared to be “the head and front of his offending;” but be the consequences what they might, he remarked, “he was proud to be the duke's colleague, and to possess his confidence.” He proceeded to say—“It appears strange to me, that at a moment when the catholic question has been triumphant in the commons, and when the discussion of it in the lords has been marked by a greater degree of liberality than was ever witnessed before, the catholics of Ireland should announce hostility to a government, under whose auspices a change so favourable had been witnessed, and to select one who had honestly supported their cause, as a victim upon whom to wreak their vengeance. It was to enable them to perform this strange exploit, in favour of a gentleman, of whom it was more than doubtful whether

he could sit at all, that the agitators had seduced the tenantry to rise against their landlords, as the only return for the kindness and protection which they had received, and their constant interference, even in behalf of the political rights which they demanded. When the day arrives," said he, "and arrive, I fear it will, when a serious difference will take place between the landed proprietor and his tenant—and, by heaven! I deprecate the thought of it—but if it should arrive, let me ask, is it the payment of an arrear of rent, by any body of men, that will compensate the unfortunate peasant for being deprived of his natural protector? Is it the payment of a few pounds that can compensate the tenant for the total alienation of his landlord? When the poor man is sick, and his family perhaps famishing with hunger, where will those men be, who to gratify a public, perhaps a private pique, burst the bonds which for years have bound together the landlord and tenant, by what was considered an indissoluble tie? They will be far distant; and the unfortunate tenant will have nobody to look to for comfort and relief, save that landlord whom he is now called upon to desert."

If Mr. Fitzgerald's argument was not altogether deserving of praise (as his pathos was intended to move the elector to think of his landlord, rather than of his country), the hateful vituperation in which O'Connell indulged, merited stern condemnation from every friend to decorum and rational liberty. He poured forth his venomous abuse most copiously, and spared neither the living nor the dead. The system which had been established in Ireland, he contended, must be changed. "It will not do," he said, "henceforth to say, 'Sweet friend, I wish you well;' but it must be shown, by acts, that they do wish us well. It is time that this system should be put an end to; and I am come here to put an end to it. The right honourable gentleman has boasted of the support he has received from most of the gentry of the county. He has the support of some of our friends, it is true, and of all our enemies—not one portion of the filthy press but affords him their support. Oh! there is nothing makes the iron enter my soul, so much as the air of patronage with which our claims are taken under the wing of a great patron: but the time when we could be trampled upon with impunity is gone by. We do not now, as we were wont

to do, bend our necks before our masters. Are there no biblical persecutors amongst his supporters? Are not the wretched father and mother driven out to starve, unless their wretched children are permitted to attend all the proselytising schools? If I am returned to parliament, I shall consider myself in the nature of a juror between the country and the king. Send in the right honourable gentleman, and he will be calculating how much hock and champagne will be expended in entertaining his colleagues in office. Perceval it was who first raised the 'no popery' cry; and every man who supported the *base, bloody, and unchristian Perceval*, is as guilty of the deed he committed as that infamous minister himself. The marquis of Anglesea came here, and preached toleration: his son, as gallant an officer as ever trod a ship's deck, voted in favour of us. Lord Anglesea tried to satisfy us with sweet words; but did he vote for us? No; and for this I denounce him. Delusion is abroad. If you send me to parliament, I will put an end to the horrid tax for building protestant churches and providing sacramental wine. I will vote for the diminution of the tithes. I will vote for a reform in parliament; and finally, I will vote for reconsidering the abominable measure of the union. Be true to each other, and to me, and we must succeed. Make way for Mr. Fitzgerald's freeholders as you would for mine; but go round the country, and tell his voters that they ought to vote for me—scatter through the country, and do that manfully for me. I have taken the oath of allegiance to my king, and will keep it; but I must tell the right honourable gentleman that the young blood of Ireland is in a ferment. I detected a boy of thirteen years of age, a few days since, drilling a regiment of boys: they had a flag, on which was emblazoned—'Remember Orr.' There was no resisting eloquence like this, sustained as it was by the sainted promoters of it, who sent electors to the poll, as farmers might send cattle to the market. After a few days, Mr. Fitzgerald was convinced that success was out of the question; the contest ceased, and Mr. O'Connell was declared duly elected.

The great agitator had declared, that he would never take the oaths which were then administered to members on taking their seats in the house of commons. He was nevertheless determined to assert his right

to make one of that assembly. It is probable that some of his voters were led to expect that their mighty champion would, by force of arms, overawe the British senate, and compel its members to give him a place among them. Parliament was still sitting when this election took place. Mr. O'Connell's return was protested against by a number of freeholders, and the question thereupon raised was argued before the sheriff and his assessor. The latter decided, "that there was nothing in law to prevent a catholic from being elected; and, therefore, from being returned as duly elected, whatever further securities might be required from him, before he would be allowed to take his seat. He held, that there was nothing to hinder a Roman catholic from sitting in parliament, except a test which he must take when there, and without which the house of commons would not recognise him: but he must be in the house to take that oath; he could not take it until he was there; and no person had a right to determine, *à priori*, that any individual would not take the oath, when the time in which he could take it was not yet arrived. If the case had occurred in England, where a double return may be made, he would have advised the high sheriff to make one return for Mr. O'Connell, and another for Mr. Fitzgerald. But, as it was not competent to adopt that course in Ireland, he would advise the sheriff to return Mr. O'Connell as being duly elected; but to state, on the face of his return to the writ, that two candidates had been proposed—Mr. V. Fitzgerald, a protestant, and Mr. O'Connell, a catholic; that the latter announced that he was a catholic; and, further, that a protest against his return was lodged by a certain number of freeholders, but that Mr. O'Connell had a majority of qualified freeholders at the termination of the poll."* Mr. O'Connell was accordingly returned. A petition against his return was immediately presented to the house of commons; but the session was so far advanced, that no decision could be pronounced upon it before parliament was prorogued.

The return of O'Connell, who could not sit in parliament, and the defeat of Fitzgerald, a friend to catholic emancipation, who could, was deemed a great triumph by the catholic association, through whose means this double result was arrived at. The act passed to put down illegal societies

in Ireland had never effectually checked the proceedings of that body; but the law, such as it was, expired in July, and they now determined on acting with more insolence than ever. They tyrannically determined on imposing severe restrictions on any one who might thenceforward aspire to a seat in parliament. They did not scruple to proclaim, that no man should fill that honourable situation, who refused to subscribe to conditions which, in the judgment of many, would place on the individual taking them the seal of degradation. "The first thing which they required of every candidate was, that he should pledge himself to be an indiscriminate opponent of the ministry of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, until the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel should become catholic emancipators. The second was, that he should pledge himself to support religious and civil liberty. The third was, that he should pledge himself to procure the repeal of the sub-letting act. This act, which had passed in 1826, had no other object, and could have no other effect, than gradually to improve the condition of the Irish peasantry, by restraining that ever-multiplying minute division of property, which covered the country with a race of paupers. It provided, that a tenant should not have the power of sub-letting, without the consent of his landlord; and that he should not have the power of sub-dividing his lands among several persons by a testamentary devise, unless the lease—if subsequent to June, 1826—contained authority to sub-let, or, if prior to that date, contained no prohibition of sub-letting. But, whatever tended to raise the condition of the peasantry, was unfavourable to the dark dominion of the agitators: the peasantry themselves, improvident and thoughtless, could not appreciate the value of prospective comfort; but they felt the inconvenience of the present restraint; and the association prudently joined them in denouncing this measure as an act of calculating, cold-blooded oppression. The fourth thing required of every candidate was, that he should pledge himself to support a reform in parliament; but of what kind, and to what extent, was left undetermined. The agitators enacted, that if any candidate should decline to bind himself expressly and formally to the faithful observance of all these conditions, he should be opposed by the men, the influence, and the funds of the catholic association."†

* *Annual Register.*† *Annual Register.*

Some of the proceedings which have been described, it will be seen, almost assumed the character of rebellion. The duke of Wellington felt that he was opposed to adversaries he could not hope to subdue; and many symptoms now indicated that ministers were likely to give way in regard to the catholic question. Ten days after the pledges had been promulgated which it was the sovereign will and pleasure of the association that future candidates should be required to give, the grand celebration of the brave resistance made by the city of Londonderry to James II. took place. At this, a grand gathering of protestants had usually taken place, and the toasts and speeches of the day were especially calculated to fortify the minds of all who attended them against yielding to the aggressive views of the church of Rome. Mr. Dawson, the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, was present at the festival. He had always been regarded as one of the most uncompromising champions of protestantism, and, consequently, one of the most determined opponents of catholic emancipation. The opinions he held on this question he had but recently declared remained unchanged; but now he took a widely different course. No longer was his voice raised to animate those who heard him to stern resistance of the decrees of the catholic association; but, on the contrary, his advice was to conciliate, by granting what they demanded. His words were these—"The state of Ireland is an anomaly in the history of civilised nations. It is true, that we have a government to which an outward obedience is shown, which is responsible to parliament, and answerable to God, for the manner of administering its functions; but it is equally true, that an immense majority of the people look up, not to the legitimate government, but to an irresponsible, and to a self-constituted association, for the administration of the affairs of the country. The peace of Ireland depends not upon the government of the king, but upon the dictation of the catholic association. It has defied the government, and trampled upon the law of the land; and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power which banished a cabinet minister from the representation of the county, because he was a minister of the king, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country, just as it suits the caprice or ambition of those who exert it. The same danger impends over every institution established by

law. The church enjoys its dignity, and the clergy enjoy their revenues, by the laws of the land; and we know not how soon it may please the catholic association to issue its anathemas against the payment of tithes: and what man is hardy enough to say that the catholic people will disobey its mandate? It depends upon the catholic association—no man can deny it—whether the clergy are to receive their incomes or not. The condition of the landlords is not more consoling: already they have been robbed of their influence over the tenantry; already they are become but mere ciphers on their estates; nay, in many places they are worse than ciphers—they have been forced to become the tools of their domineering masters, the catholic priesthood; and it depends upon a single breath—a single resolution of the catholic association, whether the landlords are to be robbed of their rents or not. So perfect a system of organisation was never yet achieved by any body not possessing the legitimate powers of government. It is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, and it has triumphed over the enactments of the legislature; and it goes on filling its coffers from the voluntary contributions of the people."

When one of the boldest champions of the established church thus recognised the omnipotence of the catholic association, those who feared the consequences of granting emancipation were necessarily thrown into a state of great alarm. The language held by Mr. Dawson well accorded with the awful picture furnished by Mr. Sheil, of the power and influence of that body, and which he had described to be a tremendous organisation, extending over the whole island. "Have not," he said, "all the natural bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society which exist elsewhere gone? Has not property lost its influence? Has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it? And has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination?" "Is it nothing," he further demanded, "that the whole body of the catholic clergy are alienated from the state; and that the catholic gentry, peasantry, and priesthood are all combined in one vast confederacy? So much for catholic indignation while we are at peace; and when England shall be involved in war—I pause:

it is not necessary that I should discuss that branch of the subject, or point to the cloud which, charged with thunder, is hanging over our heads."

It was soon known that in that session, O'Connell would not attempt to claim a seat in the house of commons. The earl of Eldon supposed it was deferred, as he could do more mischief by keeping the question in suspense. His lordship wrote—"Nothing is talked of now (July 9th, 1828) which interests anybody the least in the world, except the election of Mr. O'Connell, and the mischief it will produce among debaters in the house of commons; and the more serious mischief which it will, in all human probability, excite in Ireland. As O'Connell will not, though elected, be permitted to take his seat in the house of commons, unless he will take the oaths, &c. (and that he won't do, unless he can get absolution), his rejection from the commons may excite a rebellion in Ireland. At all events, this business must bring the Roman catholic question, which has been so often discussed, to a crisis and a conclusion. The nature of that conclusion, I don't think favourable to protestantism."

Of the conduct of one protestant body at this moment, his lordship thus delivered himself:—"The dissenters, who lately got the test and corporation acts (*in effect*) repealed, have subscribed, as appears in an Irish publication, handsomely, to support O'Connell's election, as likely to give the Roman catholics the same benefits as the dissenters have received by the late act here; and the Roman catholics in Ireland publicly avow their determination to oversee the established church. We shall see whether our present rulers have the courage with which a Mr. Pitt would have acted, under present circumstances. I don't expect it of them."

That many members of the established church shared his lordship's alarm, there is no reason to doubt: at this period, a general feeling began to prevail, that farther resistance to the claims of the catholics would be of no avail. At a late period of the year, lord Eldon, in a letter to his brother, lord Stowell, thus expressed himself on the subject:—"If, as the liberals say, religious opinions ought to have *no* influence in the exercise of political power, why should the sovereign's professing the catholic religion, or marrying a Roman catholic princess, be by law as it is—a forfeiture of the crown?

If this be a just principle, how can opposition to restoring to the Roman catholics that establishment, which formerly belonged to them and their priesthood, be justified? If, on the other hand, you say that religious opinions *ought* to have such influence, where those religious opinions may lead persons to do what is wrong, (still) if making both houses of parliament replete with Roman catholics (nothing—religious opinions withstanding) would not lead *them* to do wrong, why is it to be *taken for granted* that a *king*, being of the same religious persuasion as his parliament, will do wrong? The project of emancipation seems to me to be founded on assumptions, which, if just, render much which was done in 1688, and the act of settlement on the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, *being protestants*—the forfeiture of the crown by conversion or marriage—altogether unjust; and that if the ministers of the crown advise his majesty to consent to emancipation, as it is asked, they advise him to give his assent to a libel on his title to the throne. But, notwithstanding all this, I cannot forbear to think, that the strong language used in many of the clubs is most mischievous, and deters many from meeting to express, in sober and temperate petitions, their feelings. My language, in town, to those who talked to me, was to do nothing more than, as individuals, in different parts of the country, to endeavour to convince their neighbours that it was dangerous to leave parliament, by not respectfully petitioning, to act upon what was there so often and so confidently said—that the country did not care what became of the question."

While the friends of the protestant church confessed great alarm, the catholic orators exulted beyond measure in the triumph already gained, and in that which was to come. One of them, a Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, at a meeting in Ireland, convened in a chapel dedicated to the archangel Michael, thought it not inconsistent with piety and common sense, to liken the revived catholic association to the Saviour of the world. "It had been," he said, "immured, by an act of the legislature, for three years in a political grave, but had then risen from the grave with renovated power; so the Saviour had been laid in a vault during three days, his glories obscured, his miracles shrouded in darkness; but, on the third day, he burst the shackles of death and rose in triumph, to illuminate and vivify the moral and

spiritual world, and opening the mansions of life and happiness to multitudes of human beings." It would have been well if, after furnishing this sublime picture of the association, he could have proceeded to show that it had heralded "peace and good-will to men," instead of stirring up the embers of bigotry, to kindle a flame of unhallowed discord.

The marquis of Anglesey, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, favoured the views of the catholics; and the catholic primate of Ireland, having received a letter from the duke of Wellington, of a conciliatory character, laid it before the noble marquis. The duke had therein expressed an anxious desire to see the question settled, and added, no doubt in the hope that it might abate the prevailing excitement—"If it could be buried in oblivion for a short time, I should not despair of a satisfactory result." The marquis of Anglesey, on reading this, differed from the duke altogether. He said—"To bury the question in oblivion was impossible; and, if it were not, he feared advantage would be taken of the pause as a panic achieved by the late violent re-action, and by proclaiming, that if the government peremptorily decided against concession, the catholics would not cease to agitate. He, therefore, recommended that the measure should not be lost sight of for a moment; that anxiety should continue to be manifested; that all constitutional means should be adopted to forward the course consistent with the most patient forbearance and obedience to the laws; that the catholics should trust to the justice of their cause, and to the growing liberality of mankind, but should not desist from agitation." The anti-catholic party held this to be equivalent to exhorting the enemy to continue to fire red-hot balls, but to take especial care that they should do no sort of mischief. That the representative of his majesty in Ireland should recommend perseverance in that agitation which appeared to the government of England pregnant with danger, made it necessary, in the view of the duke of Wellington, to recall the lord-lieutenant. Such a step few thought indicative of the change of opinion which it had been reported the prime minister was soon to avow; but that such it was, the noble

marquis affirmed, was clear to him. "I know the duke of Wellington," he said: "his mind is made up to grant catholic emancipation; and I am recalled because he wishes that no one should share his victory."

From the passages quoted—from the movements of friends and foes at this critical period, it must be confessed, that the duke had to meet difficulties of no common magnitude. He acknowledged no change of principle; but the angry feelings which had been awakened were, in his judgment, infinitely more formidable than any foreign enemy he had ever met on the field of battle. Having been brought to think, that at no distant period the claims of the Roman catholics should be allowed, he had desired that the violence thus witnessed should abate, that the concession might be granted with a better grace than if it seemed to be wrung from fear by intimidation. The leaders of the malcontents insisted, that to violence, or as it was named, "agitation," they owed the favourable disposition then indicated; and that it was only by continuing it they could hope to prevail. Thus advised, the frenzied zeal which had been awoke, was sedulously kept up by new stimulants, till, mentally, the great captain was subdued—wrought upon to believe, that the government had only to choose between granting emancipation or witnessing the horrors of a rebellion.

Neither he nor his colleagues doubted the power of England to put down the boldest attempt at insurrection; and they had little reason to suspect, that those who made the most valiant, death-defying speeches in the catholic-association place of meeting, would prove very formidable in the field. Of that, few examples had been furnished. The most undaunted orators, whose soul-stirring eloquence set the whole nation in a flame, seem often to have made such a vast expenditure of heroism in words, that the poor *residuum* left for action could only provoke contempt. Ministers valued not the vaunts or the prowess of these Spartans, but they had serious apprehensions that a distressing convulsion would be caused by their labours—painful and embarrassing to Great Britain, and fruitful of aggravated horrors to Ireland.

CHAPTER XII.

ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN OF PORTUGAL IN ENGLAND; DON PEDRO CLAIMS ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND; GREAT BRITAIN REMAINS NEUTRAL BETWEEN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL; OPENING OF A NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT; CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION FAVOURED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

If the English government decided, in the first instance, not to recognise Don Miguel as king of Portugal, nothing had since occurred to alter their determination. His rule presented but a wretched display of contempt for right, and a series of capriciously-tyrannical acts. The tidings of his usurpation soon reached Brazil. Outraged as Don Pedro was by the conduct of his brother, he seems to have hoped that forbearance might recall Miguel to a sense of duty. He addressed, on the 25th of July, a proclamation to the Portuguese people, in which the usurper was mildly dealt with. He was described as a virtuous prince, who had been converted into an instrument of evil by a wicked and selfish faction. The answer to this, in the *Lisbon Gazette*, was a rich specimen of scurrility, overwhelming the emperor with the most insolent abuse.

In furtherance of the design which he had formed, and with a view to her becoming the future consort of Miguel, Don Pedro had sent his royal daughter, Donna Gloria Maria, to Europe. It had been proposed to carry her to Genoa, whence she was to proceed to her grandfather, the emperor of Austria, at Vienna. Those who had the young queen in charge, on learning what had taken place in Portugal, thought fit to take a different course. She was brought to England, and reached Falmouth on the 24th, in the *Imperatriz*. On her approach she was saluted by the garrison and men-of-war, and this was repeated, on the royal standard being hoisted, after the *Imperatriz* had cast anchor. On the following day, the young queen landed, and proceeded by easy stages to London. By the English people, in the various towns through which she passed, her majesty was welcomed with joyful demonstrations. The better feelings of Englishmen were interested in the fate of a young royal female far from her home, no longer under the care of a parent, and denied the protection of a relative destined to be her husband. That she was spared such a union—snatched from association with the monster, Don Miguel, they regarded with lively satisfaction. She

took up her abode at Grillon's hotel, in Albemarle-street, where, on the morning after her arrival, an address was presented to her from the Portuguese nobility, gentry, and principal merchants then in London. The duke of Wellington and lord Aberdeen shortly afterwards appeared to welcome her majesty to the capital of England. They treated her as the sovereign of Portugal, and came in their state carriages, dressed in military uniform, and decorated with the several orders they were entitled to wear. Messages of congratulation were also sent from George the Fourth at Windsor.

If ever Don Pedro had doubted the turpitude of his brother, all uncertainty was speedily removed, and he was denounced as an ingrate and a rebel, in terms which, if not too severe to meet the circumstances of the case, erred but little on the side of tenderness; and the minister of the emperor of Brazil, in England, the marquis de Barbacena, was directed by his master to claim, under treaties alleged to exist between the two countries, assistance from England to support the claim of Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal. The marquis, addressing the earl of Aberdeen, on the 25th of November, in officially demanding that aid which might effectually secure to her the possession of her kingdom, spoke of the usurpation effected at Lisbon in the July preceding, and of the indignation and pain experienced in consequence by Don Pedro, who gratefully acknowledged the termination of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries, regarding that as a sure pledge, that the ancient and intimate ally of Portugal would not be satisfied with testifying, by that act, the disapprobation felt by the English government at the perfidious insurrection which had been excited. The marquis proceeded—"Determined never to come to any terms with the usurper of the Portuguese crown, and to assert the rights of her majesty, the queen Donna Maria II., the first thought of his majesty, the emperor of Brazil, could be no other than that of claiming for such purpose the aid of his Britannic majesty."

In support of the claim thus preferred, the marquis de Barbacena went over the early history of the connexion between the countries, and gave this epitome of their amicable relations:—"In the reign of Edward I. of England, stipulations of friendship and commerce were entered into; and in 1373, a formal treaty of alliance was concluded between Ferdinand I. of Portugal, and Edward III. of England. A series of treaties had succeeded that, most of them confirming all the former treaties, which series ended with the treaty of the 21st of January, 1815, the third article of which ran thus:—The ancient treaties of alliance, amity, and guarantee, which have so long and so happily subsisted between the two crowns, are, by this present article, renewed by the two high contracting parties, and acknowledged to be in full force and vigour." No war, it was added, had, during that long period, interrupted a connexion between the two countries, of which diplomatic history exhibited no similar instance. The only rupture which had occurred, took place during Cromwell's protectorate, and that was occasioned by assistance afforded by the king of Portugal to the partisans of king Charles I., to whom he had granted an asylum at Lisbon.

The marquis then extracted some of the stipulations contained in the treaties. He had enclosed a copy of the treaty of 1373 to the earl of Aberdeen. This, he said, seemed to be intended to apply the stipulations of the alliance to the case of rebellion in the first article of the treaty of 1373, which was confirmed by a subsequent article, No. 2, by which the king of England permitted the raising in his kingdom of a body of volunteers, to serve in the war which the king of Portugal was, at that period, carrying on against his rebellious brother; the conveyance of that body of volunteers having been effected by two ships of the line, which the British government provided for that purpose. The treaty of alliance, concluded in the year 1571, between queen Elizabeth, of England, and Don Sebastian, of Portugal, he further remarked—"makes express mention of rebellion; at least it states that the two sovereigns take a mutual interest in maintaining their respective governments. In the act of ratification of the treaty of 1642, No. 4, the express intention of renewing the preceding treaties is observable. The first article of the treaty of 1654, No. 5, contains the stipulation of neither receiving

nor harbouring, reciprocally, the rebellious subjects of either of the two countries; and in virtue of this article, her majesty, queen Donna Maria II., has undoubtedly the right to demand, that her august ally should not suffer an avowed agent of the usurper's government of Portugal to reside in England." The marquis then strengthened his application to England by a reference to the recent unprincipled conduct of Don Miguel. His lordship demanded—"Can the British monarch (if the undersigned may presume to make such an appeal) ever forget the written assurances which his majesty received, and the words which his majesty himself heard the infant, Don Miguel, utter? Will the king of England forget that that prince, after having been received in England in the most distinguished and most friendly manner, and after having been accompanied as far as the Tagus by an English squadron, did immediately violate every oath, while under the protection, it may be asserted, of the British troops, whose presence at Lisbon, though without any such intention, produced the effect of repressing every attempt at resistance to measures, by which, under the legal mark of the regency, the infant was preparing to accomplish the usurpation?" He proceeded—"Can his Britannic majesty, on the other hand, forget the generosity, the good faith, and the implicit confidence with which his majesty the emperor of Brazil has complied with all the wishes, and conformed to all the counsels of his august ally, by completing his abdication of the crown of Portugal, and by sending the young queen to Europe? And can it be possible that the august monarch, who so earnestly advised both those measures, should patiently bear the usurpation, and refuse to lend the queen, his ally, that succour which the undersigned, in the name of that sovereign, and supported by her presence, claims in her favour? No one can suppose it." His despatch thus concluded:—"The undersigned claims, in the name of his august master, and in favour of queen Donna Maria II., such assistance as the circumstances call for, and as her most faithful majesty is justified in expecting on the part of his Britannic majesty, in virtue of the intimate alliance subsisting between the two crowns, and of the engagements resulting from the formal conferences held at Vienna and London. The undersigned cannot doubt of the resolution which the sentiments of justice and honour will dictate to

the cabinet of his Britannic majesty, the more particularly when he calls to mind the counsels and the promises which he was charged himself to convey to the emperor his master, from the eminent personage who now presides, and was already presiding in March last, over his Britannic majesty's councils. He has only to add, that in case the stipulations of the treaty of 1661 should not be judged sufficient for the present circumstances, he is provided with the necessary instructions, and full powers, for concluding a convention, in which the succours to be furnished by his majesty, the emperor of Brazil, and by his Britannic majesty, to her majesty the most faithful queen, may be formally specified."

Articles quoted from other treaties were commented on by the marquis; and the inference drawn, that Great Britain was bound, on such an emergency, to assist the rightful sovereign against the usurper. He referred to certain protocols, which, he maintained, had the force of treaties, as he urged, "the earl of Aberdeen knew, the name of treaty or convention was not requisite to constitute the validity of political engagements; the signed memorandum of a conference, or an exchange of votes, having frequently answered the same purpose."

As already hinted, the course pursued by Don Pedro and his representative was not remarkable for its ingenuousness. In August, an application was made to the earl of Aberdeen for permission to export a large quantity of arms and ammunition to Rio Janeiro. It was suspected that the real intentions of the parties had been studiously concealed; and the applicants were therefore told, that the permission asked would be granted, on a pledge being obtained, that the arms and ammunition should not be employed in connexion with the civil dissensions in Portugal, with which England, as a neutral power, could not interfere. The pledge was given, and count Itabayana declared that there was no intention of so using those stores. Notwithstanding this, it soon transpired that, instead of being sent to Brazil, they were forwarded to Terceira, the largest island of the Azores, which had declared for Donna Maria. When this was known, ministers concluded that men would soon be sent after them, and that a force would thus be furnished from England to act against the then rulers of Portugal.

The claim preferred, on the part of Portugal, involved very grave considerations;

and the reference made by the marquis de Barbacena, to treaties of ancient date, offered difficulties to returning an official answer immediately. That most decisive proofs had been supplied of the perfidious conduct of Don Miguel, could not be denied. To spare him, the British government indicated no disposition; but still it was not prepared authoritatively to interfere with the internal affairs of Portugal. This will be more clearly shown from a reference to a correspondence, which took place in the preceding month, regarding the Portuguese refugees then in England.

On the 15th of October, the marquis de Barbacena had forwarded a confidential despatch to the duke of Wellington, requesting that a part of the faithful Portuguese troops which were then in England, might, without delay, be forwarded to the Azores, which would ensure their defence and their tranquillity, under the government of the legitimate sovereign, against the attack with which they were menaced by the illegitimate government established in Portugal. He, therefore, demanded from his Britannic majesty, in the name of the queen of Portugal, the convoy of a ship-of-war, to escort from England a part of the troops which were then at Plymouth. The duke gave an answer, to this effect:—"The Portuguese in England are here in the quality of individuals. We know of no Portuguese troops in this country. If there be any, they must quit the country without loss of time." His grace added—the government had much reason to complain of the Portuguese individuals then at Plymouth, who, notwithstanding they had been received with hospitality, had so much forgotten themselves, within the last few days, as to make an attack upon a house where a Portuguese traveller had taken refuge. He further announced, that the government could not permit England to be made an arsenal or a fortress, whence any one might make war as he thought proper. If the Portuguese subjects wished to make war at the Azores, they might go there, as individuals, if they pleased; but they could not be permitted to prepare warlike expeditions in the ports and arsenals of this country, to make attacks on others; and still less could it be permitted that they should be convoyed by the British navy.

This reply was dated the 18th of October. On the 20th of the following month, he wrote to the marquis de Palmella, to demand

that all the Portuguese who had been officers and soldiers of the Portuguese army, or who had served in the army—for example, as students of Coimbra, or volunteers of Oporto—should be desired to quit Plymouth; and that they might be separated from the soldiers.

Various places were named, in which the Portuguese, who had established themselves at Plymouth, might reside; and the number which could be allowed to remain in each town or village was specified. To this arrangement, the parties whom it affected offered some opposition, and said they would rather leave the country and proceed to Rio Janeiro, if a guarantee were given for safety from attack on their passage. The duke promptly replied, that a convoy should be prepared for their escort.

The marquis wrote, upon this, that a convoy was not desired; a simple verbal assurance on the part of the British government, seemed to him sufficient. The usurping government, he represented, would be strengthened by the course which England had resolved on taking, and by the Portuguese then in her dominions leaving Europe, at that time. It had previously been announced to the marquis de Palmella, on the part of the duke, that the decision come to was unchangeable. The complaining notes which this produced, called forth the following explanation, addressed to the marquis de Palmella, of the policy of the English government:—

“Goodwood, Dec. 8th, 1828.

“Some time ago, one of the Brazilian plenipotentiaries, now in England, wrote me a letter, to desire that a convoy might be given to an expedition intended to be sent from this country against the Azores. In answer, I declared my intention not to advise the king to give the requested convoy; and, moreover, pointed out the impropriety of making this country a camp, an arsenal, or a port of equipment, from which to carry on war. The king is at peace with the whole world. There is in existence a commercial treaty between this country and Portugal; but his majesty has no other relation with the government *de facto* of Portugal, excepting those arising out of the transactions of his subjects in Portugal, under the stipulations of this treaty. Even if this treaty did not exist, the king could not permit war to be carried on, from his dominions, against Portugal, by any power whatever; more particularly without his

previous permission, and contrary to his declared intentions. The emperor of Brazil, moreover, has not declared war against Portugal; and the king's servants had, and still have, reason to believe, that, however displeased his imperial majesty may be with the conduct of his brother, the infant Don Miguel, it is not his imperial majesty's intention to make such declaration of war. Subsequently to the correspondence upon this subject, his majesty's servants received reports, that the number of Portuguese assembled at Plymouth, was daily increasing; that, although not armed, they and their officers were regularly paid; that there were five transports at Plymouth ready for their conveyance; that other troops, in the service of the emperor of Brazil, were expected at the same port from Germany; and that other levies were under consideration. Under these circumstances, his majesty's servants, not considering it expedient that a large number of Portuguese officers and troops should be assembled at Plymouth, the secretary of state spoke to the minister plenipotentiary of the emperor of Brazil at this court upon the subject, who informed lord Aberdeen, that he had nothing to say to those troops; that his excellency supplied money to the marquis de Palmella, who disposed of it as he thought proper for his countrymen, who were refugees in this country. I then requested you to do me the honour of calling on me; and, in conversation with you, it appeared that the whole number of Portuguese refugees assembled at Plymouth, were not troops, and had not served in that capacity; but a certain number were officers and troops, or had served, and all received pay from you as troops; and I, as the head of his majesty's government, expressed to the marquis de Palmella, both verbally and in writing, the desire of his majesty's government, that the Portuguese officers and troops, and those persons who had served as troops, should remove from Plymouth to the neighbouring towns and villages, of which I sent you a list. I stated, at the same time, in answer to a question put by you, the readiness of the government to consent to the departure of any or all of the refugees from this country, if they should think proper, on condition that they should not go from this country to Portugal, or to any of the dominions or colonies of Portugal, in a hostile character, or without the consent of the existing government of Portugal. In conversation, you

desired that I should put in writing my proposition, which you expressed a wish to have time to consider; and, after receiving my letter of the 20th of November, you did me the honour of calling on me again, and told me that the Portuguese refugees were very unwilling to remove from Plymouth to the neighbouring towns and villages, as I had proposed; but that they would quit England, and proceed to the Brazils. I stated, that I had no objection to this arrangement, provided that it was really and *bona fide* carried into execution; but that the king's government could not allow of any attack or expedition of troops to the dominions or colonies of Portugal. You then asked me, whether I would give them convoy or a guarantee for a safe passage to the Brazils. I answered, that I must consider the subject before I could give an answer. Having considered the subject, and consulted with my colleagues, I wrote, on the 27th of November, to inform you that the convoy would be given; and I again wrote to you on the 3rd of December, to request you to let me know when the refugees on board would be ready to sail. In answer to this letter, you have done me the honour of writing me two letters, to which it has become necessary that I should reply—first, by recapitulating the outline of what passed with the plenipotentiaries, in this country, of the emperor of Brazil, and in the interviews with which you honoured me, and of what I stated to you in writing; secondly, by assuring you that his majesty's government are not at all desirous that the Portuguese troops should, on their departure from England, be convoyed by any of his majesty's ships; thirdly, I must make some observations upon the topics which you have thought proper to introduce into your letter.—The king's government consider that the king has a full right to insist upon the departure, from Plymouth, of a body of officers and troops (although not armed), paid by an individual. These officers and troops came here, not to carry on war; not to assume a menacing position; not to create disturbance in Portugal; not even to execute any party purpose; but to claim an asylum, and the rights of hospitality, never refused to the unfortunate within the king's dominions. You advert to the fatal consequence which this order to these troops to quit Plymouth must have to the interests of her most faithful majesty; and you mention their departure from Europe as relieving

the *parti de l'usurpation* from the fear in which their presence at Plymouth kept them. Their presence at Plymouth can be considered, as above described, on one of two grounds only. That these troops, as placed at Plymouth, with transports in the harbour, were in a menacing condition, in relation to Portugal, or the dominions or the colonies of Portugal; or, that they were actually intended to attack Portugal, or her dominions or colonies, from his majesty's port and arsenal of Plymouth. We have the highest authority in the kingdom for saying, that these troops are not in the service of the emperor of Brazil, viz., that of his imperial majesty's minister plenipotentiary. We know, moreover, from his imperial majesty's own declarations, that he is not at war with Portugal; but, even if these were his imperial majesty's troops, and if his imperial majesty was at war with Portugal, I should wish to be informed, what right his imperial majesty, or any sovereign, has to assemble his troops within the dominions of the king of England, not only contrary to his majesty's consent, but against his positive prohibition; or to menace his imperial majesty's enemy by the assembly of troops and transports in the king of England's ports and arsenals without the king's consent. But it is not the emperor of Brazil who takes upon himself such an authority within his majesty's dominions; it is an individual, the marquis de Palmella, who has committed these acts. I am certain that there is no person, excepting that individual, who can blame his majesty's government for what has occurred.

"I now come to the consideration of the last part of your letter—viz., that which relates to the guarantee, on the part of the king, of the safety of these troops on their passage to the Brazils. You say, that you desired a guarantee, and that I proposed a convoy. My recollection of what passed is different. You proposed a convoy, or a guarantee of the safety of the troops from the attack of an enemy on their passage. The fact is so stated to you in my letter of the 27th. I desired to have time to consider of the proposition. Upon considering it, and consulting with my colleagues, we agreed to recommend to the king that a convoy of his majesty's ships should be appointed to attend the vessels conveying the troops in question. It must not be supposed, that we were not sensible that we should be fully justified in declining to

give either convoy or guarantee. The departure of the troops from England is not the act of the king's servants; it is that of the marquis de Palmella. He alone is responsible for all the inconveniences which the troops will suffer, and the risks which they will incur. The king's servants have done no more than their duty, in requiring the removal of the troops from Plymouth. But it is said, that there is no difference, in principle, between the grant of such a guarantee as is required, and the refusal to allow these troops to quit England as an armament, to make an attack upon the Portuguese dominions. If the Atlantic was the dominion of the king of England, there might possibly be no difference, in principle, in the two proceedings; but as that is not the case, the king's servants must have applied to the head of the government of Portugal to execute the guarantee; by which measure they would necessarily have opened a diplomatic communication; or they must have incurred the risk of the loss of the troops embarked, attended by the consequences of avenging the injuries inflicted upon them, by hostilities against the Portuguese government; these hostilities would have been so far unjust, as growing out of this guarantee. I must add, that the king has no right to guarantee the safety of the navigation of the Atlantic against the enterprises of the government *de facto* of Portugal, against the enemies of that government. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the king would have a right to give convoy to those troops going to the Brazils; but the motive for the action would have been its justification. But I'll go farther, and assert, that there is not only a difference, in principle, between the measure of preventing the Portuguese troops collected at Plymouth from invading the Portuguese dominions, and that of giving a guarantee, but that there is a great difference, in fact, between the measure of giving a guarantee for safe passage, and that of granting a convoy. When the king's servants grant a convoy, they have it in their power to prescribe the course and proceedings of the vessels placed under its charge, and they are responsible for their safety; but when they give a guarantee for the safety of vessels navigating the Atlantic, whose course and proceedings are ordered by others, the latter may direct those vessels to pursue such course as they please; while his majesty's servants would be re-

sponsible for the consequences, not only of those directions, but for those of the conduct of the Portuguese government, in consequence of the course taken.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"WELLINGTON."

The marquis de Palmella, on the 28th of December, made another appeal to the duke, in which he replied to the principal points of the letter given above; and excused the delays which had taken place as unavoidable. It had not the effect of inducing the English government to retrace its steps. The duke of Wellington replied on the 30th of December, and repeated—it was determined, that the troops about to sail should not land at Terceira. Of the conduct pursued towards the Portuguese at Plymouth, in reply to a remark that they had no right to be treated as prisoners, he wrote—"We do not pretend to treat them as prisoners; and I confess that I am astonished that two years should have effaced from your recollection the discussions and transactions with Spain, of which you were informed, respecting a similar body of Portuguese troops—not prisoners. If my memory does not fail me, his majesty's government then insisted, that the king of Spain should not only separate officers from soldiers, placing a certain number of the latter only in the same town, but that the whole should be removed far into the interior of the country; and that a detachment of his majesty's troops was sent to Portugal, because the king of Spain had not performed the duties of neutrality, as was required from his catholic majesty, and had suffered the Portuguese troops, in Spain, to commit the very act which I have repeatedly assured you, that the king of England will not permit those in England to commit. But you forget, likewise, that these are undeniably a body of foreign troops in England, respecting whom we are corresponding; and instead of treating them as prisoners, I should say, that his majesty's servants have done very little in requiring that they should quit Plymouth, and be separated from their officers; the latter to go to Exeter, or where they pleased, as individuals; the former to different towns named, not in specified numbers, as you state, but in numbers not exceeding certain specified numbers, in each town. This was proposed for their convenience, as well for that of the towns named. I was charged

with this discussion with you, because monsieur le vicomte d'Itabayana informed lord Aberdeen, that it was the marquis de Palmella who paid these troops. That gentleman has no political character in this country. I undertook this disagreeable office, in order to avoid giving this discussion any official form. But the case is the same, whatever be the form given to the discussion; and I earnestly entreat you to put an end to it, by removing the troops immediately from Plymouth, according to my suggestion of the 19th of November, if you do not think proper to send them to the Brazils. In making this entreaty, I do so in the true spirit of a friend; and I must add, that you render but little, if any, service to the cause of the queen Donna Maria da Gloria, in obliging the king to resort to the measures which have been ordered, in case of any breach of his majesty's neutrality; and that you impose upon me, personally, a most painful duty, in obliging me to inform you, that you will be responsible for all the consequences which will follow your omission to obey his majesty's commands, as conveyed to you by me."

The duke further wrote to the marquis de Palmella, that he had learned more Portuguese troops had been ordered to Plymouth from France and the Netherlands, and that general Stubbs had repaired to Plymouth to take the command of them. The English government relied on the assurances of the marquis, that these troops were going to the Brazils; but, as his orders might be disobeyed, the ambassador was informed, effectual measures would be adopted to prevent any attack by them upon the Portuguese dominions in Europe. A week after this, on the 20th of December, the marquis wrote to say the island of Terceira remained tranquil under the legitimate government, and Donna Maria had been proclaimed there; and he, therefore, could not doubt that the Portuguese refugees then about to leave England, might direct their course towards that island without any infraction of the principle of strict neutrality, which it was the desire of his Britannic majesty's government to preserve.

This letter, which enclosed an address to the young queen of Portugal, by certain inhabitants of Terceira, was not more fortunate than the writer's previous applications had been. In the answer given to it, on the 23rd of December, the following

serious commentary was addressed to the marquis:—"On the 19th of November, I conveyed to you the desire of his majesty's government, that the Portuguese troops assembled at Plymouth should be dispersed in the neighbouring towns and villages. You informed me, some days afterwards, that they preferred to quit England and go to the Brazils, and I have since informed you that his majesty's government could not allow these troops to proceed from England in a hostile character to Portugal, or to the Portuguese dominions or colonies. These are the same troops whom his excellency, the marquis de Barbacena, heretofore expressed a desire to send, as an expedition, to the Azores, under convoy of a detachment of his majesty's fleet; they are the same respecting whose separation from Plymouth you expressed such lively regret in your letter to me of the 3rd instant, on account of the relief from apprehension which such departure would give to the *parti de l'usurpation*. They are those foreign troops of whom, as a depôt at Plymouth, general Stubbs has taken the command, and to whom he has addressed a general order, and has published it in the newspapers, notwithstanding that it is known to you and to general Stubbs that they are at Plymouth, contrary to his majesty's wishes; that his majesty's orders have been conveyed to you to separate them from that town; and that their presence there, as a body of troops, is inconsistent with the law of England. But this is not all. On the 15th of August last, his excellency, vicomte d'Itabayana, his imperial majesty the emperor of Brazil's plenipotentiary at this court, applied to the secretary of state for permission to embark one thousand one hundred and eighty stand of arms, and one hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, on board the Brazilian frigate, *Isabel*. Lord Aberdeen, in his reply, in which he consented to the embarkation of these stores, expressed his confidence that the vicomte d'Itabayana would give an assurance that these arms and stores were not intended to be employed in the civil dissensions in Portugal and its dependencies, as it would be impossible for the British government to permit either the subjects of his imperial majesty, the emperor of Brazil, or those of the queen Donna Maria, to carry on the war from this country. That these acts of private warfare were forbidden by the laws of the land, and could not, therefore, be

sanctioned by his majesty. His excellency the vicomte d'Itabayana answered—*'Quant à la première partie de cette note'* (of which the substance precedes this sentence): *'je ne balancerai pas, mi lord, à vous donner une réponse claire et précise en vous assurant que le Brésil qui est en paix avec le Portugal malgré le bouleversement déplorable qui vient d'y avoir lieu compatit sincèrement aux malheurs de ce royaume, et n'a eu jusqu'à ce jour l'intention de l'attaquer.'* Notwith-

standing this clear and precise answer, the arms and ammunition were sent in the *Isabel* Brazilian frigate to the Azores, where that frigate was actively employed at a late period. I mention this fact, just to point out to you that these troops, so collected and remaining in his majesty's town of Plymouth, as a depôt, commanded by general Stubbs, notwithstanding his majesty's wishes and commands to the contrary, repeatedly expressed to you, have their arms and ammunition already in Terceira, even if you should not think it proper to purchase in England, and to send them with other arms. I will not conceal from you my opinion that the asylum given to these Portuguese refugees, and the hospitality afforded to them in this country, have been improperly taken advantage of, and that these troops are still availing themselves improperly of the kindness and forbearance of his majesty, by remaining at Plymouth as a military body, contrary to his majesty's wishes and intentions. You have lived sufficiently long in this country to know, that his majesty's course is always clear, open, and undisguised. When he professes neutrality, he will not permit that his dominions should be used as the arsenal, the camp, the port of equipment, for carrying on war by any sovereign or individual."

With a serious intimation he concluded:—"The circumstances noticed in this letter describe too accurately the character of this proposed voyage to the island of Terceira, for his majesty's government to allow his majesty to be deceived as to its real intentions. I therefore remind you, that above a month has now elapsed since I desired, in the name of his majesty's government, that the Portuguese officers and troops should be removed from Plymouth; and I again announce to you, that his majesty's government have taken measures to prevent those troops from proceeding, in a hostile character, from England, to any part of the dominions or colonies of Portugal, which measures

they do not intend to advise his majesty to countermand.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"WELLINGTON."

It will thus be seen, that up to this date a line was carefully drawn by the government of England between acknowledging Miguel as king of Portugal, and giving their sanction to any proceeding which might be regarded as making war on that nation.

The note of the marquis de Barbacena, of the 25th of November, was not immediately answered. It produced a masterly state-paper from the earl of Aberdeen on the 13th of January, in which all the points relied upon by the Brazilian minister were duly attended to. It was the object of his lordship to show, not only that England was not bound by treaty to interfere more than she had already done between the contending parties in Portugal, but that no moral obligation called upon her to act. In the earl's reply, his lordship admitted that England had, for centuries, been intimately connected with Portugal by treaty; mentioned that she had, on many occasions, rendered important services to the Portuguese nation; but his lordship denied that any existing treaties bound England to act in a case like the present. His lordship said, the only semblance of foundation for the assertion advanced by the marquis de Barbacena, that this country was bound, under the treaties of alliance and guarantee, to co-operate, by the means contemplated by the Brazilian court, in placing her most faithful majesty upon the throne of Portugal, was to be found in the stipulation of the sixth article of the secret convention, concluded on the 22nd of October, 1807, by which Great Britain engaged never to recognise, as king of Portugal, any other prince than the heir and legitimate representative of the royal family of Braganza. Faithful to her engagements, she had acknowledged no other prince; but, under existing circumstances, the proceeding of Don Pedro himself, had put it out of her power to comply with the present requisition.

The noble earl remarked—"The tone of expostulation and complaint which pervades the note of the marquis de Barbacena, and the impression which it is intended to convey, that the present state of Portugal is, in great measure, to be attributed to the deference paid by the emperor, Don Pedro, to the councils of his allies, render it necessary

to take a short review of some events connected with the subject, to the end that Great Britain may be as effectually relieved from the moral responsibility which it is attempted to impose upon her, as from the weight of more formal obligations." Then followed a brief recital of what had occurred since the death of John VI., and a searching examination of the Brazilian emperor's own professions. The marquis de Barbacena was reminded, that in the proclamation addressed to the Portuguese nation, dated the 2nd of May, 1826, his imperial majesty declared that his abdication should become complete, as soon as the constitution had been sworn to, and the marriage concluded between the infant Don Miguel and Donna Maria. His lordship added—"The constitution was sworn to, as his imperial majesty had directed, upon its reception in Portugal; and the alliance of his majesty was completed at Vienna, on the 29th of October, 1826." His lordship pointedly continued—"The undersigned may now be permitted to ask, whether the promises of the abdication and of the transmission of the infant queen to Portugal, were fulfilled? Did not his imperial majesty continue to interfere in all the measures of detail of the Portuguese government? Did he not create peers, promote officers in the army and navy, interfere in the selection and nomination of ministers, and in all the interior arrangements of the kingdom? The Portuguese nation was disappointed in its hope and expectation of a final separation from Brazil; and the disappointment of this hope and expectation was still further confirmed, by the detention of their young queen at Rio de Janeiro. Finally," his lordship added, "the undersigned will not conclude, without further expressing his regret, that the counsels of Great Britain, when offered, should have been received with so little confidence and alacrity. These counsels have never been adopted by his imperial majesty until the course of events had rendered the choice of any alternative impracticable; nor until, from this reluctance and delay, they had in a great measure been deprived of their beneficial influence. In truth, it may be affirmed, that so far from Great Britain having been instrumental in the production of the evils which have recently afflicted Portugal, they are mainly to be attributed to the want of a frank, consistent, and direct course of policy on the part of the Brazilian government itself."

All questions relating to the foreign relations of the country—in short, everything else connected with politics, sunk into perfect insignificance, in comparison with that great question which now occupied all minds, growing on the claims of the Roman catholics, to what was called emancipation. This wholly engrossed the public mind, and was the subject of animated discussion everywhere. A conflict which had been continued through so many years, was to be renewed with increased means in the coming session of parliament. The opening of the new year (1829) presented no very cheering prospect to the king of England or his ministers. That it was intended to submit to parliament a measure for the relief of the Roman catholics, was no longer doubtful; and the more ardent protestants accused their old political friends of apostasy. Mr. Peel, having decided to introduce the bill in the house of commons, as a preparatory step, resigned the representation of the university of Oxford.

Ill at ease was George IV. He could not but be painfully reminded of certain incidents connected with his younger days, when his passion for a fair Roman catholic, and his reported marriage to Mrs. Fitzherbert, were freely spoken of, as shaking his claim to that throne on which he was now seated. Nor could he remember but with bitterness, how what he had hoped would prove a firm and durable administration, had recently been frittered away by the secession of Wellington and Peel from Mr. Canning, because he favoured catholic emancipation, when he (George) saw the same eminent individuals, now, as ministers, after he had approved of their former conduct, press on him a line of policy which he had considered them bound, while they lived, to oppose. Their doings he fretfully contrasted with those of the deceased minister, who had engaged that he would never allow the king to be troubled about the catholic question.

George IV. seems to have felt, as his father had done, that to concede what was demanded on behalf of the catholics, would be to violate his coronation oath. He had not imagined that a cabinet, of which the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were members, would expect him to give way to demands which had been so long resisted. On this subject, lord Eldon reports—his majesty said, that at the time the administration was formed, no reason was given him to

suppose that any measures for the further relief of the Roman catholics were intended or thought of by ministers; that he had frequently himself suggested the absolute necessity of putting down the Roman catholic association—of suspending the habeas corpus act—to destroy the powers of the most seditious and rebellious proceedings of the members of it; and particularly at the time that Lawless made his march: that instead of following what he had so strongly recommended, after some (the exact time his lordship could not recollect that he mentioned, but some) time—not a very long time before the present session—he was applied to, to allow his ministers to propose to him, as an united cabinet, the opening the parliament, by sending such a message as his speech contained:—that, after much struggling against it, and after the measure had been strongly pressed upon him as of absolute necessity, he had consented that the protestant members of his cabinet, if they could so persuade themselves to act, might join in such a representation to him; but that he would not then, nor in his recommendation to parliament, pledge himself to anything. He repeatedly mentioned, that he represented to his ministers the infinite pain it gave him to consent even so far as that. It cost the duke of Wellington much pain to conquer his own scruples; and this done, he had to perform a task of no common labour, to prevail over those of the king. It was very generally understood that George was, in a manner, forced to yield. “King Arthur,” as the duke was satirically named, was described to exercise something like despotism over his master; and caricature-likenesses again filled the windows of the print-shops, exhibiting his grace in the garb of a stage-coachman, as “the man vot drives the sovereign.” The pressure on his majesty was so severely felt, that the health of George declined, and his medical attendants thought it necessary, during some weeks, that the catholic question should not be touched upon in his presence.

The king did not open the parliament in person this year; but, on the 5th of February, when the two houses re-assembled, a speech was delivered by commission, which contained passages of no common importance. The sarcasm so often heard on the meagre, unmeaning character of what was submitted in that shape, could not apply to a communication which contained the following significant paragraphs:—

“Deeply interested in the prosperity of the Portuguese monarchy, his majesty has entered into negotiations with the head of the house of Braganza, in the hope of terminating a state of affairs which is incompatible with the permanent tranquillity and welfare of Portugal.

“His majesty commands us to assure you that he has laboured unremittingly to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, and to effect, in concert with his allies, the pacification of Greece.

“The Morea has been liberated from the presence of the Egyptian and Turkish forces.

“This important object has been accomplished by the successful exertions of the naval forces of his majesty and of his allies, which led to a convention with the pacha of Egypt: and finally by the skilful disposition and exemplary conduct of the French army, acting by the commands of his most Christian majesty, on the behalf of the alliance.

“The troops of his most Christian majesty, having completed the task assigned to them by the allies, have commenced their return to France.

“It is with great satisfaction that his majesty informs you, that, during the whole of these operations, the most cordial union has subsisted between the forces of the three powers by sea and land.

“His majesty deplores the continuance of hostilities between the emperor of Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

“His imperial majesty, in the prosecution of those hostilities, has considered it necessary to resume the exercise of his belligerent rights in the Mediterranean, and has established a blockade of the Dardanelles.

“From the operation of this blockade, those commercial enterprises of his majesty’s subjects have been exempted which were undertaken upon the faith of his majesty’s declaration to his parliament respecting the neutrality of the Mediterranean sea.

“The state of Ireland has been the object of his majesty’s continued solicitude.

“His majesty laments, that in that part of the United Kingdom an association should still exist, which is dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst his majesty’s subjects; and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland.

“His majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on the support of his parlia-

ment; and his majesty feels assured, that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his majesty to maintain his just authority.

"His majesty recommends, that when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman catholic subjects.

"You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge.

"These are institutions which must ever be held sacred in this protestant kingdom, and which it is the duty and the determination of his majesty to preserve inviolate."

The address having been moved by the marquis of Salisbury, and seconded by the earl of Wicklow, the duke of Newcastle begged to ask the duke of Wellington, whether it was his intention to proceed on the subject of Roman catholic disabilities, by moving for a committee to take those disabilities into consideration, or to bring the question under the notice of their lordships by means of a bill.

To this question the duke replied, that it was the intention of his majesty's government, in accordance with the course indicated in the speech from the throne, to present to parliament, in the course of the present session, a measure for the adjustment of what was called the Roman catholic claims. The measure for the adjustment of those claims would be brought forward in a substantive shape by his majesty's ministers, without going through a committee. The measure which it was their intention to propose for the adoption of parliament, would extend to the removal, generally, of all civil disabilities under which the Roman catholics laboured, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds; and it would be accompanied by other measures, rendered necessary by the removal of those disabilities.—The earl of Winchelsea said, he had heard with much surprise, and he would add, with sincere and heartfelt regret, that a question was to be raised by his majesty's government, affecting the disabilities under

which our Roman catholic fellow-subjects laboured; and that, for the removal of those disabilities, a measure was to be brought forward, not by those individuals who, in honour and consistency, and without a sacrifice of political character, could do so, seeing they had long advocated the removal of civil restrictions and disqualifications from every class of their fellow-subjects; but by men who had been invariably opposed to all relaxation and alteration in the existing laws. He owned he considered conduct like this as involving a gross violation of political rectitude and consistency. Perhaps he felt too strongly on this subject; and, therefore, he should endeavour not to give full vent to his feelings, lest language should fall from him unbecoming a member of their lordships' house. Thus far, however, he would venture to go; and he would say, without fear of contradiction, that if the noble duke at the head of his majesty's government had discovered that adequate securities could be offered by the Roman catholics to a protestant state, and that the protestant church establishment could be satisfactorily guaranteed from danger or encroachment, in manly openness and candour the noble duke ought to explain what those safeguards and securities were. This was the more necessary, in order to satisfy the protestant portion of the country, which felt justly apprehensive on the subject, and thought that no sufficient securities could be devised. He only stated his own simple and individual opinion, which was, that if the constitution of the country was to remain, as it long had been, essentially protestant, no individual was fit to legislate for us except an individual professing the religion so wisely and necessarily connected with the state. If, on the contrary, the constitution of the country was no longer to continue protestant, then, indeed, Roman catholics might be admitted to the enjoyment of all the power and privileges of the state: but our revered and admirable constitution, which had been for so many years the national boast, the envy and admiration of the world, the ground-work of our liberties, and our exclusive glory, would be subverted. The Roman catholic religion was, in character and principle, inconsistent with the existence of the free British constitution; and, therefore, its professors should be excluded from privileges which they could not possess without contributing to impair them, and eventually effecting their destruction.

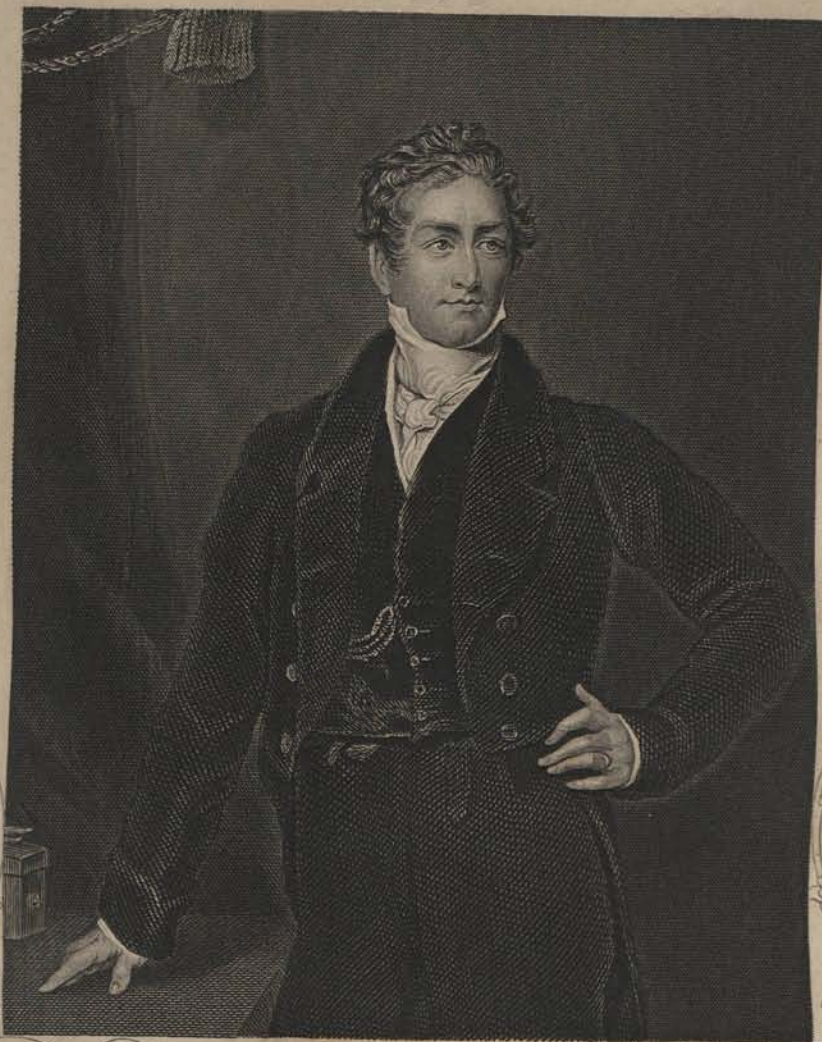
When the contemplated measure should be brought forward, he hoped and trusted that the representatives of the protestant and constitutional interests in parliament would narrowly watch every part of the bill, and fearlessly raise their voices in defence of the constitution.

The earl of Eldon, on the same night, declared he should betray his duty to his fellow-subjects, and to the principle of protestantism, as established at the period of the revolution—that revolution which, it now appeared, had been carried into effect by bigots in religion and politics—(their lordships would permit him to say, there might also be bigots in laxity and liberality)—if he did not protest against the concessions which it seemed to be the intentions of his majesty's ministers to grant.—The marquis of Anglesey made a brief but remarkable speech. Adverting to his sudden recall from Ireland, he expressed his disappointment that an opportunity was not afforded him of replying to the grave charges which, he had reason to believe, had been preferred against him. All he would ask for himself, was the most rigid inquiry. Of the catholic association, he said—having lived for the last ten months under its nose, he could positively say, he had neither seen nor felt the danger of its proximity. That it was an unconstitutional society, nobody doubted; but, he believed, no lawyer would declare it to be illegal. How, then, it could be put down by the strong arm of the law, without invading the right of the subject to express his feelings, he was at a loss to conjecture. If their lordships would follow his advice, he would propose a measure at once which would for ever extinguish the catholic association. "Pass a bill," said the noble marquis, "for putting the Roman catholics upon a footing of political equality with their protestant brethren, and I will answer for it, you will never hear again of the catholic association."

Lord Goderich told their lordships, it would be his duty to support the government on this great question.—The duke of Newcastle lamented, from the bottom of his heart, that the noble duke at the head of the government, on whom the protestants had placed such implicit reliance, should have ceased to be their defender. If the noble duke persisted in the dangerous course on which he had entered, he would soon fall from his present high station; and, what was more, he would deserve his fall.—

Lord Redesdale declared, the Irish agitators had openly avowed, it was their object to make the catholic religion the religion of the state; and it was, therefore, necessary to guard, most vigilantly, against their encroachments.

The duke of Wellington said, that his majesty had announced to their lordships his desire that they should take into their deliberate consideration the disabilities affecting his Roman catholic subjects, and had particularly pointed out to them the objects to which he wished them to direct their attention, and which he wished them, if possible, to make good. When he stated the general purport of the measure which the king's servants intended to propose hereafter to parliament, he had intimated to the house, that they were most desirous to provide for the particular circumstances stated in his majesty's speech; namely, for the safety of those institutions which must be ever held sacred in this protestant kingdom, and which it was the duty and determination of his majesty to preserve inviolate. He begged to remind their lordships, that on the several occasions on which he had previously addressed them on this particular subject, he had invariably stated, that he was most anxious for a settlement of it. He had considered always—had considered even last year—that a moment of tranquillity was necessary for such a settlement. And why did he consider it necessary? Because he wished to conciliate to the question those persons in this country whom he knew to be adverse to it. The measure which he intended should precede those which he should afterwards propose, was calculated to produce that moment of tranquillity which was so necessary to conciliate the public to the measure which he intended to propose for the pacification of Ireland. A noble friend on the cross-bench had stated to the house, that the proposed measure was inconsistent with the constitution, as established at the revolution. If he had been going to propose a measure which would introduce a predominant catholic power into parliament, he should then have been doing that which was clearly inconsistent with the constitution. But he was not going to do any such thing. There were degrees of power at least. Would any man venture to say that catholic power did not exist, at present, either here or in Ireland? He would address himself more particularly to the noble lords who had so pointedly opposed him, and



SIR R. PEEL INTRODUCING HIS MEASURE FOR THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Painted by Sir Tho^s Lawrence, P.R.A.

Engraved by J. W. Cook.

THE RT HONBLE SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART

would ask them, whether Roman catholic power was not introduced into Ireland by measures of their own? Had not some noble lords exerted their influence to the utmost to create that very power which had rendered a measure like that which he had announced to parliament absolutely necessary? As such was the case, he implored noble lords to look at the situation of the country, and the state of society which it had produced. Whether it had been brought about by the existence of these disabilities, or by the catholic association, he would not pretend to say; but this he would say, that no man who looked at the state of things for the last two years, could proceed longer upon the old system in the existing condition of Ireland, and of men's opinions on

the subject, both in that country and in this. His opinion was, that it was the wish of the majority of the people, that this question should be settled some way or other. It was upon that principle, and in conformity with that wish, that he and his friends had undertaken to bring the adjustment of it under the consideration of parliament; and he hoped their lordships would give them such time as would enable them to bring it forward in that complete manner, in which his majesty had declared his willingness to give it his royal assent. He hoped that they would not take it into consideration by piecemeal, but would wait with patience till it could be placed in a more perfect state, and as a whole, deliberately before them.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. PEEL ANNOUNCES THAT THE LAW IS TO BE VINDICATED, AND THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION PUT DOWN; MR. HUSKISSON SUPPORTS, THE EARL OF WINCHELSEA CONDEMNNS, MINISTERS; A BILL FOR SUPPRESSING DANGEROUS ASSOCIATIONS IS INTRODUCED AND PASSED; MR. PEEL BRINGS FORWARD A BILL TO RELIEVE ROMAN CATHOLICS; AFTER STRONG OPPOSITION, THE SECOND READING IS CARRIED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

It is impossible to describe the sensation created by the proof which had been afforded that the Wellington government had definitively made up their minds to grant catholic emancipation, to which the leading members of the government had been, during many years, opposed, and which but recently, under very grave circumstances, they had refused to sanction. To form a correct judgment of their conduct, it is necessary to look at the explanations offered to parliament, and to those who had long been their political friends. The duke had intimated, that if the catholics were to become less obnoxious, their wishes might be attended to. He felt, that to yield to violence—that to confer important benefits, as it might appear, to requite outrage, was not the way to purchase lasting tranquillity. He was aware, that king Ethelred did not save England from being ravaged by liberally paying the Danes who had ravaged it. He wished, when he thought seriously of giving way, to grant the benefit as a reward due to loyalty and obedience to the laws.

Mr. O'Connell and his associates would not take the hint, but ceaselessly laboured to aggravate all the evils they had studiously created before.

To the indignant remonstrances of those who had been the friends of the government, Mr. Peel replied, by applauding their consistency; but he went on to say, they could not wish ministers to retain opinions which appeared to be incompatible with the great interests they were called on to guard. If ministers believed that adherence to resistance against the Roman catholics ought to cease—if they thought that, on the whole, it would be better for the interests of the country, and for the protestant interest, to take into consideration the entire condition of Ireland, it was their duty, with reference to those interests which they had a common benefit in preserving, to give that advice. He would say, that there was, under present circumstances, less of evil, and less of danger, in considering the whole condition of Ireland, than in any other course which he could point out. He pretended to no new

lights on the catholic question. He retained the opinion which he formerly expressed in reference to that question. He saw the dangers which he heretofore felt, as connected with that subject; but he had no hesitation in saying, that the pressure of present circumstances was so great, that he was willing to incur those dangers, rather than, in the existing state and situation of the country, to endure not only the continuance, but the aggravation, of the present system. Looking to the position of the country—looking to the position of the legislature—looking to the disunion which had prevailed between his majesty's ministers—looking to the disunion which, for several years, had marked the proceedings of two branches of the legislature—and looking to the effect which these two causes produced on the state of Ireland; considering these things, he must say, that there appeared to him to be sufficient reasons to induce him to accept of almost any alternative. For the last twenty-five years—ever since the year 1804—there had been a division in the king's councils respecting the catholic question. The government of this country, during that period, had taken a consistent course in resisting the consideration of that question; but, at the same time, they had allowed men holding different opinions respecting it to join the administration. When Mr. Pitt returned to office, in 1804, it was notoriously on the principle of concession. He did not think it would be good for the country that a government should be formed upon the principle of permanent, unqualified, and uncompromising resistance to the catholic claims. He, for one, could not advise his majesty to attempt the formation of such a government, because he thought not only that it would fail, but that it would compel the settlement of the catholic question at last; while, in the interim, those embittering animosities would have so far increased, as to make the settlement of the question much more difficult than before. Mr. Peel then called the attention of the house to the progress which the question had actually made during the last quarter of a century. Since the year 1807, there had been five general elections—one in 1807, another in 1812, another in 1818, another in 1820, and another in 1826. There had, therefore, been five different houses in five distinct parliaments, and four of these had come to conclusions in favour of concessions to the

Roman catholics. The house of commons elected in 1807, voted (in 1812) in favour of considering the question of concessions, by a majority of two hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and six. The house of commons elected in 1812, voted also in favour of the consideration, by a majority of two hundred and sixty-four to two hundred and twenty-four. The house of commons elected in 1818—which was the only exception in these five parliaments—resisted the consideration of the question, but only by a majority of two—the numbers being, two hundred and forty-three to two hundred and forty-five. The house of commons elected in 1820, passed (in 1821) a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics, by a majority of nineteen. Further, to trace the course which the legislature had pursued.—In 1821, a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics passed that house by a majority of nineteen. In 1822, a bill for permitting Roman catholic peers to sit and vote in the house of lords, passed by a majority of twenty-one. In 1825, the house passed a bill for the relief of the catholics by a majority of twenty. In 1826, the house passed a bill for the relief of the catholics by a majority of twenty-one. In 1827, the consideration of the question was rejected by a majority of two hundred and seventy-six to two hundred and seventy-two; but, in the last year, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and seventy-two to two hundred and sixty-six. In four, therefore, out of five parliaments, the house of commons had come to a resolution in favour of the question. It was not, however, so with the other house. For twenty-five years the two houses had been divided on this point; and he saw no means of removing this evil, except by a full and deliberate consideration of the whole question.

He then proceeded to make known what were, at that moment, the intentions of the Wellington government. First, it was their intention to arm the executive in Ireland with sufficient power to suppress an association which had been productive of evils so notorious, that he was spared the painful task of dwelling upon them. Until this were done, and the laws of Ireland vindicated, he did not think that they ought to be called upon to take into consideration the question of concessions. It was not intended, therefore, on the part of the government, to propose any measure in accordance with the concluding portion of his majesty's speech, until this essential

object were obtained. One honourable friend had asked him, if they had any specific measure in view; or, if they intended to throw the question loose upon the house, and, having no plan of their own, seek for one among the speculative notions and the theoretical views of others. He had no hesitation in telling his honourable friend, that the latter course was by no means contemplated by his majesty's ministers. At the same time, they looked upon the question as one which had been so repeatedly and so fully considered, that it was not necessary now to enter again into a minute examination of it. Formerly, such a course might have been necessary; but it would be idle now to consider the question otherwise than as one that had been fully and substantially considered. They meant to propose a specific measure, brought forward on the responsibility of the cabinet, at a period which they believed to be the most favourable, and as early as possible after the subject to which he had first alluded had been disposed of. He had no hesitation in saying, that it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to propose a permanent settlement of the question, on what, they believed, would be thought to be satisfactory grounds. It was their intention to effect the removal of civil and political disabilities—subject, however, to those exceptions and regulations which to them appeared necessary—those exceptions and regulations standing on their own specific grounds.

To the fierce reproaches which had already been hurled at the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel pointedly adverted.—His noble friend at the head of the government had been taunted—and, indeed, all his majesty's ministers—with having allowed their fears to be excited, and with being intimidated into concessions. In his opinion, no motive could be more justly branded as ignominious, than that which was usually termed cowardice. But there was a temper of mind much more dangerous than this, though it might not be so base—he meant, the fear of being thought to be afraid. Base as a coward was, the man who abandoned himself to the fear of being thought a coward, displayed little less fortitude. His majesty's ministers were not, and had not been, afraid of the catholic association. That intimidation had been resorted to, he readily admitted. But how had it been met? It was put down by the protestant spirit of the country; and, if it had been

continued, his majesty's ministers were prepared to suppress, by the physical force of the country, those offences against the laws which the moral strength of the people should prove unable to subdue. At the same time, he did not entertain the slightest doubt that, in the absence of physical force, and supported by his majesty's loyal subjects alone, the king's ministers would have been able to destroy all attempts at carrying measures by intimidation, and that the wicked abettors of such attempts would have been involved in the ruin of their cause. In the summer the attempt was made, and it failed. He was not a man to yield to intimidation, or to be deterred by threats of commotions; but he could not understand the constitution of that man's mind, who, looking upon Ireland in its present state, could be free from apprehensions of consequences, which might arise from allowing such a condition of affairs to continue. But the point which weighed most with him, in respect to Ireland, was this—he did believe, that while disunion of spirit existed between the legislative bodies and the government, a proper administration of the law by juries in Ireland was almost impossible. For these reasons, therefore, considering the absolute necessity of providing a remedy for the disunion between the two branches of the legislature, in its bearing on the state of Ireland, and the probable aggravation of the evils so much to be lamented in that country, he had come to the conclusion, that, without reference to parties, it was his duty to advise that the barriers to the question should be broken down; that the whole question should be seriously considered; and that an attempt should be made to effect some settlement of the question, which should calm the mind of the anxious protestant, and satisfy every reasonable catholic.

Such were the views entertained by the duke and his colleagues; and, perhaps, they looked forward to a reconciliation with some of their most valued political connexions, from which they had lately been severed. This effect seemed not unlikely to be produced in certain quarters. On the second day of the session, Mr. Huskisson stood forward, to declare that the communication which had been made to parliament by his majesty's government, considered in all its bearings, was, in his opinion, the most important and the happiest event which had occurred, in this country, since the accession

of the house of Brunswick to the throne of these realms. Standing in this house, and having had the honour of a seat in it since the first dawning of the catholic question, and anxious as he was for the success of that great question, it was with infinite delight and gratification that he found his majesty's ministers recommending it to the deliberate consideration of the house, and announcing their intention of bringing the question forward as a government measure, and, of course, bearing upon it with all that just influence and means of persuasion which belonged to the executive power of this country.

In the house of commons, as in the upper house, the address was voted without a division. The protestants, as they were called, reserved their more serious opposition till it should be exactly known what ministers had been prevailed upon to propose to parliament. Numerous petitions were now prepared; and the meetings at which they were voted, were solemnly warned of what must be the fatal effects of carrying the government measure, as many of the speakers proclaimed they shared the feelings of the earl of Eldon, who did not hesitate to declare, that if once a Roman catholic were permitted to sit in the British parliament, the sun of England would set for ever.

Conspicuous among the opponents of emancipation, was the earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham. He spared no effort to awaken his protestant countrymen, who seemed to him slumbering on the brink of a volcano. His sincerity could not be doubted; and his alarm for the consequences which were likely, as he judged, to result from the course ministers had avowed it was their resolution to pursue, was great in the extreme, as may be collected from the subjoined address, published at the date it bears:—

*"To the protestants of Great Britain.—*Fellow-countrymen—brother protestants—In the name of our country and our God, I call upon you, without one moment's delay, boldly to stand forward in defence of our protestant constitution and religion—of that constitution which is the foundation of our long-cherished liberties—of that religion which is the source of the many blessings which this nation has received from the hands of the Almighty Governor of the universe. Let the voice of protestantism be heard from one end of the empire to the other. Let the sound of it echo from hill

to hill, and vale to vale. Let the tables of the houses of parliament groan under the weight of your petitions, and let your prayers reach the foot of the throne; and, though the great body of your degenerate senators are prepared to sacrifice, at the shrine of treason and rebellion, that constitution for which our ancestors so nobly fought and died, yet I feel confident that our gracious sovereign—true to the sacred oath which he has taken upon the altars of our country, to defend our constitution and our religion from that church which is bent upon their destruction—will not turn a deaf ear to the prayers and supplications of his loyal protestant subjects.

"I have the honour to be, with every respect, your humble and devoted servant,

"WINCHELSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

"London, Feb. 9th, 1829."

To re-assure, in some degree, the protestants, and that the catholics might not appear to gain everything for nothing, preliminary to the introduction of the relief measure, a bill was announced to suppress the catholic association. Under other circumstances, such a notice would have been deemed important; but now it was regarded with indifference. It gave the protestants no comfort, the catholics no alarm, to hear that the meetings of a certain body would be prohibited—when all which those meetings were called to demand was about to be surrendered; and when, therefore, to continue them, would be to assemble without an object. Leave to bring in the bill was asked, by Mr. Peel, on the 10th of February, when, having called the attention of the house to that portion of his majesty's speech which related to Ireland, he entered into a description of what had been the proceedings of the association, and which, certainly, were of a character that would have justified vigorous hostility on the part of the government at an earlier date. He proved—that, indeed, no one attempted to question—that the catholic association was an unconstitutional body, and had been dangerous. He read several communications which had been received by government, and which showed that the public peace in Ireland had been seriously endangered by various combinations, of which the following is a specimen:—

"November 6th, 1828.

"Sir,—I have to report that, last night, threatening notices were posted up on the

house of —, and on other places on the Townlands (which are situated within a mile and a-half of this post), desiring no person to attempt working for 'the accursed —, as otherwise they should be treated with the utmost severity.' The consequence is, the gentleman, who is extensive in farming, is left by all his workmen, who say they regret it, but would be afraid their houses would be consumed, or some other harm happen to their families, if they would, as they say, 'go against captain Rock.' The only cause I have heard assigned for this exclusive system being acted upon, in this case, is—that, some days ago, — attended a Brunswick club-meeting, and enrolled himself a member thereof."

Some letters had been received, which described the threatening array in which multitudes had been marched from place to place, and showed that serious danger was anticipated. One correspondent stated, that great animosity had been excited against persons who had joined the Brunswick clubs. The suspicion of belonging to one of them would produce insult to the higher, and want of employment to the lower orders; while recommendations for exclusive dealing were privately and publicly disseminated. In some places, the labourers had been compelled to leave potato-digging by the threats of a body of five hundred men.

This, it need hardly be remarked, was almost as decidedly a rebellion against a government bound to preserve order, and protect the rights of all, as if the malcontents took the field. They combined to make the landlords of Ireland, and the honest labourers they desired to employ, and who wished for employment, feel that, acting in conformity with their own wishes and interests, the law could not protect them. Could the sword of the insurgent be more formidable than the exercise of such a power?

Mr. Peel, in the course of his argument, insisted that the measure he proposed went to suppress the catholic association, and to interdict all meetings of a similar nature. It would give to the lord-lieutenant, and to him alone, the power of suppressing any association or meeting which he might think dangerous to the public peace, or inconsistent with the due administration of the law; together with power to interdict the assembling of any meeting of which previous notice shall have been given, and which he shall think likely to endanger the public

peace, or to prove inconsistent with the due administration of the law. In case it should be necessary to enforce the provisions of the law by which these powers would be conferred, it was proposed that the lord-lieutenant should be farther empowered to select two magistrates, for the purpose of suppressing the meeting, and requiring the people immediately to disperse. It, moreover, would interdict any meeting or association, which might be called, from assembling, or which might be suppressed, under this act, from receiving and placing at their control any moneys, by the name of rent, or by any other name.

The bill gave the lord-lieutenant of Ireland power to suppress associations or assemblies by proclamation. Any two justices of the peace, to whom such order or proclamation might be given by the lord-lieutenant, might enter any place where such associations met, and, if refused admittance, enter by force, and then command all persons to disperse immediately; and, if the mandate were not obeyed in one quarter of an hour, the parties might be proceeded against, in a summary way, before two justices, and committed for three months. Persons subscribing to such societies were to forfeit treble the amount of their subscriptions, at the option of the attorney-general. He thought moderate penalties would be sufficient for the infringement of this law; and he considered that it would be by no means necessary to propose measures of a penal nature. The late act was to continue for two years, and to the end of the then next session of parliament. He proposed to make the present act of shorter duration—to limit it to one year and the end of the then next session of parliament.

No opposition could rationally be offered to the bill. To the catholics, it has been shown, it was a matter of no importance; and the protestants could not object to enactments which went to condemn what they had always judged worthy of condemnation. The bill passed speedily through all its stages in the commons.

The catholics, having resolved to allow the government no rest till their object was accomplished, made the protestants feel that it was necessary for them to be stirring. Many who were disposed generally to support the government of the noble duke, were sternly opposed to him on this question. While it was proposed to reserve the discussion on this subject till ministers were

prepared to submit the measure they had framed, it was, in fact, debated as often as the houses assembled. The earl of Longford, on the 10th of March, condemned, in strong terms, the measure contemplated, as one that must fall with peculiar severity upon the protestant portion of the Irish people—on those who, individually and collectively, had stood forward to support the administration of the noble duke. The occasion he held to be one of overwhelming importance; nothing equal to it having occurred since the revocation of the edict of Nantes—nothing that so deeply and awfully affected the protestant interest. In reply to his lordship, the duke of Wellington spoke:—

“I trust,” he said, “your lordships will excuse my making a few observations in reply to what has just fallen from my noble relative, and in explanation of some of the circumstances to which he has alluded. I shall endeavour, as far as consistent with the explanations due to your lordships and to my own character, to avoid discussing either the question generally known by the name of ‘catholic emancipation,’ or the particular measure which it is my intention, in concurrence with other members of his majesty’s government, shortly to propose to the house; but, even at the hazard of touching upon these subjects, which I should otherwise gladly avoid, I must be permitted to make a few observations on the speech of my noble relative. The first which naturally presents itself to my mind, is this—if the notified intention of myself and my colleagues are such as my noble relative feels himself called upon to condemn in terms so strong, why has he not proposed, or even hinted at, any measure of his own? He has talked of the various evils which afflict Ireland; he has, therefore, admitted the necessity of a decided course; but he has cautiously abstained from the slightest suggestion of anything like a remedy for those various evils. Now, surely, my lords, when he comes and blames us for what we have done, and admits that we cannot stand still and look on, it behoves him to tell your lordships what he would recommend for the purpose of tranquillising Ireland. I humbly submit, that neither he nor anybody could have made to you a proposition different from that which we have felt it our duty to lay before you. My noble relative complains loudly that I have been guilty of concealment. I beg my noble relative’s pardon—I have concealed nothing. I have repeatedly

declared my earnest wish to see the Roman catholic question settled. I believe nothing could ever have been more distinct and explicit than my expression of that wish; and is it a matter of surprise, that the person entertaining it should avail himself of the first opportunity of proposing the adoption of that which, over and over again, he declared himself anxiously to wish? On this particular question, I had long ago made up my mind, as a member of this house, to take a particular course. It may be thought peculiar, as a matter of taste; but, for many years, I have acted on the determination never to vote for the affirmative of this question, until the government, acting as a government, should propose it to the legislature. My noble relative knows, or ought to know, that ever since 1810, the several successive governments of this country have been formed upon a principle which prevented their ever proposing, as a government, the adoption of any measure of relief in regard to the catholics. In order to the formation of a cabinet which, acting as a government, could propose this measure, it was, in the first place, necessary to obtain the consent of that individual more interested by his station, his duty, and the most sacred of all obligations, than any other individual in the empire. It was necessary that I should obtain the consent of this individual, before the members of the government could consider the question as a government one. Now, under such circumstances as these, would it have been proper in me to have breathed a syllable on the subject, until I had obtained the consent of the illustrious personage to whom I have alluded? I call upon my noble relative to answer this question, if he can, in the negative. I beg of him to ask himself this question—whether I was wrong in having kept secret my views, since the month of July or August—not talking to any man on the subject, until I had the consent of that exalted personage to form a government upon the principle of taking the question to which I have alluded into consideration? My noble relative ought to place himself in my situation—he ought to see what is expected of me; and then, instead of blaming me for acting as I have done, he would see that, if I had acted otherwise, I should have been highly blamable. When the question had been decided—when I received the permission, so as to be enabled to make a declaration (on not having made which,

alone, the accusation of surprise can be founded), the opening of the session was so near, that it was impossible to make known what had occurred earlier, or in any other manner, than by the speech from the throne. I ought to thank my noble friend for having afforded me the opportunity of stating these circumstances to your lordships."

Lord Colchester, on the 16th of February, presenting petitions in opposition to the claims of the Roman catholics, after eulogising the splendid services of the duke of Wellington in war, stated—the country had expected to find in him an uncompromising defender of the protestant constitution, as settled at the revolution; but that expectation had been wholly disappointed. He wished to know if the proposed measures would be embodied in one, or in several bills, and in which house of parliament they would originate?

The duke then made the following statement:—"My lords, on the first day of the session, I had the honour of stating the general purport of the measure which his majesty's servants would introduce, and for which they had received his majesty's authority. I beg to decline going into any detail of the measure on an occasion like this, or, at the present moment, to declare whether that measure will be contained in one or more bills, or, whether it will be brought forward in this or the other house of parliament. That measure, when brought forward, will be introduced on the responsibility of his majesty's ministers. We are now responsible for the advice which we gave his majesty, to recommend, in his speech delivered by the lords commissioners, the course there pointed out. We are responsible, in character, at least, for the success of that measure. But, my lords, whether responsible or not, I reject the charge that this measure has been suggested to our minds by fear of what is passing in this or other countries. I beg to say, that if a period had been known, within the last twenty years, in which there was a total absence of cause for apprehension, that it is the present period. I will not now state the reasons we have for the measure: but this I say—and I can prove it, and will prove it, if necessary—that, although it is not fear which has induced us to bring the measure forward, yet it is founded upon a clear and distinct view of the absolute necessity which exists to introduce the subject, in order to have it finally adjusted. In acting as we have done, your lordships will easily believe that we un-

dertake no very pleasing task. I do not talk of my own sacrifices as to opinions which I have entertained, for those sacrifices are trifling compared with others; but this I must say—that a difference of opinion which I hold with my noble friend who has put those questions to me upon this topic, is most painful to my feelings. When I think of the sacrifice of opinion made by my noble friend near me, and the sacrifice of my right honourable friend, the secretary of state for the home department, I cannot look upon anything equal to the resolution to which they have come. How great must have been their sense of the necessity of the measure, from the state in which this country and Ireland are placed, before they could be induced to adopt it! Under these circumstances, I do entreat you, my lords, to pause—to weigh well—to consider deeply—but to come to no decision upon the question, until you shall see the measures which we propose; and then you will perceive whether, as respects this country and Ireland, the constitution cannot be placed on a better footing than it has existed since their union. I will not enter into a discussion on the proposed measure; but this much I will say—that I would sacrifice my head to maintain the constitution: and I beg further to remark, that the measure will not have the effect upon that constitution which some noble lords seem to apprehend. I shall conclude the few observations which I have felt it my duty to offer, by saying, that the protestant institutions are exposed to greater dangers at present, than they will be by the measure which his majesty's ministers shall submit to parliament." This speech was loudly cheered; but the earl of Eldon said, that, up to that moment, the noble duke had not given the house any explanation whatever as to the proposed plan. The duke of Wellington answered:—"I beg my noble and learned friend's pardon for reminding him that I did say, on a former occasion, that it was the intention of his majesty's servants to bring forward a measure, or measures, having for their end an adjustment of the question called the catholic question; and that the object was the removal of all disabilities, excepting some founded on special cases; and that this measure would be followed by another measure, rendered necessary in consequence of the removal of those disabilities. Beyond this, my lords, I must beg to decline giving any explanation."

The bill for the suppression of dangerous

associations, sent up from the commons, was brought under the consideration of the house of lords, on the 19th of February, by the duke of Wellington, who then moved the second reading. The association against which it was particularly directed, he thought had been truly described in the king's speech, as one which was dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; as one which kept alive discord and ill-will among his majesty's subjects; and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland. The objectionable acts of the assembly consisted in levying a tax upon certain of his majesty's subjects collecting catholic rent, and this by acts and means of extreme violence, which occasioned constant heart-burnings and jealousies among his majesty's subjects; by appointing persons to collect that rent; by appointing other individuals to be treasurers of it: further, by adopting measures for organising the catholic population; by appointing persons to superintend that organisation; and by assuming to themselves the government of the country, and still more, affecting to assess it. Part of the money thus improperly obtained was spent for electioneering purposes; and here he called attention to proof of the existence, in parliament, of a Roman catholic influence, directly derived from the association; but he would not discuss the subject further at present. Besides the money spent in elections, other sums, arising out of the rent, were spent in endeavouring to contravene the due execution of justice in Ireland. His grace fully and freely admitted the right, and indeed duty, of every man to watch closely the administration of justice; but he was prepared to maintain, that that right and duty could not be conveniently and justly exercised by a self-elected association, having large sums at their command, and employing the money which they possessed for the purpose of exciting a spirit of litigation and dissatisfaction among his majesty's subjects—employing it for the purpose of defending some individuals—for the purpose of prosecuting others—for the purpose of prejudicing the first inquiries in cases of criminal procedure, and unduly interfering with the administration of justice by the magistracy. Such, he said, had been the course pursued by the catholic association; and it was quite obvious, that proceedings of that description must have the effect of mixing up party-spirit in

every judicial decision, and shake men's confidence in the public tribunals of the law, from which alone all expectations of justice ought to proceed. On looking at the whole question, it appeared to him to be absolutely impossible to take into consideration the condition of Ireland, with a view to the repeal of the Roman catholic disabilities, without, in the first instance, putting an end to the catholic association. At the same time, he could add, that he had not only made no bargain or compact, but had had no conversation with any man on the subject. He proposed the present bill as a preliminary measure, the necessity for which was shown by statements already made before their lordships. He considered any other mode of procedure inconsistent with the dignity of the crown and of parliament; and that which he submitted as positively necessary to reconcile to the ultimate measure which he meant to offer, the good and worthy men in the country, who viewed with dismay and disgust the violent and unconstitutional acts of the association. He entreated their lordships to consider that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and that they ought to do nothing which would give any man ground to believe that, in the steps they were about taking, they were guided by any other motive than that of expediency and good policy. He went over the history of the associations of that description which had been formed in Ireland, and of the various steps which had been taken with respect to them. Ministers, he said, did not pretend that the present measure was one which ought to be resorted to on every occasion; on the contrary, they admitted it to be an extraordinary measure, both in its principle and in its details. Their justification was, that, as the occasion was extraordinary, so was it necessary the measure should also be extraordinary, which they proposed to apply as a remedy. Nor did they propose this measure as a precedent to be adopted on all other exigencies, but rather, he might say, if it were a precedent at all, as one to be avoided.

The bill met with little or no opposition in their lordships' house; but, on every occasion, opposition was offered to that which was to follow, for the relief of Roman catholics. The earl of Guildford asked, of what use was it to pass the bill to protect the constitution, if, directly afterwards, they were to pass another to destroy that constitution? He would admit the state of Ireland

was bad; but that was owing to the catholic association. He could not but lament the disorder; but he did not believe there was danger existing anywhere but in the attempt to abrogate the fundamental laws of the realm. If the question were decided in the affirmative, he hoped that the old bell of St. Paul's cathedral—which only rang on occasions of great calamity, but which, when it did ring, was said to reach the ears of the sentinel at Windsor-castle—would be employed to ring the final knell of the churches of England and of Ireland, and of the rights and liberties of his fellow-countrymen.

Within the short space of a fortnight from the time of its introduction in the other house, the bill passed into a law; but, notwithstanding this expedition, the members of the association, wishing to make the measure appear useless, if not ridiculous, had dissolved themselves. When it would have come into operation, it was found that the catholic association had ceased to exist.

It was settled, that the great measure, on which the whole nation now fixed its attention, should be brought forward by Mr. Peel, in the house of commons, on the 5th of March. The gallery and avenues of St. Stephen's chapel were crowded, on that day, in an extraordinary manner; and there was a large attendance of members. When the able secretary of state rose, to perform his important task, he was listened to with the most intense interest. He briefly, in general terms, mentioned his object, and proceeded to say:—"I rise, in the spirit of peace, to propose the adjustment of the Roman catholic question—that question which has so long and so painfully occupied the attention of parliament, and which has distracted the councils of the king for the last thirty years. I rise, in the spirit enjoined in one of those beautiful passages that occur in the form of prayer by which the proceedings of this house are always preceded. In that passage we are enjoined 'to lay aside all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections.' In the most appropriate language of that prayer, I fervently trust, 'that the result of all our councils, this day, may be to the maintenance of truth, to the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom; to the public welfare, peace, and tranquillity of the realm; and to the uniting and knitting together of the hearts of all persons within the same in the bonds of Christian charity and peace.'"

He thought it necessary to explain what had been imputed to him as inconsistency. When, in 1825, he found himself opposed to a majority in that house, he had wished to retire, and had only been prevailed upon to remain in office, by finding that his withdrawing would determine the retirement of lord Liverpool. He remarked:—"It is a painful thing for a man to act in a way contrary to his preconceived opinions; still more when, in doing so, he separates himself from his friends, and exposes himself to the charge of inconsistency. The events of the last six weeks may convince any one that this is no easy task. In the words of that magnificent passage of Dryden—

"'Tis said with ease; but oh! how hardly try'd
By haughty souls, to human honour ty'd!
O sharp convulsive pangs of agonizing pride!"

In this part of his speech, Mr. Peel was much agitated, and the house rang with cries of "Hear, hear, hear!" After a pause, he resumed:—"When, sir, I felt last year, that the case was as I have stated it to be, I determined to take the course which I had wished to take in 1825; but, with this difference—that I intimated to the noble duke at the head of his majesty's government, not only that I was anxious to retire from office, but that I felt so strongly the current of public opinion was setting in in favour of the catholic claims, that, in whatever situation I might find myself, I should not consider myself justified in making any further opposition to those claims."

As on a former evening, he traced the progress of the question, and dwelt on the melancholy condition of Ireland during the last twenty-five years, when scarcely in one of them had they been able to repose on the ordinary course of law. He showed that the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the insurrection act, and other strong measures, had been repeatedly called for from year to year. In 1800, the habeas corpus act was suspended. The suspension was continued in 1801 and 1802. In 1803, Emmett's rebellion broke out, when lord Kilwarden was murdered. The habeas corpus act was again suspended, and continued so in 1805. In 1806, the suspension expired; but the west and south, being in a state of insubordination, the insurrection act was passed in 1807, and the trial by jury was superseded. During 1808, the act was enforced. It expired in 1809, and was renewed in 1810. It might be said, that

the catholic association could have been prevented, if vigorous measures had been adopted at an earlier period. Look at what took place in 1811 and 1812. The association then consisted of some catholic peers, the eldest sons of some peers, and of catholic baronets and gentlemen. Two trials took place, the object of which was, to put an end to the association. In one there was an acquittal, and in the other a verdict of guilty. In 1814, further steps were taken in the business, but they were not successful. In 1815, a further attempt was made to suppress the association, by a bill which passed the legislature, and he need not say what the result of that measure had been. It continued in force during 1816 and 1817, and expired in 1819, when another act was formed for the suppression of the association. Having mentioned these facts, he insisted that they could not remain as they were; that they must pursue some course different from that which had been already followed. It was felt, that a united government was necessary; but, he would ask, could one be established on the principle of permanent opposition to the catholic claims? It would be difficult to obtain from parliament those coercive measures which would be found necessary, from the first, to carry on the business of the state; and these gained, would lead to consequences that would render it necessary to return to the penal laws. But this, in the present state of Ireland, would be almost impossible. How would a government, formed on the principle of permanent opposition to the catholic claims support itself? What, for instance, would it do with the forty-shilling freeholders? It had been announced, that twenty-three counties were prepared to follow the example set by the county of Clare. Was it with a knowledge of this fact, that a dissolution of parliament would be resorted to as a remedy for the evil? He called on the house to look at the present state of the Irish representative body. Of the members returned for counties in Ireland, or large towns and boroughs, sixty-one were in favour of catholic emancipation, and thirty-three opposed to it. Let the members for the twenty-three counties, who were disposed to follow the example of the county of Clare, be added to them, and the coercive government would commence with a majority of the whole representation of Ireland against them. Taking the present population of Ireland at seven million,

and assuming of these, five million to be Roman catholics, and two million protestants, distributed, as the latter were, over the country in unequal proportions—the catholics being, in some instances, seven and a-half to one—thirteen to one, and twenty to one, how was the administration of justice, in Ireland, to be carried on under the existing laws?

In explaining the character of the measure about to be introduced, he said, it was intended to put Roman catholics, with respect to property, on a footing with dissenters, without being liable to the penal laws in case of omission—a measure which would be equally satisfactory to protestants and Roman catholics. Next, as to the enjoyment of political power, it must be obvious, that the whole question of political power, in this country, resolved itself into the admission into parliament. Unless they were prepared to grant this privilege to the Roman catholics, all that they had done, or might do, would be worse than useless. “If we are to settle this question,” he said, “I say, sir, let us now settle it at once and for ever. In the proposed bill, a clause will be introduced for the admission of Roman catholic peers, and Roman catholic commoners, who may hereafter be returned to the respective houses of parliament. As I should wish, when this bill has passed, that Roman catholics should, with respect to parliament, be altogether in the same situation as protestants, I am adverse to any restriction with regard to the number of catholics who may be qualified or entitled to sit. Suppose, for example, that the bill were to restrict the number of catholic members of the house of commons to thirty or forty, how, in the event of a general election, when a much greater number of catholics might, by possibility, be elected, are you to determine, out of those, the number who shall sit, and who shall be sent back to their constituents, probably to be again re-elected? I do not know, in a case like this, how you could set aside the election of those who exceeded the limited number. But, allowing that it were practicable, by thus limiting the number of catholic members, you would only create alienation and distrust, by holding them out as persons against whose devoted heads all our legislative watchfulness is to be directed: they would be looked upon as champions of the Roman catholic interest; and, so far from permanently uniting with us, they

would be compelled, by common motives, to unite among themselves, and their ambition and their interest would operate to separate them from the rest of the members of the house, and to constitute a party which would have for its distinct and exclusive object the promotion of Roman catholic interests." He objected to a provision that Roman catholics should be required to leave the house during the discussion of particular questions; but he proposed that catholic members should take this oath:—"I, A. B., do declare, that I profess the Roman catholic religion. I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George IV., and will defend him, to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them. And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession to the crown, which succession, by an act entitled 'An act for the further limitation of the crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject,' is, and stands limited to the princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms. And I do further declare, that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever. And I do declare, that I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. I do swear, that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement of the property within this realm, as established by the laws. And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment, as settled by the law within this realm. And I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am, or may become

entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion, or protestant government in this kingdom. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever." He continued:—"So far as oaths can, this oath will give us all the security we can hope for. I think it desirable that we should have but one oath, and that framed with a view only to the security of our present establishments. In conformity with the principle in which this bill has proceeded, of course it is intended that Roman catholics should be admissible to corporate offices in Ireland. From these they are at present excluded, not so much by law as by rules relating to the administering of oaths on admission. They are also to be admitted to offices connected with the administration of justice. At present, they are excluded from the office of sheriff, and from the high offices in the courts of superior jurisdiction; but by this bill they will, in future, be equally eligible to these offices with their protestant fellow-citizens. With respect to those apprehensions that are frequently urged as to the admission of catholics to high offices in the army, it must not be forgotten, that we have been exposed to that danger for some time past; for Roman catholics have long been capable of holding any rank in the army except that of commander-in-chief. It appears to me that, once having determined on their admission to parliament, we have also determined the question of the admission of Roman catholics to civil offices. I doubt the wisdom of saying to the Roman catholic—here are two sources of favour and distinction: the popular branch of the state is open to you; but you are excluded from the favour of the crown, or of any distinction which shall deny to the crown the exercise of that just influence and patronage which it has with reference to its subjects generally."

Some exceptions were to accompany the general rule. The leading principle upon which these exceptions would be founded, was the connexion which some duties and offices have with the established church. The only offices he proposed specifically to except, were the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or other chief governor having the church patronage in his hands, and the lord chancellor, and lord keeper or commissioner of the great seal in Great Britain. Catholics

were not to hold any place in, or belonging to, the established church; the ecclesiastical courts, or any courts of review of the sentences of such courts; or any ecclesiastical foundation; or any office in the universities; or in the colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester; or any school or place of ecclesiastical foundation in the realm. He wished to preserve inviolate all local statutes and ordinances of established universities, colleges, or schools, for admission to which Roman catholics were then ineligible, and also to retain the laws relative to the Roman catholic right to presentation. He proposed to enact, that "in case any Roman catholic should hold office with which church patronage shall be connected, the crown shall have power to transfer that patronage: also, that it should not be lawful for any Roman catholic to hold any office to advise the crown in the appointment of offices connected with the established church of England and Ireland." These exceptions he thought necessary to satisfy the minds of protestants, and to secure the church in respect of such appointments as rest upon specific grounds. To the veto formerly proposed, he thought it might fairly be objected, that its adoption would be a qualified establishment of the Roman catholic church. He wished for no examination of the intercourse between Roman catholics of Ireland and the see of Rome.

The right honourable gentleman said:—"The great advantage of settling the Roman catholic question is, that we shall be enabled to take any securities that our dangers may render necessary. We shall be enabled, in that case, to hold a high and independent tone with respect to the Roman catholics of Ireland, and the legislature will deal with them as with any other class of the king's subjects. I think it fit to provide, that when a Roman catholic shall be admitted to any corporate office, or other office in administration of the law, under no circumstances shall the insignia of office, or the robes of authority, be taken to any other place of worship than one belonging to the established church. There is a practice which has grown up in Ireland, and which has given great and just offence; I mean that of the Roman catholic bishops assuming the titles that belong to those of the established church. I shall propose that the episcopal dignities and titles in the united church of England and Ireland, shall not be assumed by the Roman catholic bishops to themselves.

Bishops I call them, for bishops they are; and they have a right to exercise their power as such in their own church. Their ordination is, no doubt, valid; but it is not decorous that the rights of the bishops of the established church should be publicly and ostentatiously assumed, as their titles have been of late, by the Roman catholic bishops."

These were the more important features of the bill, which sir Robert Peel described to the house in a speech which occupied more than four hours in the delivery. "Should future differences arise," he said, in conclusion, "the contest will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. We can then fight the battle with the greater advantage. We shall enter into the contest with the advantage of having dissolved the moral alliance which now exists among the Roman catholics, and with the countenance of those authorities who have, for so long a period, opposed this question. They will be transferred to our side; and I have not a doubt that in that contest, if it should ever happen, we shall be victorious." He moved the following resolution:—"That the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman catholic subjects."

The measure was warmly, not to say fiercely, debated. In the course of the struggle, Mr. Peel was sharply attacked for not taking, in 1827, the course which he had thought it right to take in 1828. He replied to it by saying:—"Between 1827 and 1828, there was this material difference—in 1827, at the time when Mr. Canning made that proposal to me (to join his administration), the question had been discussed in the house of commons of the new parliament, and I had been in a majority: in 1828, I was in a minority; and, in 1828, I took the course I had taken in 1825. The noble lord will find that Mr. Canning did full justice to my motives. During the whole course of the discussion, my right honourable friend admitted that it was impossible for me to join him; and he used these expressions in the course of his speech:—"To begin with the more agreeable part of my task, the speech of my right honourable friend (Mr. Peel), who has, in one or two instances, appealed to my testimony for the confirmation of some parts of his narrative of his own conduct, I confirm them in the fullest degree. I can bear testimony, that

throughout the whole of the discussions that have taken place since parliament adjourned, I have kept up with my right honourable friend the most constant intercourse—that throughout I have found in him the same candour and sincerity, the expression of the same just feelings, and the uniform exhibition of the same high principle to which he has laid claim in the speech which he has this night delivered.”

On the house dividing, the numbers were—for the resolution, three hundred and forty-eight; against it, one hundred and sixty: majority for the resolution, one hundred and eighty-eight.

The house immediately resolved itself into the committee in which the introduction of a bill was ordered; and notice was given, that one would be submitted to the house on the following Monday.

Before proceeding thus far, the duke of Wellington and his colleagues had considered it their duty to obtain the consent of the king to what they contemplated submitting to parliament; but that consent was most reluctantly given. To enable the reader to form a just idea of the situation of the head of the government at that period, it is necessary to relate what took place then, and some weeks later. Lord Eldon has left a memorandum of conversations between himself and George IV., at the end of March and early in April. These show his majesty to have been in a very unsettled state of mind, and much disposed to complain of ministers and all their doings. He told his lordship, that he had never seen the bill; that the condition of Ireland had not been taken into consideration; that the association bill had been passed through both houses before he had seen it; that it was a very inefficient measure, compared to those which he had in vain himself recommended; that the other measures gave him the greatest possible pain and uneasiness; that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that his ministers had threatened [lord Eldon thought the king said *twice*, at the time this intercourse took place] to resign, if the measures were not proceeded in, and he had said to them, “Go on,” when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state in which he was placed; that, in one of these meetings, when resignation was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he had given by what passed in the interview between

him and his ministers, till the interview and talk had brought him into such a state, that he hardly knew what he was about when, after several hours, he said, “Go on.” He then expressed himself as in a state of the greatest misery, repeatedly saying—“What can I do? I have nothing to fall back upon;” and, musing for some time, and then again uttering the same expression. Marking his extreme distress, the ex-chancellor asked, whether his majesty meant to enjoin, or to forbid, him trying whether anything could be arranged “on which he *could* fall back?” The answer of George was—“I neither enjoin you to do so, nor forbid you to do so; but, for God’s sake, take care that I am not exposed to the humiliation of being again placed in such circumstances, that I must submit to pray of my present ministers that they will remain with me.”

By this time, the catholic emancipation was fast advancing in its passage through the lower house; but not without encountering a degree of opposition which can only be faintly pictured in these pages. The second reading being moved on the 17th of March, by Mr. Peel, led to a great debate. On this occasion, the protestant champions exerted all their strength.

Among the attacks made on ministers while this important change in the constitution was before parliament, none was more remarkable for bitterness, searching inquiry, and solemn reprobation, than a speech delivered by Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler, who then addressed the house in a maiden-speech, which was of a character so marked and striking, that it soon resounded through the wide extent of the British empire. That the measure was necessary or expedient, he utterly denied; and, with that conviction on his mind, he called on all friends to the constitution, now, ere it was too late, to unite, and join with him in resistance to the bill. Mr. Sadler said, the apology for the fearful step contemplated, was the present condition of Ireland. Again and again he had heard this stated as the sole reason for the meditated change, and it had been triumphantly asked, if the bill were not carried, what remedy for the existing evil had its opponents to suggest? He denied that protestant ascendancy was the source of the disorders in Ireland. Every man who knew anything of the history of that country, was aware that the turbulence and the misery sought to be remedied, existed in a still greater

degree, and produced far more lamentable consequences before the reformation. That fact was too notorious to admit of contradiction. A late right honourable secretary for Ireland, who was now friendly to the measure before the house, had declared that all the commotions which, during the last sixty years, had tormented and desolated Ireland, sprung from what?—from protestantism or protestant ascendancy?—No; but immediately from local oppression. This he insisted upon in a tone that made the ears of some of the listening Irish landlords tingle. He told the house that Ireland was a conquered country: that was her misfortune; but it was the crime of England that she had continued to be treated as such. Her lands had been given away, from time to time, to strangers, on condition that they should reside in the country, and support the protestant religion, and the parties receiving such grants had deserted their duty. They had made themselves absentees. Owning much of the surface of the land, they had cruelly left the people by whom they lived, and persecuted and oppressed them by proxy; and then many of them thought to make atonement for their turpitude, by cheap votes and declarations, sincere or otherwise, in favour of catholic emancipation. They consigned a population to misery and idleness, where, to the disgrace of humanity, civilisation, and Christianity, no provision whatever was made for the wretched victims of poverty. When it was asked, what are we to do with Ireland? he would say, legislate on her behalf in the spirit of philanthropy, and with the lights of wisdom and experience; develop her immense internal resources, hitherto unexplored, almost untouched; introduce on behalf of her distressed population, a moderate system of poor-laws, the machinery of which the very attempt would create; diffuse, in spite of priestly domination, the benefits of Christian education; employ the starving people which must be fed, but whose labours were now lost, while their characters were destroyed by leaving them to involuntary idleness and mendicancy; and finally, while they legislated about and against the poor, let them dare to touch the culpable and heartless rich, the deserters and enemies of their country; and if they were found dead to worthier motives, compel them, by pecuniary mulcts, to fulfil some of their duties towards that society to which they owed their all—duties which they were disposed to pay by words alone.

A withering satire on Irish patriotism was thus breathed. It was too well known, that Ireland had suffered enormously from the hollow professions of men who had been glorified as her most warm-hearted friends, but who had gained their bad eminence by inflaming the passions of the lower orders, and thus placed the country in such a condition, that those who would otherwise have devoted their energies and their capital to promote her welfare, were compelled to seek safety elsewhere. Hence, in part, the absenteeism which many condemned, and all, save those artificers of crime, who saw it could be converted into an engine of mischief, joined to deplore.

Of the position in which the king would be placed if this bill should pass, Mr. Sadler said, through his office must remain protestant, some bigoted devotee of Rome might conquer his way to the royal presence, and be "viceroy over him." The reservation, in this respect, heightened the objection he had to the measure into abhorrence and disgust. "What, sir!" he exclaimed, "having established, by a solemn act, the doctrine that conscience ought to be left free and unrestrained—that disabilities of the nature sought to be removed, inflict a disgrace upon the feelings of those whom they affect, intolerable to good and generous minds—worse than persecution—nay, than death itself—how do you apply it? Why, you propose to scar the brow high upon the forehead, deep into the heart of your prince; and, to render the scar more visible, and insult more poignant, by making him the solitary individual whose hereditary rank must be so held and transmitted. Freedom of conscience to all subjects, but none to your king! Throw open wide the portals, that a duke of Norfolk may take his seat in your senate; but hurl from his lofty seat there (the throne of the realm) a duke of Lancaster, if he exercise the same privilege—if he presume to have a conscience! Hitherto, the British constitution is uniformly fair—equal: it demands the same moral qualities from us all. The liberal school having long complained that these essential securities imply slavery, the ministers who have adopted their political creed, are content—nay, propose that the king shall be the only proclaimed slave in his dominions. But if the bill should pass—which God avert!—if no other and fitter individual should stand up in favour of the then insulted feelings of his sovereign, I will. Whether the exception

is introduced to blind the eyes of some, under the guise of a security, or however intended, I will propose, that amidst the general emancipation, the king shall not be bound; that, in the very acmé of liberal legislation, the king shall not receive a marked insult; that his future religious professions shall be relieved from the taint of the solitary dictation; that his conscience shall be free. I will move an amendment for omitting that clause. It may be said, that the monarch will still have a choice. Certainly. And have those in whose favour you are about to throw down the rampart of the constitution—have they, at present, less?"

He continued:—"But this measure does not merely affect the feelings and the character of the king; it touches even his title. Reverse the attainder of popery, and the consequences are obvious. Proclaim the equal right and eligibility of all religions to all offices in the state among us, ye emancipators; and remind us of those millions of subjects who demand the declaration and concession; and allude to the scores of millions who back their demands elsewhere: and the moment the king shall sign a bill to this effect, in what position will you have placed him! While the constitution of the country stands as our revered and not hitherto rivalled ancestors framed it, and transmitted it down to us—namely, strict protestantism, excluding from power (and from power only) the devoted adherents of a cruel, tyrannical, and superstitious church—nothing can be more clear, consistent, and indisputable, than the royal title: take away that protestant character, nothing less so. The privileges of protestantism, as hitherto maintained, constitute the title-deeds of his august family, those which became the act, transmitted with the estate which he holds in parliament and in the country; and in what attitude do his legal and constitutional advisers place themselves, who recommend their surrender? 'No surrender!' Who dare urge him to sign an instrument to that effect? It was that very ascendancy—now a by-word of abuse, and which, I observe, Mr. O'Connell exults in saying it is gone for ever—it was that very ascendancy, I say, which first introduced into these realms the illustrious and patriotic line which now govern us—which still forms at once the pillar and the foundation of the throne; which combines its title with the very elements of our constitution; which

identifies it with our liberty; which associates it with the sanctity of our religion;—in a word, which proclaims, by the unanimous suffrage of all our institutions, as well as in all our hearts, George IV. as the rightful king of the first protestant empire upon earth."

In reply to what had been advanced, as to the then melancholy situation of Ireland, Mr. Sadler asserted—"it was not catholic emancipation that could bring Ireland the relief she required;" and, proceeding to examine the ministerial measure, he remarked—"No equivalents were secured by the bill for the concessions it was intended to grant. The protestants, in fact, surrendered everything, and received in return from the catholics nothing. The measure could only be satisfactory to the most zealous and devoted of the adherents of the popish cause, in all the pride of its growing demands and insatiable pretensions." In a subsequent part of his speech, he remarked on what had been said of the evils growing on a divided cabinet. He would reply—"The present was the worst of all the times at which the measure had been proposed. A divided cabinet! Who were they that caused the division in the preceding cabinet, but those who now complained of it, and who, as it now appeared, would suffer none to serve their king or country, but such as were ready to change their principles at the word of command? Good God!" he exclaimed, "and is it for ministers to talk of the government being previously divided on this question, as the only obstacle to its adjustment; those who, less than two short years ago, were so strictly and so conscientiously devoted to the cause for which I now humbly contend, as to refuse to serve with one who was ever favourable to emancipation; those who then deserted the king in a body, painful as no doubt it was to them to do so? Long-winded orations—'passages,' as Gray has it—'which lead to nothing,' can never set this matter in an honest light before the people of England." He then touched on the disgust they had occasioned. "Nay," he said, "even where they have been hailed as accessions of strength, they have nevertheless been accompanied by feelings of secret contempt. Much has been said as to the question having been long before the people of England, so as to render delay unnecessary. Had it been a much shorter time before the consideration of the present mi-

nisters, when they rejected it? So sudden, total, and unanimous a change, in a matter so long considered, seems not a little singular and suspicious. These simultaneous conversions are really disgusting; they argue not so much a change of principle as a total want of principle. I have nothing to do with the motives of men: their actions are, however, open to animadversion; and I think I speak the language of plain English honesty, when I say, that no power, however formidable—no promises, however alluring—no rewards, however great—should tempt me to such a course. Were I to accept a proffered robe of nobility on such condition, I would take a hint from the church whose interests I should then have to espouse, and wear, in the way of penance, a shirt of hair next my recreant skin, for the remainder of my life. There is, I admit, such a thing as a conscientious conversion, and I honour it. It is, however, of very rare occurrence, where opinions have been previously well weighed, and long and perseveringly maintained. There is, sir, a much more common thing—apostasy. And can the people of England forbear to suspect this to be the case, when they view with dismay these infectious conversions, and behold whole ranks of men face about, as at the word of command?"

The occurrences of late years, and those of the passing day, he viewed as derogatory to the character of English statesmen. This he coupled with an affecting tribute to the memory of the departed minister, and a cutting censure on those, himself among them, who had been the assailants of Mr. Canning. "I," said he, "was one of them. I thought the conduct of the noble and right honourable individual concerned, a sacrifice to principle and consistency. It is too late to rectify the error: all that remains is to regret most deeply, that faithfully following those who have so secretly, suddenly, and unceremoniously deserted us, we were taught to regard a highly-gifted statesman, unhappily now no more, as one who ought not to serve his king or country, at the head of the government, because he was favourable to the measure now so indecently forced upon the country. I do heartily repent of my share in the too-successful attempt to hunt down so noble a victim—a man whom England and the world could not fail to recognise as their ornament; whose eloquence was, in these days at least, unrivalled; the energies of whose capacious

mind, stored with knowledge and elevated by genius, were devoted to the service of his country. As to the qualities of his generous heart, let those speak to them who felt the warmth of his friendship, which I believe could only be equalled by its stability. This was the man with whom the present ministers could not act, and for a reason which vitiates their present doings. Coupling that transaction with the present, if the annals of our country furnish so disgraceful a page, I have very imperfectly consulted them. But peace to his memory. My humble tribute is paid when it can be no longer heard nor regarded—when it is drowned by the voice of interested adulation, now poured only into the ears of the living. He fell, but his character is rescued—it rises and triumphs over that of his surviving—what shall I call them? Let their own consciences supply the hiatus! One thing I cannot but deeply regret, as the inevitable consequence of these strange passages, however they terminate, namely, the degradation of the character of public men in the estimation of the people of England. Nothing can equal the astonishment with which these sudden changes have been regarded."

The conduct of ministers and their present supporters he angrily criticised. To the consistent advocates for catholic emancipation he rendered all honour: though he differed from their opinions, of them he did not complain; but of the new, sudden, and simultaneous converts to their views. For himself, he would redeem the pledge he had given when he was sent to that house by those who he knew to be sincerely devoted to the protestant faith. On the general feeling of the country, he thus expressed his sentiments:—"I know how dear this sacred, this deserted cause is to the hearts and to the understandings of Englishmen. The principle may be indeed weak in this house, but abroad it marches in more than all its wonted might, headed, in spite of the aspersions of its enemies, by the intelligence, the religion, the loyalty of the country; and if the honest zeal, nay, even the cherished prejudices of the people, swell its train, thank God for the accession! Here, sir, that cause may be like those wasting tapers, melting away; there, it burns inextinguishably. It lives abroad, though this house, which was its cradle, may be now preparing its grave! To their representatives the people committed their dearest birth-right—the protestant constitution. The

people have not deserted it, whoever has. If it must perish, I call God to witness that the people are guiltless! Let it then expire, I say, in this spot—the place of its birth, the scene of its long triumphs—betrayed, deserted in the house of its pretended friends, who, while they smile, are still preparing to smite: let it here, while it receives blow after blow, from those who have hitherto been its associates and supporters, fold itself up in its mantle, and hiding its sorrow and disgrace, fall when it feels the last vital stab at its heart, from the hand of one it had armed in its defence, and advanced to its highest honours.”

The strong reflection thus cast on the duke of Wellington, the orator felt it incumbent upon him to explain by saying—“I am misconceived if my last expressions are taken to imply anything but regret in reference to the illustrious individual to whom I have alluded. None ever admired, none still admire, the hero of his country more than I do. My heart partook of his first glories, and my humble adherence accompanied him in every subsequent period of his career, even when those who have now began to adulate him, heaped upon him the coarsest insults. To triumph over him, were it in my power, would inflict upon my feelings a pang which could only be exceeded by the downfall of the constitution of a country whose fame he has so gloriously augmented, and whose greatness, if not whose existence, he has so nobly achieved. But, sir, the name of that constitution again raises my mind far above all personal considerations, and I will reserve them.” He resumed his argument, contending, the house had no right to proceed in the work of counter-revolution without first consulting the people who sent them there.

The attorney-general, sir Charles Wetherell, was prominent among the opponents of the bill, and did not spare the ministry whose officer he was. On this subject, he told the house:—“I said, I will be the tool of no government in obtaining a place, and the tool of no government in retaining it; and, if they thought I was not qualified for the situation, they were at liberty to choose another, who might better promote the profession of protestant sentiments. As attorney-general, I was requested to draw up a bill for the emancipation of the catholics, but I declined to do so. I had taken my oath as attorney-general, and I would not have laid on the table such a bill, be-

cause I believe that by so doing I should have abjured my duty to this house, and lent my aid in annihilating the protestant constitution. That conclusion was not come to without much reflection, and without embodying much, and serious inquiry; and when I asked myself the question, if I should sign the death-warrant of the constitution, my conscience told me that in doing so, I should be guilty of as great a dereliction of duty as the minister who advised Charles I. to impose ship-money, or, as judge Jefferies, in committing the six bishops to the Tower.” He argued from historical facts, that catholics ought never to be admitted to political power. He then proceeded as follows:—“I now come, sir, to speak more particularly of myself, and to state why I did not draw up a bill, as the attorney-general of the king, for the admission into parliament, and of office, the Roman catholics of this country. If an attorney-general had said, I cannot do this or that because the lord chancellor cannot do this or that, what kind of reason could be advanced for such conduct? Could I, as attorney-general, be blamed for doing that which the lord chancellor, on a former occasion, believed would subvert the protestant church of England? In my own judgment, I could not accede to the bill; in the judgment of the lord chancellor it could not be granted with safety to the church. In my judgment, the bill is destructive of the protestant church, which his majesty, by his coronation oath, is bound to preserve; and I will never do an act which, in my opinion, places him in jeopardy. There are several honourable members in the house who may recollect the speech of sir John Copley, when master of the rolls, on the question of catholic emancipation. That able individual, indeed—than whom no man is more acute in reasoning, none more ingenious in argument, none more powerful in his language, none more versed in tact and parliamentary proceedings—that eminent individual, then master of the rolls, but now lord chancellor, contended that it was not consistent with the principles of the constitution to have catholics in power, but who now admits that it is; and I, as attorney-general, because I could not do an act which I believe in my conscience to be inimical to the constitution—I, in my subordinate office of attorney-general, because I will not do that which the legal advisers of the crown, for

many years, did not feel themselves justified in doing, I, it seems, am to be subjected to attacks; but for these attacks I care not, whether they proceed from the right or the left—whether from the gentlemen opposite, or on this side the house. I dare them to attack me. I have no speech to eat; I have no expressions to explain away. I have not been a protestant master of the rolls, and am not a catholic lord chancellor. I had rather remain the member for Plympton for ever, than be guilty of such apostasy. I would rather be what I am, than be capable of such miserable, contemptible, base apostasy."

Mr. Peel followed the attorney-general, and opened by saying:—"About three-fourths of the debate upon the principle of this bill—about three-fourths of the defence of the sacred cause of the protestant constitution, has turned upon personal imputations, savouring much more of rancorous personal hostility than of ardent attachment to the protestant church. What do those personal charges and personal imputations infer—what do they prove? Why, they prove that if this measure had been adopted with a view to personal interests, it was the height of folly: they prove that if it had been adopted for the purpose of strengthening party connection, it was the most infatuated folly by which men were ever inspired; but if they have disregarded those imputations—if they have dissolved, as it is said, those party connections—if they have proposed measures for the removal of Roman catholic disabilities, and for the improvement of the condition of Ireland, what does that prove, but that ministers have acted from a paramount sense of duty." He explained what his conduct had been, and thought he might complain of the course pursued by the last speaker. Mr. Peel said:—"I told the honourable gentleman that the full measure of catholic relief was intended. I told the honourable gentleman that it was intended to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders; and I must say, that for a man who entertains the horror which he does at this atrocious proceeding, I never saw one who had such a control over his countenance as my learned friend had. If the oaths of the attorney-general opposed an insuperable objection; if the coronation oath absolutely precluded the consideration of this subject, would it not have been fair

to have warned me, as a friend, upon the occasion—to have said, 'You are pursuing a course replete with ruin to the country; for, as the attorney-general, I cannot assist you, and his majesty is precluded, in my opinion, by the sacred obligation of an oath?' The honourable gentleman will do me the justice to say, that not one word of so fatal an objection did I hear from him when the communication was made." In reply to the argument raised by Mr. Sadler, that the government had no right to propose the settlement of this question in the present parliament, he remarked:—"If the question be rested, as I think it ought to be rested, on the grounds of public expediency, let us assert our own powers to make the adjustment of it effectual. I believe that it may be safely and permanently adjusted on the grounds which I have stated. I believe that it may be so adjusted as to give security to the protestant establishment, and to the protestant interests in Ireland; and it is because I believe so, that I am content to abandon the course which I have hitherto pursued, and to give the relief to the Roman catholics which they have so long prayed for. I entreat honourable gentlemen who differ from me in opinion, to consider the altered position of affairs in Ireland, since the annunciation of these measures of grace and favour has been made. To be defeated now—to throw the question back upon us, when a greater calm has been produced in Ireland than I ever knew to exist there—when there is no spirit of vulgar triumph displayed on the part of the Roman catholics, and, in justice to the protestants, I must say it, when their disappointment has been marked by the most patient submission—to lose the advantage which we have now gained, and to reject the conciliation which is within our grasp, would be attended with consequences so fatal to the repose of the empire, that I cannot even in fancy bear to contemplate them." After two nights' debate, the second reading was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty; the numbers being three hundred and fifty-three to one hundred and seventy-three.

This decisive result was of course regarded as a triumph of infinite value to the nation by the catholics and their advocates; but by a large portion of the nation with displeasure; and by the king with melancholy resignation.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA ATTACKS THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; A HOSTILE MEETING ENSUES; SIR CHARLES WETHERELL IS DEPRIVED OF HIS OFFICE; THE EMANCIPATION BILL PASSES THE COMMONS; IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON MOVES THE SECOND READING WHICH IS CARRIED.

WHILE the important step, which the duke of Wellington had believed himself required by duty to take, was passing through its parliamentary ordeal, he was pursued with the utmost wrath by a considerable portion of the public press; and the angry feelings which have been described led to a serious affair, that might have at once terminated his government and his life. It has been seen, the earl of Winchilsea was one of the most determined opponents of the catholic party in the house of lords; but his lordship did not confine himself to what might be accomplished there; and having occasion to write to the secretary of the committee for establishing king's college—an undertaking which had prospered in a most surprising manner, from being favoured by the duke—his lordship adverted to what was passing in the house of commons, and threw doubts on the sincerity of some of the leading patrons of the new establishment. He deemed their attachment to the constitution very suspicious who could favour catholic emancipation; and the assistance they had rendered to the college, he treated as resorted to in order to conceal their true sentiments. "Late political events," he wrote, "have convinced me, that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the protestant and high church party; that the noble duke, who had, for some time previous to that period, determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of popery into every part of the state."

This having been published, on the 16th of March, the duke wrote to earl Winchilsea, to ask if the letter had been written by his lordship. An answer in the affirmative was necessarily returned, in consequence of which, his grace having called on sir Henry Hardinge to act on his behalf, a claim was made for reparation; and sir Henry, having communicated with lord Falmouth, the friend of the noble earl, gave,

on the 19th of March, the following memorandum of what had taken place:—

"Lord Falmouth having expressed a desire to know the extent of reparation that would be expected, two suggestions, of what appeared to sir Henry Hardinge to be the most natural mode of reparation, were drawn out, upon the distinct understanding that they were not made with a view to confine lord Winchilsea's explanation, either as to the terms or manner therein stated; but as suggestions as to the course which might be pursued in bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. Sir Henry Hardinge, therefore, on the part of the duke of Wellington, expects one of the two following alternatives:—Either that lord Winchilsea should forthwith write to the secretary of the king's college, and express his desire to withdraw his public letter, as one which attributed motives highly offensive to the duke of Wellington, and stating also, that upon reflection, he was not justified in attributing such motives to his grace, and, therefore, expresses his regret at having done so; or that lord Winchilsea should write directly to the duke of Wellington himself, and make the same acknowledgments to his grace, with a similar expression of his regret for having attributed motives highly offensive to his grace, relating to the occasion of his grace having presided at the meeting of the king's college, in — last —

[“Which motives he is now sensible he was not justified in imputing to his grace.”*]

"In either case, it is expected that a letter, so written, should be published by the secretary of the London college in the *Standard*, being the same paper as that which contained lord W.'s original letter.

"Thursday, half-past nine o'clock—evening."

* "Friday morning, March 20th.—The paragraph within crotchets was not desired to be retained, in the last interview with lord Falmouth, last night. H. H."

Lord Winchilsea was not prepared to make the concession required on the part of the duke.

In this state of things, the earl wrote:—
(Memorandum.)

“ March 19th.

“ Whether I may determine to give an explanation of my letter published in the *Standard* on Monday last, will depend upon the correctness of my belief, that I had grounds for the opinions complained of by the noble duke, as therein expressed. I am ready to allow that I was mistaken in my view of the noble duke's conduct, as expressed in my public letter to Mr. Coleridge, on the 14th instant, and to state my regret at having so expressed it, provided the noble duke will state, on his part, that at the time he came forward to preside at the meeting for the establishment of king's college, London, he did not contemplate the measures which are now in progress for Roman catholic emancipation, or, to use Mr. Peel's words, ‘for breaking in upon the constitution of 1688;’ but without some statement to that effect from the noble duke, I cannot withdraw the expressions contained in the above letter.

“(Signed) WINCHILSEA.”

That produced the subjoined—
(Memorandum from the duke of Wellington.)

“ London, March 20th, 1829.

“ In the morning.

“ Sir Henry Hardinge has read me a memorandum written by lord Winchilsea, and delivered to him by lord Falmouth, from which it appears that his lordship is anxious that I should justify myself from the charges against me contained in his lordship's address to Mr. Coleridge, published in the *Standard* newspaper. I may lament that a nobleman for whom I feel the highest respect, entertains a bad opinion of me. But I don't complain, as long as that opinion is not brought before me. I cannot admit that any man has a right to call me before him, to justify myself from the charges which his fancy may suggest. That of which I complain is, that the earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham should have published an opinion, that I was actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. His lordship, unprovoked, has insulted me, by stating in writing, and authorising the publication of this opinion. For this insult I believed, and am not willing to part with the belief, that his lordship will be anxious to give me reparation.

“(Signed) “W.”

Some further notes were exchanged, which, however, only produced, on the part of the earl of Winchilsea, a statement that no “withdrawal of his lordship's public letter, or expression of regret for its contents,” was to be expected; and a hostile meeting was then arranged. The duke's final note was as follows:—

“ London, March 20th, half-past six, P.M.

“ My Lord,—Sir Henry Hardinge has communicated to me a memorandum signed by your lordship, dated one, P.M., and a note from lord Falmouth, dated three, P.M. Since the insult, unprovoked on my part, and not denied by your lordship, I have done everything in my power to induce your lordship to make me reparation—but in vain. Instead of apologising for your own conduct, your lordship has called upon me to explain mine. The question for me now to decide is this—is a gentleman, who happens to be the king's minister, to submit to be insulted by any gentleman who thinks proper to attribute to him disgraceful or criminal motives for his conduct as an individual? I cannot doubt of the decision which I ought to make on this question. Your lordship is alone responsible for the consequences. I now call upon your lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct which a gentleman has a right to require, and which a gentleman never refuses to give.

“ I have the honour, &c.

“(Signed) WELLINGTON.”

“ The earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.”

Lord Winchilsea, having stated, in reply, that, under existing circumstances, he did not feel himself in a situation to concede what was required of him in regard to his letter, but adding, it was impossible to decline giving the satisfaction demanded, a duel was unavoidable. Sir Henry Hardinge became the duke's second; and, on the morning of the 21st of March, they rode to the spot named for the meeting in Battersea-fields, Dr. Hume (an old Peninsular and campaigning friend of his grace), having previously been directed to repair to it. On the doctor's arrival, he was jocosely accosted by the duke of Wellington, with—“ Well, Hume! I suppose you are surprised to find me here?” for the worthy physician was not aware who was the principal for whom his services had been required; but, having been hastily summoned from earl Camden's by sir Henry Hardinge, supposed that gal-

lant officer to be the combatant. In a short time, the earl of Winchilsea and the earl of Falmouth drove up; and the former apologised for being late, in consequence of his coachman having gone to Putney instead of Battersea-bridge. There happened to be a person whetting a scythe in the enclosure where they met; and, to escape observation, they withdrew to a more retired part. Here the ground, twelve paces, was measured; the pistols were produced and loaded; and the parties placed on the ground. It was arranged that sir Henry Hardinge should simply ask, "Are you ready?" and, being answered in the affirmative, give the word, "Fire." Hardly a moment elapsed ere this was done. "Are you ready?" "Yes," distinctly from both. "Fire!" The duke instantly raised his pistol, and fired at his opponent, without effect. The earl of Winchilsea raised his weapon upright, and discharged it in the air.

The earl of Falmouth then approached sir Henry Hardinge, and presented a paper, with which that gentleman and the duke of Wellington walked away a few paces; when his grace, turning round quickly, said—"This is no apology! To be effectual, the word *apology* must be introduced into the body of the document." To this lord Falmouth felt it to be his duty to assent, and the word was accordingly inserted in pencil by that noble lord. It then stood thus:—

"March 21st, 1829.

"Having given the duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood, when his grace communicated with me through sir H. Hardinge and lord Falmouth, on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that in apology I regret having unadvisedly published an opinion which the noble duke states, in his memorandum of yesterday, to have charged him 'with disgraceful and criminal motives, in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago.' I also declare, that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter in question was given to the public.

"(Signed)

"WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM."

The paper being then returned, the duke and his second immediately mounted their horses, and his grace, slightly touching his hat, they rode from the ground.

Having to transact business with the king, a few hours afterwards, the duke repaired to Windsor-castle. Not till the affairs which called him there were arranged, did he mention what had taken place. His majesty had not seen the letter of lord Winchilsea. It was therefore necessary to send for a newspaper containing this document, upon the receipt of which the minister thought it proper to leave his royal master for awhile, to afford leisure for its uninfluenced perusal and consideration. On his return, George expressed himself to the effect, that it was a matter of personal honour and feeling; and that, being a soldier, his grace might, perhaps, be more sensitive on such points than an individual of a different class in society; his majesty therefore supposed that the course pursued had been unavoidable; and rejoiced that it had not led to a more serious result.

The angry speech of sir Charles Wetherell, in opposition to the emancipation bill, did not pass unnoticed. Looking at the determined course which the duke had pursued, in the preceding year, on the occasion of a very slight defection, it caused some surprise, that that learned gentleman should retain the situation he held under the government. He had said, in the debate—"I am still attorney-general, and will remain attorney-general"—meaning, that he would not immediately resign, in consideration of the vote which he was then about to give. It was understood that, considering himself the attorney-general of a protestant king, he had refused to draw up the bill. That he remained attorney-general, however, was explained by the difficulty which would be experienced, if he were removed and succeeded by the solicitor-general, sir Nicholas Tindal; as the new appointment of the latter, which could not well be avoided, would cause a vacancy in the representation of the university of Cambridge; and, after the late defeat of Mr. Peel, at Oxford, ministers had no wish to challenge to a new trial of strength those friends of the church who might be mustered there to defend its interests against catholic innovation. After the furious attack which sir Charles had made on the government measure, the duke was of opinion that, be the consequences what they might, it would not be safe to

have such a malcontent in the ministerial ranks. He accordingly soon received—which he must have expected—a distinct intimation, that his services were no longer required as his majesty's attorney-general. He withdrew, and the office for a time remained vacant. Eventually, it was filled by sir James Scarlett; sir Nicholas Tindal being made chief justice of the common pleas. The second reading of the emancipation bill having been carried by so large a majority as had declared for it, no resistance of importance could be opposed at any subsequent period. It would be tedious, and even impertinent, here to describe the endless conversations which took place, and the numerous amendments which were moved, on various clauses, in the committee. It is enough to mention, that all attempts to modify or abate the character of the measure, failed. On the 30th of March, it reached its final stage, when the third reading was moved by Mr. Peel. An amendment was then offered by the marquis of Chandos—that the bill should be read a third time on that day six months. It gave rise to a new debate, in which the concessions to the catholics were justified, and the course taken by ministers ably vindicated by the solicitor-general, in a speech which concluded with these words:—"If I believed that this concession weakened the protestant faith—in which, I thank God, I have been educated; which, in my manhood and maturer age, has been my comfort; in which I hope to die; for which some of my forefathers have suffered—I should be the last person to advocate the change. It was because I felt well assured that, without this measure, the Irish church would fall, and the English church be in danger, that I gave my humble assistance in bringing it forward. It was on these grounds that I at first gave my concurrence; and it is on these that I shall support it to the end." A new attack was then made on the bill by sir Charles Wetherell, which was answered by Mr. Peel; and, in the division which ensued, the advocates of emancipation numbered three hundred and twenty, to one hundred and forty-two. The bill was read a third time. Two additional clauses were then offered and rejected, when it passed, amidst the exulting shouts of its promoters and supporters.

The Irish qualification of freeholders' bill had previously been introduced. Its object was, to disfranchise the forty-shilling free-

holders. The circumstances under which this had been deemed necessary, were thus explained by Mr. Peel:—"Up to 1825, the forty-shilling freeholders were an instrument, by means of which the protestant landlord maintained his ascendancy; but, at that period, a change was effected in the state of things; the weapon broke short in his hands; it was wielded by other and hostile powers; and there was a prospect that it would only be so wielded to the imminent danger of protestant institutions. Now," he added, "we are about to give the Roman catholic a great benefit: he is at present under a stigma of exclusion and humiliation, and we are about to say to him—'We will place you in your free and natural position; and, in return for such a concession, we are entitled to expect your ready acquiescence in a measure like the present.' In acting thus [in reply to a disparaging remark which had been made], they did not call in their bad halfpence, giving nothing in return; but they called in their bad halfpence, and gave good coin for them." The bill was read a second time on the 19th of March; the numbers for it, on a division, being two hundred and twenty-three to seventeen. It was understood this was to be the attendant of the more important measure; it was regularly advanced with it, and passed with it on the 30th of March. In the upper house, the second reading was moved on the 6th of April. An amendment, to postpone the second reading till that day six months, was rejected by one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen; and it was read a third time, and passed, on the 10th.

On the day after the relief bill was passed in the house of commons, Mr. Peel, with something more than the customary formality, appeared with it, attended by a crowd of members, at the bar of the house of lords; the freeholders' qualification bill being presented to their lordships at the same time. The first reading of the catholic relief bill was moved by the duke of Wellington. It was read accordingly, and his grace then moved that it should be read a second time on the next day but one. Lord Bexley, upon that, expressed a hope that the noble duke would not attempt to carry the measure through with such precipitation. He reminded the house of the course which had been pursued with former measures, and gave it as his opinion, if the noble duke consulted what was due to his own character, what was due to the dignity

of the house, and, above all, what was due to public feeling, he would allow the usual time for considering a bill of such paramount public importance. The duke of Wellington said:—"My lords, respect for the importance of this question—respect for the dignity of this house—respect for the declaration made by his majesty, in his most gracious speech at the opening of the session—respect for the address which the house presented to his majesty in reply to his most gracious speech; and I hope I may be permitted to add, respect for my own character, would induce me to avoid acting with precipitation on this measure. I am anxious to state to your lordships the grounds on which I rest it for your consideration, and on which I call upon you to rest your decision. I beg your lordships to recollect, that the second reading of this bill is the first stage at which you can deliberate on the principle of the question it involves; for although, on the presentation of petitions, we have, for the last six weeks, been perpetually adverting to it, it has never yet been brought fairly under discussion. It cannot, therefore, appear extraordinary, I trust, to any of your lordships, that I should be anxious to take the first opportunity to enable your lordships to come openly and fairly to a full discussion of it. The noble baron on the cross-bench (Lord Bexley) has produced various precedents to prove, that, upon former occasions, when bills, similar in principle to the present, were introduced into your lordships' house, they were not brought under discussion without a week's or a fortnight's, or, in some cases, a month's previous notice. I do not mean to dispute those precedents; but I would ask the noble baron, are there not many other important subjects which your lordships have discussed, in as short an interval after their introduction into your house; especially when they were brought under consideration on the first day of the session, in the speech from the throne? Under these circumstances, considering how desirable it is, that your lordships should come to a decision upon this measure—considering how desirable it is, that the agitation of this question should be speedily brought to a close—I entreat your lordships to let me proceed to the second reading of this bill upon Thursday next, if it should be printed and in your hands to-morrow. For the reasons, and under the circumstances which I have stated, I must,

my lords, persevere in my original intention."

It was on the 2nd of April, that the duke of Wellington moved the second reading of the bill. He apologised for taking up so much of their lordships' time, as he must do on that occasion, but he would not occupy them one instant with what related to himself, further than to express regret that he should differ in opinion with regard to this measure from many of those for whom he entertained the highest regard and esteem. To the state of Ireland he would first call their attention. "My lords," said his grace, "they tell us, that Ireland has been disturbed for the last thirty years—that it is a disturbance we have been accustomed to—and that, therefore, it does not at all alter the circumstances of the case as they have hitherto appeared in this house. It is perfectly true, that Ireland has been disturbed during the long period I have stated; but within the last year or two, political circumstances have, in no small degree, occasioned that agitation. Besides that, I must say—although I have no positive legal proof of the fact—I have every reason to believe there has been a considerable organisation of the people, for the purposes of mischief. My lords, this organisation is, it appears to me, to be proved; not only by the declarations of those who formed and arranged it, but likewise by the effects which it has produced in the election of churchwardens throughout the country—in the circumstances attending the election for the county of Clare—in the circumstances that preceded and followed that election—in the proceedings of the gentleman who went, at the head of a body of men, to the north of Ireland—in the simultaneous proceedings of various bodies of men in the south of Ireland, in Templemore, Killenaule, Cahir, Clonmel, and other places—in the proceedings of another gentleman in the King's County; and in the recall of the former gentleman from the north of Ireland by the Roman catholic association. In all these circumstances it is quite obvious to me, that there was an organisation and direction of the people, proceeding from some superior authority; and this organisation has certainly produced a state of society in Ireland which we have not heretofore witnessed, and an aggravation of all the evils which had before afflicted that unfortunate country. My lords, late in the year a considerable town was attacked,

in the middle of the night, by a body of people who came from the neighbouring mountains—the town of Augher. They attacked it with arms, and were driven from it with arms by the inhabitants of the town. Later in the year, a similar event happened in Charleville; and in the course of last autumn, the Roman catholic association deliberated upon the propriety of adopting, and the means of adopting the measure of ceasing all dealings between Roman catholics and protestants. Is it possible to believe, that supposing these dealings had ceased—supposing this measure had been carried into execution—as I firmly believe it was in the power of those who deliberated upon it to carry it into execution—is it possible to believe that those who could thus cease these dealings would not likewise have ceased to carry into execution the contracts into which they had entered? Will any man say, that people in this condition are not verging towards that state, in which it would be impossible to expect from them that they would be able to perform the duties of jurymen, or to administer justice between man and man, for the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects. My lords, this is the state of society to which I have wished to call your attention, and for which it is necessary that parliament should provide a remedy. I wish to show your lordships what is the effect of this state of society upon the king's prerogative. My lords, his majesty could not create a peer; and the reason he could not create a peer was this—his majesty's servants could not venture to recommend to him to incur the risks of an election in another part of the country, and the risks which might have attended any accident at that election, which might have occasioned the shedding of blood. Such a disaster must have been productive of an immediate civil war in the country; but not only was that the case, my lords, but I confess, that I had the strongest objection to give another triumph to the Roman catholic association. Then we are asked—'Why do you not carry the law into execution?' Why, any lords, in all that I have stated hitherto, there was no resistance to the law. The magistrates were terrified, and did nothing; the troops did not happen immediately to be on the spot, and there was no resistance. There were no troops, except in the case of the procession, that went to the north of Ireland. I believe

there was no instance of any opposition to the king's troops, and there was no instance in which the law could be carried into execution. In England, when the law was carried into execution, in the year 1819, a large body of persons assembled for an illegal purpose; they resisted the order of the magistrates to disperse, and, having resisted that order, the magistrates ordered the troops to disperse them; but, in this case, there were no circumstances of the same kind: no order was given to disperse; no order could be given to disperse, because no magistrates were present; and if they had been present, there were no troops to disperse them. The truth is, the state of society was such as rendered these events possible every hour; and it was impossible that the magistrates could be at every spot, and at all times, to put an end to these outrages, which really are a disgrace to the country in which they exist. But neither the law, nor the means in the possession of government, enable government to put an end to these things. It was necessary, therefore, to come to parliament. Now, let us see what chance there was of providing a remedy for this state of things by coming to parliament. My lords, we all recollect perfectly well, that the opinion of the majority of another place is, that the remedy for this state of things in Ireland, is a repeal of the disabilities affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects. We might, to be sure, have come and asked parliament to enable us to put down the Roman catholic association; but what chance had we of prevailing upon parliament to pass such a bill as that, without being prepared to come forward and state, that we were ready to consider the whole condition of Ireland, with a view to apply a remedy to that which parliament had stated to be the cause of the disease? Suppose that parliament had given us the bill to put down the Roman catholic association, would such a law as that which has passed this year be a remedy for the state of things I have already described to your lordships, as existing in Ireland? Would it, I ask, do any one thing towards putting an end to the organisation which I have stated to your lordships to exist? Would it do anything towards putting down the mischiefs which are the consequences of that organisation? Would it do anything towards giving you the means of getting a better state of things in Ireland, without some further measure to be adopted? But it is said, 'If that will not do, let us

proceed to blows.' What I suppose is meant by proceeding to blows, is coming to civil war. Now, I believe that every government must be prepared to carry into execution the laws of the country by the force placed at its disposition—by the military force, in case that should be necessary; and, above all things, to oppose resistance to the law, in case the disaffected, or ill-disposed, are inclined to resist the authority or sentence of the law; but, as I have already stated to your lordships, there was no resistance of the law—nay, more, I will go further, and say, I am positively certain, that this state of things existing in Ireland for the last year and a-half, bordering upon civil war, might have continued a considerable time longer, to the great injury and disgrace of the country, and those who managed the state, if the catholic leaders had taken care to prevent such resistance as might have ended in that state of things being put down by force. They know as well as I do, they are not strong enough to wrestle with the king's government, backed by the law; they know perfectly well, they would have been the first victims of that resistance; but knowing this, and knowing, as I do, that they are sensible, able men, and perfectly aware of the materials upon which they have to work, I have not the smallest doubt, that the state of things which I have named to your lordships, would have continued for years, and that you would never have had an opportunity of putting it down in the manner some noble lords imagine. But, even if I had been certain of possessing such means, I should certainly have considered it my duty to avoid resorting to those means. I am one of those who have been engaged in war beyond most men, and, unfortunately, principally in civil war; and I must say this, that at any sacrifice whatever, I would avoid every approach to civil war. I would do all I could—even sacrifice my life—to prevent such a catastrophe. Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity as civil war; nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralise and degrade as such a conflict, in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour—that of the father against the son, and of the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against his master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. Yet, my lords, this is the resource

to which we must have looked: these are the means to which we must have applied in order to have put an end to this state of things, if we had not made the option of bringing forward the measures, for which I hold myself responsible." His grace continued:—"But let us look a little further, my lords. If civil war is so bad when it is occasioned by resistance to the government: if it is so bad in the case I have stated, and so much to be avoided—how much more is it to be avoided when we have to arm the people, in order that we may conquer one part of them by exciting the other part against them? My lords, I am sure there is not a man who hears me, whose blood would not shudder at such a proposition if it were made to him; and yet that is the resource to which we should be pushed at last, by continuing the course we have been adopting for the last few years. However, I entreat your lordships, not only to look at it in this view, but likewise to revert a little to what passed on a former similar occasion. My lords, I am old enough to remember the rebellion in 1798. I was not employed in Ireland at the time; I was employed in another part of the king's dominions; but, if I am not mistaken, the parliament of Ireland at that time went up to the lord-lieutenant with an unanimous address (I believe they walked up in a body), beseeching his excellency to take every means to put down that unnatural rebellion, and promising their full support, in order to carry that measure into execution. The lord-lieutenant did take those measures, and did succeed in putting down the rebellion. Well, my lords, what happened in the very next session? The government proposed to put an end to the Irish parliament, and to form a legislative union between the two kingdoms, for the principal purpose of proposing this very measure; and, in point of fact, the very first measure that was proposed after this legislative union—after those successful endeavours to put down this rebellion—was the very measure with which I am now about to trouble your lordships. Why, then, I ask, is it possible noble lords can believe that—supposing there was such a contest as that which I have anticipated—is it possible that noble lords can believe such a contest can be carried on, much less brought to a conclusion, without the measure which I now propose, being, as it is, insisted on by one if not both houses of parliament? I

am certain, when your lordships look at the division of opinion which prevails in both houses of parliament on this question—when you look at the division of opinion which prevails in every family in this country, and in Ireland, from the most eminent in station down to the lowest—when you look at the division of opinion which prevails amongst even the protestants of Ireland—when your lordships look at these circumstances, I am sure you will perceive the vast difference there would be between a contest carried on now, and that which was carried on at a former period.

“My lords, I beg your lordships to recollect, that upon a recent occasion, there was a protestant declaration of the sentiments of Ireland. As I said before, the parliament of Ireland, in the year 1798, with the exception of one or two persons, were unanimous; and, on a recent occasion, there were seven marquises, twenty-seven earls, a vast number of peers of other ranks, and not fewer than two thousand protestant gentlemen of property in the country, who signed the declaration, stating the absolute necessity of making these concessions. Under these circumstances it is, that this contest would have been carried on—circumstances totally different from those which existed at the period I before alluded to. But is it possible to believe, that parliament would allow such a contest to go on? Is it possible to believe, that parliament, having this state of things before them—that this house, seeing what the opinion of the other house of parliament is—seeing what the opinion of the large number of protestants in Ireland is—seeing what the opinion of nearly every statesman, for the last forty years, has been on this question, would continue to oppose itself to measures brought forward for its settlement? It appears to me absolutely impossible, that we could have gone on longer, without increasing difficulties being brought on the country.”

Proceeding to examine the value of the disabilities, the duke said:—“It is very desirable that your lordships should look a little to what benefit is to be derived, to any one class in the state, by continuing the disabilities, and only taking those coercive measures, which will have all the evils which I have stated. We are told, that the benefit will be to preserve the principles of the constitution of 1688—that the measures of 1688 permanently excluded Roman catholics from parliament—and that their being so

permanently excluded from parliament, it is necessary to have recourse to all those evils, in order to keep up that permanent exclusion. Now, I wish very much that noble lords would take upon themselves the trouble I have taken, to see how the matter stands as to the permanent exclusion of Roman catholics from parliament. My lords, in the bill of rights, there are some things permanently enacted, which I sincerely hope will be permanent: those are, the liberties of the people; the security for the protestantism of the person on the throne of these kingdoms; and that he shall not be married to a papist. Then there is an oath of allegiance and supremacy, to be taken by all those of whom that oath of allegiance is required, which is also permanent; but there is no declaration against transubstantiation. There is also an oath of allegiance, different from that which is required to be taken by a member of parliament. I beg your lordships will observe, that although this oath of allegiance was declared to be permanent, it was altered in the reign of William and Mary. This shows what that permanent act was. Then with respect to the oaths to be taken by members of parliament, I beg your lordships to observe, that these oaths, the declaration against transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, are not in the act of William III., but in the act of 30th Charles II. During the reign of Charles II., there were certain oaths imposed, first on dissenters from the church of England, by the 13th and 14th Charles II.; and to exclude Roman catholics, by the 25th and 30th Charles II. At the period of the revolution, when king William came, he thought proper to extend the basis of his government, and he repealed the oaths affecting the dissenters from the church of England, imposed by the 13th and 14th Charles II.; and likewise that affirmative part of the oath of supremacy, which dissenters from the church of England could not take. This is the history of the alteration of these oaths by William III., from the time of Charles II. But, my lords, the remainder of the oath could be taken by dissenters, but could not be taken by Roman catholics. The danger, with respect to Roman catholics, had originated in the time of Charles II., and these oaths still existed in the time of William III.; but the oath was altered; because one of the great principles of the revolution was, to limit the exclusion from the benefits of the

constitution as far as it was possible. Therefore, we have the great principle of the revolution, as well as the principle I before stated, which consisted of the bill of rights and liberties of the subject. Now, the noble lords state, that what they call the principle of 1688—that is to say, these oaths excluding Roman catholics—are equally permanent with the bill of rights, by which the protestantism of the crown is secured. If noble lords will do me the favour to look at the words of the act—I have it ready—they will find that the difference between the two things, is just the difference between that which is permanent and that which is not. The bill of rights declares that the protestantism of the crown shall last for ever—that the liberties of the people shall be secured for ever; but it is remarkable, that as to these oaths, which were enacted on the same occasion, not one word is said about their lasting for ever, or as to how long they should last. Well, then, my lords, what follows? The next act we have, is the act of union with Scotland; and what does that act say? Why, that the oaths to be taken by the members of parliament are to be laid down by the 1st of William and Mary, until parliament shall otherwise direct. This is what is called a 'permanent act of parliament—a permanent provision, for all future periods, to exclude catholics from parliament!' My lords, I beg to observe, that if the act which excludes Roman catholics from seats in parliament is permanent, there is another clause (I believe the 10th of cap. 8, 1st of William and Mary) which requires officers of the army and navy to take these very oaths, previous to their acceptance of their commissions. Now, if the act, made in the first year of William and Mary, which excludes Roman catholics from parliament is permanent, I should like to ask noble lords, why the clause in that act is not equally permanent? I should like to ask the noble and learned lord on the cross-bench to answer that question. If the oaths were permanent in the one case, they were equally so in the other; and yet the noble and learned lord consented to the bill of 1817, which repealed oaths required to be taken by officers of the army and navy. I suppose the noble and learned lord will answer my question by saying, that one act was permanent, and ought to be permanently maintained; but that the other act was not permanent, and the parliament did right in re-

pealing it in 1817. But the truth of the matter is, that neither act was intended to be permanent. The parliament of queen Anne recognised, by the act of union, that the first act relating to seats in parliament was not permanent; and the noble and learned lord did quite right when he consented to the act of 1817, which put an end to the tenth clause of the 1st of William III., cap. 8. Then, if this principle of exclusion—if this principle of the constitution of 1688, as it is called—be not permanent, not only by the act of union with Scotland (in which it is said that the exclusive oath shall continue until parliament shall otherwise provide), but also by the later act of union with Ireland, I would ask your lordships, whether you are not at liberty now to consider the expediency of doing away with it altogether, in order to relieve the country from the inconveniences to which I have already adverted? I would ask your lordships, whether you are not called upon to review the state of the representation of Ireland—whether you are not called upon to see, whether, even supposing that that principle were a permanent one, it is fit that parliament should remain as it has remained for some time, groaning under a popish influence, exercised by the priests over the elections in Ireland? I would ask your lordships, I repeat, whether it be not right to make an arrangement, which has for its object, not only the settlement of this question, but at the same time, to relieve the country from the inconveniences which I have mentioned? I have already stated the manner in which the organisation I have already alluded to, works upon all the great interests of the country; but I wish your lordships particularly to attend to the manner in which it works upon the church itself. That part of the church of England which exists in Ireland, is in a very peculiar situation: it is the church of the minority of the people. At the same time, I believe, that a more exemplary, a more pious, and a more learned body of men, than the members of that church, do not exist. The clergy of that church certainly enjoy, and deserve the affections of those whom they were sent to instruct, in the same degree as their brethren in England enjoy the affections of the people of this country; and I have no doubt that they would, if necessary, shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the doctrines and discipline. But violence, I apprehend, is

likely to affect the interests of that church; and I would put it to the house, whether that church can be better protected from violence by a government united in itself, united with parliament, and united in sentiment with the great body of the people; or by a government disunited in opinion, disunited from parliament, and by the two houses of parliament disunited? I am certain that no man can look at the situation of Ireland, without seeing that the interest of the church, as well as the interest of every class of persons under government, is involved in such a settlement of this question, as will bring with it strength to the government and strength to every department of the state.

"Having now, my lords, gone through the general principles which have induced me to consider it desirable to bring forward this measure, I will trouble your lordships, for a short time longer, whilst I explain, generally, the provisions of the bill before the house.

"My lords, the bill is, in itself, very simple. It concedes to the Roman catholics the power of holding every office in the state, excepting a few connected with the administration of the church; and it also concedes to them the power of becoming members of parliament. I believe it goes further, with respect to the concession of offices, than any former measure which has been introduced into the other house of parliament. I confess, that the reason which has induced me to consider it my duty to make such large concessions now, arose out of the effects which I saw following the acts passed in the years 1782 and 1793. I have seen, that any restriction has only had the effect of increasing the demands of the Roman catholics, and, at the same time, of giving them fresh power to enforce those demands. I have, therefore, considered it my duty, in making this act of concession, to make it as large as any reasonable man could expect it to be; seeing clearly, that anything which remained behind, would only give ground for fresh demands; and being convinced, that the settlement of this question would tend to the security of the state, and to the peace and prosperity of the country.

"I have already stated to your lordships my opinion respecting the expediency of granting seats in parliament to Roman catholics; and I do not conceive that the concession of seats in parliament can, in any manner, affect any question relative to the church of England. In the first place,

I beg your lordships to recollect, that, at the time those acts—to which I have before alluded; the one, passed in the 30th Charles II.; and the other at the period of the revolution—were enacted, it was not the church that was in danger; it was the state. It was the state that was in danger—and from what? It was not because the safety of the church was threatened. No! but it was because the sovereign on the throne was suspected of popery; and because the successor to the throne was actually a papist. Those laws were adopted, because of the existence of a danger which threatened the state, and not of one which threatened the church. On the contrary, at that period, danger to the church was apprehended, not from the Roman catholics, but from the dissenters from the church of England. I would ask of your lordships, all of whom have read the history of those times, whether any danger to the church was apprehended from the Roman catholics? No! danger to the church was apprehended from the dissenters, who had become powerful, by the privileges granted to them under the act of parliament passed at the period of the revolution. I think, therefore, that it is not necessary for me to enter into any justification of myself, for having adopted this measure, on account of any danger which might be apprehended from it to the church. Roman catholics will come into parliament, by this bill, as they went into parliament previous to the act of the 30th of Charles II. They sat in parliament, up to that period, and were not obliged to take the oath of supremacy. By this bill, they will be required to take the oath of allegiance, in which a great part of the oath of supremacy is included; namely, that part which refers to the jurisdiction of foreign potentates; and I must say, that if the church be in danger, it is better secured by this bill than by the 30th Charles II., which has continued in force up to the present moment; though the object for which that act was recognised, at the period of the revolution—namely, to keep out the house of Stuart from the throne—has long since ceased to exist, by the extinction of that family. It is the opinion of nearly every considerate man in the country, that the time is now arrived for repealing those laws. Circumstances have been gradually moving to their repeal ever since the extinction of the house of Stuart; and, at last, the period is come, when it is quite clear, that that repeal cannot with safety be any longer

delayed. But I know, that there are many in your lordships' house, and many in the country, who think—and I admit that, formerly, I was of the same opinion—that the state ought to have some security for the church, against the proceedings of the Roman catholic clergy, besides the oaths imposed by the act of parliament I have already alluded to. But I confess that, on examining into the question, and looking more minutely than I had before an opportunity of doing, at the various acts of parliament by which the church of England was constituted, and which form the foundation on which it rests, I can think of no sort of arrangements capable of being carried into execution in this country, which can add to the security of the established church. I beg your lordships to attend for a moment, whilst I explain the situation of the kingdom of Prussia with respect to the Roman catholic religion. The king of Prussia exercises the power which he holds over the Roman catholic church, in his various dominions, under different concordats made with the pope: in Silesia, under a concordat made with the sovereigns of the house of Austria and the pope; on the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, under a concordat made with Buonaparte and the pope; and in the territories on the right bank of the Rhine, under a concordat made with the former sovereigns of those countries and the pope. Each of those concordats supposes that the pope possesses some power in the country, which he is enabled to concede to the sovereign with whom the concordat was made. That is a point which I can never yield to any sovereign whatever. There is no sovereign, be he whom he may, who has any power, in this country, to yield up to his majesty. We must keep our sovereign clear from such transactions. We can have no security of that description—not even a veto on the appointment of a Roman catholic bishop—without detracting, in some degree, from the authority and dignity of the sovereign, and without admitting that the pope has something to concede to his majesty.

“Now, let your lordships suppose another security. Suppose it were arranged that his majesty should have the nomination of the catholic bishops: if he nominated them, he must also give them a jurisdiction; he must give them a diocese. I should like to know, in what part of Ireland or England the king could fix upon a spot where he

could, consistently with the oath he had taken, nominate a catholic bishop, or give him a diocese? The king is sworn to maintain the rights and privileges of the bishops, and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge. Now, consistently with that oath, how could the king appoint a bishop of the Roman catholic religion? and would not the established church lose more than it gained, by the assumption of such a power on the part of his majesty? Now, there is another security which some noble lords think it desirable to have; namely, the obtaining, by government, of copies of all correspondence between the catholic clergy and the court of Rome; and the supervising of that correspondence, in order to prevent any danger resulting to the established church. Upon that point, I must say, that I feel the greatest objection to involve the government of this country in such matters. That correspondence, your lordships are told, turns upon spiritual affairs. But I will suppose that it turns upon questions of excommunication. Is it, then, to be suffered, that the pope and his majesty, or his majesty's secretary of state, acting for him, should make laws for this country?—for that would be the result of communications between the catholic clergy of this realm and the pope, being submitted to his majesty's inspection, or to the inspection of his majesty's secretary of state. Such a security amounts to a breach of the constitution; and it is quite impossible that it could be made available. It would do more injury to the constitution, and to the church, than anything which can be done by the Roman catholics themselves being placed, by this bill, in the same situation as dissenters. With respect to communications with the court of Rome, that has already been provided against and prevented, by laws still in existence. Your lordships are aware, that those laws, like many others regarding the Roman catholic religion, are not strictly enforced; but if they should be abused—if the conduct of those persons, whose actions those laws were intended to regulate, should be such as to render necessary the interference of government, the very measure which is now before your lordships will enable government to interfere in such a manner, as not only to answer the object of its interference, but also to give satisfaction to your lordships and to the country.

“Another part of the bill has for its object

the putting an end to the order of the jesuits, and other monastic orders in this country. If your lordships will look at the act passed in the year 1791, you will probably see that, at that time, it was possible to make laws through which a coach-and-four might be driven. My noble and learned friend will excuse me, I hope, for saying, that notwithstanding all the pains he took to draw up the act of 1791, yet the fact is—of which there cannot be the smallest doubt—that large monastic establishments have been regularly formed, not only in Ireland, but also in this country. The measure which I now propose for your lordships' adoption, will prevent the increase of such establishments, and, without oppression to individuals—without injury to any body of men, will gradually put an end to those which have already been formed. There is no man more convinced than I am of the absolute necessity of carrying into execution that part of the present measure, which has for its object the extinction of monastic orders in this country. I entertain no doubt whatever, that if that part of the measure be not carried into execution, your lordships will very soon see this country and Ireland inundated by jesuits and regular monastic clergy, sent out from other parts of Europe, with means to establish themselves within his majesty's kingdom." He continued:—"When I recommend this measure to your attention, you undoubtedly have a right to ask, what are the reasons which I have for believing that it will effect the purpose for which it is intended? My lords, I believe it will answer its object, not only from the example of all Europe, but from what has occurred in a part of this kingdom on a former occasion. If I am not mistaken, at the time of the dispute between the episcopalians and the church of Scotland, the state of society in Scotland was as bad as the state of society in Ireland is at the present moment. Your lordships know, that abroad, in consequence of the diffusion of civil privileges to all classes (the difference between protestant and catholic), I am certain that I can prove to your lordships what I state, when I say, that the state of society in Scotland, previous to the concession of civil privileges to the episcopalians, was as bad as the present state of society in Ireland. I hope your lordships will give me leave to read a petition which has been sent to me this day, and which was presented to parliament at the period when those conces-

sions were about to be made; and your lordships will perceive that the petition is almost a model of many of the petitions which have been read in your lordships' house respecting the question under discussion. I am, therefore, in expectation, that should the present bill pass your lordships' house, there will be no longer occasion for those complaints which have been expressed to your lordships, and that the same happy and peaceful state of things which has for the last century prevailed in Scotland, will also prevail in Ireland. I will, with your permission, read the petition I have alluded to; and I think, that after you have heard it, you will be of the same opinion as I am with respect to the similarity it bears to many of the petitions which have been presented to your lordships, on the subject of the catholic question. The petition states, that 'to grant toleration to that party (the episcopalians), in the present circumstances of the church, must unavoidably shake the foundations of our present happy constitution; overthrow those laws on which it is settled; grievously disturb that peace and tranquillity which the nation has enjoyed since the late revolution; disquiet the minds of his majesty's best subjects; increase animosity; confirm discord and tumult; weaken and enervate the discipline of the church; open a door to unheard-of vices, and to popery, as well as to other errors; propagate and cherish disaffection to the government, and bring the nation under the danger of falling back into those errors from which it has recovered itself.' The petition, in conclusion, stated, 'that to grant toleration to the episcopalians would be to establish iniquity by law; and they, therefore, prayed the members of the high court of parliament to uphold and preserve the laws.' I sincerely hope, that as the prophecy contained in the petition I have just read has not been fulfilled, a similar prophecy respecting the passing of the present bill, contained in many of the petitions presented to your lordships, will not be fulfilled likewise." In conclusion, the duke said:—"But I have other grounds, besides those which I have stated, for supposing that the proposed measure will answer the object in view. There is no doubt, that after this measure shall be adopted, the Roman catholics can have no separate interest, as a separate sect; for I am sure, that neither your lordships nor the other house of parliament will be disposed to look upon the Roman



The New Houses of Parliament.

catholics, nor upon anything that respects Ireland with any other eye than that with which you behold whatever affects the interests of Scotland or of this country. For my own part, I will state, that if I am disappointed in the hopes which I entertain, that tranquillity will result from this measure, I shall have no scruple in coming down and laying before parliament the state of the case, and calling upon parliament to enable government to meet whatever danger may arise. I shall act with the same confidence that parliament will support me then, as I have acted in the present case." He concluded, repeating that the call now made on their lordships was grounded on the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of finding any other remedy for the state of things that existed in Ireland, and beseeching the house to consider the whole subject with the coolness, moderation, and temper, which had been recommended to them in his majesty's speech.

The motion was opposed by Dr. Hawley, archbishop of Canterbury, who stated at some length the grounds on which he resisted the measure. It had been said, give all that is asked, and you will then find ample security in the gratitude of the Roman catholics. It was a common saying, that the gratitude of large bodies of men was not very much to be relied upon, and the truth of the observation appeared to him to be verified by the conduct of the priests of Ireland, and of the Roman catholic population of that country. Much had been conceded to them at various times, but still they were not thankful. Looking at the use they had hitherto made of the political power placed in their hands—from a review of that, he thought there was just reason to apprehend that a further extension of that power would not be better employed. When he considered the liberality of government in establishing and supporting, at the public expense, the college of Maynooth, for the purpose of educating the Roman catholic priesthood; when he saw that many of those who were educated there, connected themselves with the catholic association, and set the laws at defiance by lending themselves to the exaction of a tax, under the name of the "catholic rent;" when he saw that they converted their houses of worship into places of public meeting for factious purposes, he entertained little hope that new concessions would produce tranquillity, with all those attendant

blessings which were expected to follow in its train. As a Christian bishop, he felt it was his duty to oppose it without intemperance or anger, purely from a regard to the interests of the protestant church. He moved as an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time on that day six months. The amendment was supported by the archbishop of Armagh, the duke of Richmond, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Harewood, the bishop of London, the marquis of Salisbury, the earl of Enniskillen, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, lord Tenterden, the earl of Falmouth, the earl of Guildford, earl Sidmouth, and the earl of Eldon. The bill was defended and advocated by the bishop of Oxford, earl Somers, the earl of Wicklow, the duke of Sussex, lord Goderich, lord Lilford, and lord Plunkett. The debate was continued through three nights. At its close, the duke of Wellington, in reply, thought it necessary to offer some explanations in answer to the objections which had been made to the course which he and his colleagues had pursued. A most reverend prelate "had averred, that the laws were not executed against the catholic association. He must remind their lordships, that he had stated last year that it was extremely desirable, before anything was done for the Roman catholics, that a period of tranquillity should be obtained. But although that was his opinion (and he believed that opinion to be just), and although he endeavoured to find the means of proceeding against the association for their conduct, yet, being of opinion that it was essential to the interests of the country to bring forward this measure, it would not have been his duty to refrain from so doing, whatever might have been the conduct of the catholic association; not that that conduct was what he wished it had been. He reminded their lordships, that he had deemed it his duty to propose to parliament, in the first instance, a measure to put down the catholic association, and which had so far answered its object, that now there had been, for some time, comparative tranquillity in Ireland. Another point to which it was necessary for him to refer, was the repeated assertion of some noble lords, supported by the opinion of some of the right reverend bench, that the measure was dangerous to the church of England in Ireland: he called upon those who apprehended any degree of danger in that quarter, to state whether it resulted from legislation or from violence. If from

legislation, their apprehension was clearly puerile; for it was impossible to suppose, that the small number of persons which the present measure would admit into this house, and the few who might possibly obtain seats in the other, considering that we had a protestant sovereign on the throne, could afford any ground for apprehending danger from legislation to the church of England in Ireland. He would further observe on this point, that a fundamental article of the union of the two countries, was the union of the two churches, which then became the united church of England and Ireland; and it was impossible that any mischief could happen to the Irish branch of this united church without destroying the union of the two countries. Another point to which he begged to advert was this: that although it was true that we did admit Roman catholics to parliament, yet, at the same time, no other measure had been brought forward upon which an equal degree of reliance was placed, as upon that by which a provision was made for obviating the effects of the influence of the priesthood in elections." He added:—"We have carefully examined the measure, and think it will give additional security to all the interests of the state. Another subject to which I wish to advert, is a charge brought against several of my colleagues, and also against myself, by the noble earl on the cross-bench, of a want of consistency in our conduct. My lords, I admit that many of my colleagues, as well as myself, did, on former occasions, vote against a similar measure: and, my lords, I must say, that my colleagues and myself felt, when we adopted this, that we should be sacrificing ourselves and our popularity to that which we felt to be our duty to our sovereign and our country. We know very well, that if we had chosen to put ourselves at the head of the protestant cry of 'no popery,' we should be much more popular even than those who have excited against that very cry; but we felt, that in doing so, we should have left on the interests of the country a burden which must end in bearing them down; and further, that we should have deserved the hate and execration of our countrymen. A noble earl has mentioned, in terms of civility, the services which he says I have rendered to the country; but I must tell the noble earl, that be those services what they may, I rendered them through good repute and through bad repute; and that I was never prevented from

rendering them by any cry which was excited against me at the moment."

Adverting then to a charge which had been brought against him by the earl of Eldon, his grace said:—"I am accused, by a noble and learned friend, of acting with great secrecy respecting this measure. Now, I beg to tell him I am sorry, that in the course of these discussions anything should have passed which have been unpleasant to my noble and learned friend; but I also beg to tell him, that he has done that to me in the course of this discussion, which he accuses others of doing to him; in other words, he has, in the language of a right honourable friend of his and mine, 'thrown a large paving-stone instead of a pebble.' If my noble and learned friend accuses me of acting with secrecy on this question, he does not altogether use me fairly. He knows, as well as I do, how the cabinet was constructed on this question; and I ask him, had I a right to say a single word to any man whatsoever upon this measure, until the party first and most interested in the kingdom had given his consent to my speaking out? I say, that before my noble and learned friend accused me of secrecy, and of improper secrecy, too, he ought to have known the precise day upon which I received that permission from the highest personage in the country; and he ought not to have accused me of improper conduct till then. There is another point on which a noble earl has accused me; and that is, that I did not at once dissolve the parliament. Now, I must say, that I think noble lords are mistaken in the notion of the benefits which they think they would derive from a dissolution of the parliament. I believe that many of them are not aware of the consequences and the inconveniences of a dissolution of parliament at any time. But when I know, as I did know, and as I do know, the state of the elective franchise in Ireland; when I recollected the number of men it took to watch one election which took place in Ireland in the course of the summer; when I know the consequences which a dissolution would produce on the return to the house of commons—to say nothing of the risks which must have been incurred at each election; of collisions that might have led to something little short of civil war—I say, that knowing all these things, I should have been wanting in duty to my sovereign and to my country, if I had advised his majesty to dissolve his parliament. I shall not de-

tain the house any further except to observe, that I could not allow the house to come to a vote on this subject without justifying myself on the various points adverted to in the course of the debate. I can assure your lordships, that I have not intended to say anything unpleasant to the feelings of others. I have only been anxious to vindicate myself and my colleagues from some unfair and unfounded imputations which have been cast upon us."

The earl of Eldon, in explanation, assured the noble duke, that he had never thrown either "a great paving-stone or a small pebble" against him, and had not accused him of acting with improper secrecy on the question. What he had said was, that it would have been better if he had not mentioned his intentions on this subject till he was able to explain every detail of the measure he proposed to bring forward. He thought the country had been taken by sur-

prise in consequence of two circumstances—one of them, the speech which the noble duke made upon this subject at the close of the last session; and the other, the publication of his letter to Dr. Curtis. He blamed not the noble duke for the publication of that letter; on the contrary, he thought he had been extremely ill-used by its being published without his consent.

The earl of Falmouth, also, in explanation, denied that anything had fallen from his lips to raise an outcry against the duke of Wellington, and repelled with scorn the insinuation that he had ever attempted anything of the kind.

On the 4th of April, their lordships divided, when the numbers were—Content, present, one hundred and forty-seven; proxies, seventy: two hundred and seventeen. Not content, present, seventy-nine; proxies, thirty-three: one hundred and twelve.

CHAPTER XV.

QUALIFICATION OF IRISH FREEHOLDERS' BILL; THE RELIEF BILL IN COMMITTEE; WELLINGTON REPELS A CHARGE UNDERSTOOD TO BE PREFERRED BY LORD ELDON; DISTRESSED STATE OF GEORGE IV.; AFFRONTS OFFERED TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; SPEECHES ON THE THIRD READING OF THE RELIEF BILL; THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION BILL IS PASSED; APPEAL TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY; A STATUE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON PROPOSED TO BE ERRECTED IN DUBLIN.

THE second reading of the qualification of freeholders' (Ireland) bill was carried on the 6th of April. On this occasion, the duke of Wellington said—"It was his duty to state to their lordships, the nature of the measure submitted to parliament with the catholic relief bill, in consequence of the recommendation from the throne, namely, a bill "for regulating the qualification of persons voting at elections for counties in Ireland. The Irish act of 1793, gave to the catholics of Ireland the power of voting in elections of members to serve in parliament; and, very shortly after that period, an evil practice commenced, which had since grown to such magnitude as excited the attention of parliament about five years ago, and, at the present moment, called for an immediate and effectual remedy. Shortly after the passing of the act of 1793, certain persons in possession of leases of land, for one or

more lives, under the proprietors, commenced a system of granting under-leases of that land in small portions, so as to increase the number of those who thus became possessed of a title to vote. This was done for the purpose of creating or extending the political influence of those parties in their respective counties; and he was sorry to say, that the example of those parties was followed by their superiors in station, fortune, and intelligence. The effect was, that the number of electors in counties was increased much more than was necessary for the freedom or purity of election: and, at last, the evil had become of such magnitude, as to call loudly for legislative interference. The people—he spoke of the great mass of forty-shilling freeholders—who thus became entitled to vote were of the very lowest classes of that country. In taking out their right of

voting, and possessing themselves of their freehold, there were but too good reasons for believing, that perjury was committed to a frightful extent; and in that, and other respects, the system tended so much to demoralise the people, that on that ground alone, a revision and alteration of the law deserved the serious attention of their lordships. It appeared by the reports of the committees, that the great mass of those electors were by no means sensible of the advantages which the franchise conferred. The law which gave the right of voting said, that a forty-shilling freehold should be registered twelve months before the party registered could vote. Now, if those parties were sensible of the advantages of the freehold, they would go willingly to register, and pay the small expense of one shilling, which was all that was required; but it was well known, that even this small sum they did not pay: the whole affair was managed, and the money paid by the landlord, or the candidate, or was in some other way made the object of a job for promoting the political influence of those who took the trouble of managing it. It also appeared, that the people were often driven to the hustings in large numbers—that they were looked upon as part of the live-stock of the estate—and were scarcely treated like human beings. This of itself, he thought, would be a sufficient ground for the serious attention of the house to the system. But these were not the only grounds on which the bill was submitted to the consideration of their lordships. As he had stated in the outset, the great number of freeholds were created for the purpose of giving political influence to the landlords, and those who held immediately under them; but it appeared from the evidence taken before the committees of that and the other house, that that influence had since fallen into other hands—into the hands of those to whom there could be no doubt it never was the intention of the legislature that it should be given—he meant the catholic priests. The continuance of such influence, in such hands, would, under any system that might be adopted towards that part of the United Kingdom, be extremely impolitic; but after the passing of the measure which their lordships had adopted the other night, it would be pregnant with considerable danger. If a Roman catholic gentleman, possessed of property, talents, and influence, were ambitious of a seat in parliament, it was desirable that he

should have one; but it was not desirable that he should attain it by popish or religious influence over those who had the power of conferring it. On this ground, therefore, it was necessary that some alteration should take place in the system. One object which he had pointed out in the other measure which he had introduced to their lordships was, that it would put an end to illegal combinations founded on religious opinions. Now, let their lordships consider the advantages which they would give to such combinations, if they allowed the present system of election in Ireland to remain. This was another ground why he thought they ought to alter that system. He knew it would be asked, if they took away the votes of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, why not take them also away from the same class of electors in this country? In answer to this, he would again refer to the reports of the committees before-mentioned, which had declared, that the two classes were extremely different. He admitted, that, in some cases, improper influence might be exercised on the votes of forty-shilling freeholders in England; but the circumstances of the two countries, with respect to that class of electors, were widely different. To prove the absurdity of comparing the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland with the same class of persons in England, he would beg leave to read a statement respecting those recently registered in several counties of Ireland. In Antrim, there had been registered, since 1822, six thousand one hundred and twenty-six forty-shilling freeholders, and of those, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight could not write their names; in Armagh, there had been registered eight thousand eight hundred and thirty, and of those, three thousand five hundred and ninety could not write their names; in Clare, ten thousand seven hundred and twenty-three had been registered, of whom, three thousand three hundred and thirty could not write their names; in Limerick, there had been registered, four thousand six hundred and thirty-two, of whom, three thousand three hundred and thirty-six could not write their names; in Mayo, twenty-three thousand six hundred and seventy-two were registered, of whom, nineteen thousand two hundred and five could not write their names; in Waterford, five thousand three hundred and thirty-five had been registered, of whom, three thousand four hundred and twenty could not

write their names. It was absurd, therefore, to compare those men with the forty-shilling freeholders of England. It should be remembered, that all the freeholders to whom he had referred, had been registered since 1822. It was urged, as an objection to the measure which he had the honour to propose to their lordships, that it would deprive the freeholders in fee of their rights, as well as the freeholders for life; but the returns which were made to parliament in 1825, showed, that only a very small number of those freeholders existed in Ireland. There were many abuses connected with this description of freeholders which deserved their lordships' attention. Amongst the rest, he was credibly informed, that there were many instances of persons in Ireland, having created large bodies of freeholders for lives in the expectation of an election; and when the election occurred sooner than was anticipated, having then turned them into freeholders in fee." The noble duke closed by stating, that the bill would not only prevent improper persons voting at elections, but would also enable individuals, whose property and talents entitled them to seats in parliament, to attain that object more readily than under the present system.

On the system thus described, little commentary is necessary. To confide the elective franchise to persons so ignorant as vast numbers of "the forties," as they were called, were shown to be, was obviously to give them that which could be of no real benefit to the parties themselves, while it rendered them liable to be converted into a formidable engine of mischief by a political priest or a tyrannical landlord. Had they been capable of judging what duty required from them for the general good, could they have ventured to oppose such influence? The bill was, however, resisted.—The duke of Richmond said, on principle, and on principle only, he must give his decided opposition to it.—Lord Redesdale maintained, that the bill infringed no constitutional principle, but rather went to restore the ancient constitution of Ireland.—Lord Farnham had strong objections to its provisions.—Lord Manners could not conceive any measure more calculated to improve the general state of Ireland.—The marquis of Bute, the earl of Roseberry, and the earl of Mount-Cashel, supported; the marquis of Clanricarde, the earl of Malmesbury, and the earl of Winchilsea, opposed the bill.

The last-named peer, at the conclusion of a forcible speech, to the effect just mentioned, took the opportunity of assuring the duke of Wellington, that whatever opposition he had offered to his measures, had been dictated by the most conscientious motives. His lordship added:—"I sincerely trust it will turn out that the apprehensions I have expressed of the effect of these measures, will not be verified, and that I shall have a future opportunity of acknowledging that I have entertained erroneous opinions, and of congratulating the noble duke and the country upon his having settled the question in a way which, if it should be so settled, certainly does appear to me at variance with the principles of the constitution."—Lord Holland objected to some of the changes, but supported the principle of the bill.—The earl of Enniskillen, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Longford, the earl of Haddington, and the earl of Dudley, gave it their support.

The duke of Wellington, in his reply, confessed he was "not surprised that on the bill there had existed, even amongst the friends of the accompanying measure, a difference of opinion. He felt it, however, necessary to remind their lordships, that a few years ago, when a measure something like that which he had had the honour to introduce last week, relative to the catholic disabilities, had been introduced, another measure similar to that now before them made some progress through parliament. To those measures, differing in various respects, though generally resembling these in principle, he could not, he felt, be a party, because they did not, in his mind, appear to be complete. He could assent only to a complete system of measures, which would be likely to effect the great objects of the pacification and improvement of the condition of that country to which these measures were directed. He should have deceived those with whom he acted, and deceived the nation, if he had brought down a project which he did not feel convinced was a complete one. To the objections, which were not weighty in his mind, the answers would be found in the state of the bill now before parliament, in the anxiety of all classes of the community, and in the state of Ireland. He conceived that the appointment of assistant-barristers to register and examine the value of the freeholds, was a better regulation by far than that resorted to by the magistracy heretofore

In fact, the magistrates had been tried, and failed; and he believed no class of men were more independent than professional gentlemen, who had a character to lose, and professional respectability to uphold. He believed no class of men in society would be less likely to yield to the seductions of ministerial authority or influence. In reply to a noble lord on the cross-bench, that it was likely the priesthood would have the same influence over the ten-pound as over the forty-shilling freeholders, he begged their lordships to remember, that it had been proved before them, that the influence alluded to existed always in proportion to the degree of ignorance and poverty of the parties. Could any parallel of this unfavourable nature be drawn between the man who could neither read nor write, and the better informed?—between the person who had been found by a barrister to be, in his own clear right, without connivance, possessed of a freehold of ten pounds a-year, besides possibly a business or property of another description, and the poor dependant or beggar, who swore himself or forswore himself, to be the possessor of a forty-shilling freehold? I have brought,” said his grace, in conclusion, “your lordships this bill in as nearly perfect a state as I could conceive to be practicable; I entreat you will allow it to be read a second time to-night, that it may go simultaneously to a committee with that other measure, and if your lordships deem it expedient, there to be amended. But I also entreat that your lordships will not unnecessarily amend it so as to deprive it of its essential character—as an appendage and auxiliary to the greater measure which it accompanies.” The second reading was carried by one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen.

From the large majority which declared for the bill, it will be seen that the arguments adduced by the duke were judged, in the house of peers—as elsewhere they were by all impartial observers—irresistible. Surely something of judgment and education may fairly be required from those who wield a power which affects the interests of the whole empire; and could that power be safely trusted to a class of persons like the forty-shilling Irish freeholders, so likely to be rendered, by the passion of the hour, the unreasoning instruments of a father-confessor, or an ambitious demagogue?

The more important measure—the relief bill—when committed in the lords as in

the commons, was much debated, and many amendments were moved, but without effect. On the clause being read, enacting the forfeiture of one hundred pounds for giving ecclesiastical titles to the catholic clergy, other than those recognised by law, the earl of Mount-Cashel moved an amendment, providing that whoever should address a catholic bishop or archbishop by the title of a peer of the realm, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. The duke of Wellington said he could not support the amendment, but begged to offer a few words on the clause itself:—“It was certainly no security, but it would give satisfaction to the united church of England and Ireland. In 1792, a law was passed in Ireland, which prevented catholic priests from assuming the titles of the established church; but that law was repealed by the act of 1793, and since then the assumption of these titles had increased. According to the law of England, the title of a diocese belonged to persons appointed to it by his majesty; but it was desirable that others, appointed to it by an assumed authority, should be discountenanced; and that was the reason why the clause was introduced. This was one of the instances which showed how difficult it was to legislate upon this subject at all. He was aware that the clause gave no security to the established church, nor strengthened it in any way; but it was inserted to give satisfaction to those who were disturbed by this assumption of title by the catholic church.”

Lord Tenterden thought the clause gave no security at all. It would be better, instead of it, to introduce one declaring it to be unlawful for any person to accept of any such nomination to the title of archbishop or bishop hereafter.

The duke of Wellington then said:—“If he could be a party to the introduction of such a clause as that proposed by the noble and learned lord, he should be guilty of a recognition of that which he conceived to be highly illegal—that he should be acknowledging an assumption of authority by a foreign power, which was utterly inconsistent with the constitution of this realm. He did not mean to say that it was not time that those persons were nominated as bishops, and even placed in the care of dioceses by that usurped authority. He certainly would not say that: but he did not, and would not recognise, in any manner, appointments of such a nature; because it was evident that those appointments were made

by the power of usurpation. They knew nothing of that usurpation, nor of the assumption of those titles. He repeated, that of the assumption of such titles, the framer or author of the bill knew nothing. It was true, as had been stated by the noble mover of the amendment, that the clause would have been more perfect if persons could have been prevented by it from using those assumed titles of archbishops and bishops in writing. But he begged their lordships to advert to the difficulty of carrying such a principle into effect. Let them look to their own proceedings—let them examine their own journals, and they would find places, over and over again, where those titles were given in print to those individuals. It was impossible to deal with writings under such circumstances. All their lordships could do was, to declare that those titles should not be assumed by those persons in future. He could not conceive that they would suffer any inconvenience in carrying on their spiritual concerns because they were prohibited from assuming those titles. Though he meant not to urge the clause as a powerful security in Ireland, it would give great satisfaction to many persons in that part of the United Kingdom. A noble and learned lord had attributed to him a certain expression; but he had never said one word of the description which had been ascribed to him. What he had said was this—that the measure which he should have the honour to propose to that house, would, in his opinion, give satisfaction to the house and to the country; and that, in its effects, it would be found to be a measure more calculated to prevent the growth of popery than to increase it. As nearly as he could recollect, these were the words of which he had made use in speaking to his noble relative. This took place within two days of the period when his right honourable friend brought this bill into the house of commons; and certainly it would be admitted, that he could not have intended to deceive their lordships with respect to a point on which he knew they would be set right in two days. What he had said was, that the measures which would be proposed were calculated, in his view of the subject, to give satisfaction. He was still of the same opinion. He thought that they were likely to produce tranquillity, and to prevent bloodshed."

The clause was agreed to without a division, and the bill—several amendments having been proposed and lost—was got

through the committee on the 8th of April, when, on the motion of the duke of Wellington, the third reading was fixed for the next day but one—Thursday, the 10th of that month.

In defending himself from the charge which, he understood, had been brought against him by lord Eldon—of keeping his intentions with respect to the catholic question improperly or unnecessarily secret—the duke of Wellington had spoken of the silence he had observed, till the consent of the king to the great measure which he was inclined to submit to parliament should have been obtained; but, for obvious reasons, he had not dwelt on the great difficulties he had to encounter in accomplishing this preliminary step, which furnishes a most remarkable chapter in history. It must gratify curiosity to trace, as we are enabled to do, from the correspondence of lord Eldon, what was the state of the royal mind at this moment. What it was in the preceding month, has been seen; but it remains to be shown, that even now, at the eleventh hour, George IV. was half-disposed to retrace his steps. The king felt that he was fast approaching "that bourne from whence no traveller returns;" and revolved in his mind the awful future, and the dangerous present, with no common anxiety. He probably remembered the language of Bradshaw to Charles I.—"The sovereign was as much bound by his coronation-oath as the subject was bound in his allegiance; that if the bond were once broken, farewell sovereignty." At the close of the interview, described in a former page, lord Eldon left his majesty in a pitiable state, with an understanding that the king would see him again. The ex-chancellor probably expected to be consulted on the possibility of forming a new administration, but was not sent for. On the 9th of April, he waited on the king with some addresses, and found the monarch most distressingly agitated. A very singular conversation then took place, which, to mark its long duration, his lordship states, commenced a little before two o'clock. The king, he reports, "expressed his anguish, pain, and misery, that the measure had ever been thought of; and as often declared that he had been most harshly and cruelly treated—that he had been treated as a man whose consent had been asked with a pistol pointed to his breast; or as obliged, if he did not give it, to leap down from a five-pair of stairs' window. What could he do? What had he to fall back upon?"

Lord Eldon continues:—"I told his majesty, it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed, or to cure the evils which were consequential, after the bill, in such circumstances, had been read a second time, and in the lords' house, with a majority of one hundred and five. This led him to much conversation upon that fact—"that he had," he said, "been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father; that, instead of forty-five against the measure, there were twice that number of peers for it; that everything was revolutionary—everything was tending to revolution; and the peers and the aristocracy were giving way to it. They" (he said, more than once or twice) "supported his father; but see what they had done to him." I took the liberty to say, that I agreed that matters were rapidly tending to revolution—that I had long thought that this measure of catholic emancipation, was meant to be, and would certainly be, a step towards producing it; that it was avowed as such with the radicals in 1794-'5-'6; that many of the catholic association were understood to have been engaged in all the transactions in Ireland in 1798: and what had they not been threatening to do if this measure was not carried, and even if it was carried? But I thought it only just to some of the peers who voted for the bill, to suppose that they had been led, or misled, to believe that his majesty had agreed and consented to it. He then began to talk about the coronation-oath. On that I could only repeat what I had before said, if his majesty meant me to say anything upon the subject. Understanding that he did so wish, I repeated that, so far as his oath was concerned, it was a matter between him, God, and his conscience, whether giving his royal assent to this measure was supporting, to the utmost of his power, the protestant reformed religion. That it was not my opinion, nor the opinions of archbishops, bishops, or lay peers (*all which he must know*, as well the opinions in favour of the measure as those against it), that were to guide and govern him; but he was to act according to his own conscientious view of the obligations under which such an oath placed him. Little more passed, except occasional bursts of expression—"What can I do? What can I now fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched; my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my as-

sent, I'll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover: I'll return no more to England. I'll make no more Roman catholic peers. I will not do what this bill will enable me to do. I'll return no more: let them get a catholic king in Clarence.' I think he also mentioned Sussex. 'The people will see that I did not wish this.' There were the strongest appearances, certainly, of misery. He more than once stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck, and expressed great misery. I left him about twenty minutes or a quarter before five."

All this, it should be borne in mind, took place on the 9th of April, after the relief bill had not only been read a second time, but had gone through its committee—had been reported, and was to be read a third time, and passed on the following day.

While the measure was advancing to maturity, besides the serious encounter with lord Winchelsea, the duke of Wellington was exposed to some personal danger, or at least interruption. The ancient feeling among the common people against popery was still alive, and wanted but a little encouragement to exhibit all its former vigour and violence. On the Thursday, when the second reading of the relief bill was to come on in the lords, an angry mob, assembled in Palace-yard, obstructed his way, breathing reproaches and menaces. While he was thus surrounded, one individual kept near the duke, and repressed the most boisterous during the tumult. On a subsequent interview with sir Richard Birnie, the Bow-street magistrate, this man was alluded to, and described by the duke. Sir Richard recognised the party, and replied—"The officer mentioned by your grace was in the army on the continent, and followed the fortunes of your grace four years; and because of the man's devotion and attachment to his commander, I appointed him to this especial service."

On the Saturday, when the bill was to pass its last stage, the duke, when in St. James's-park, on his way to the house of lords, was rudely accosted by a man, who called out, "My lord Wellington, I wish to speak to you:" the duke said, "I cannot speak to you." The defendant followed, and spoke about some money, which he asserted the duke owed him, and he wanted payment. The duke turned round, and asked him to what regiment he had belonged, and

the man replied, the forty-eighth; he then abused his grace most grossly, and called him a d—d old rascal. His grace then gave him into custody. When brought before a magistrate, in answer to questions put to him, the prisoner said—"My name is John Appleyard. I don't mind the duke of Wellington, or any one of them: they are all in league with Beelzebub, the prince of devils. I am one of the lineal descendants of Henry VIII." In the same spirit, he said—"I glory in what I have done: the duke owes me money; and what can I do upon sevenpence per day pension." The magistrate said he must find bail; to which he replied, "I will find no bail. I defy you, the duke of Wellington, or his majesty, George IV." The prisoner was then removed by the officers; and the opinion of a medical gentleman was taken as to whether the defendant was insane or not. He appeared to be about fifty years of age, and was evidently of unsound mind.

In modern times, the houses of parliament have seldom met on the Saturday to debate any measure of importance; but in this instance, it was thought desirable that all suspense on the subject of the emancipation bill should be terminated as soon as possible, and the rule was not observed. The debate was to be resumed at one o'clock in the day. When the hour arrived, there were not more than twenty peers present. The duke of Wellington, with his uniform attention to punctuality, entered precisely at the time; and prayers having been read, he immediately moved the order of the day for the third reading.

The earl of Guilford entered into an historical review of the question, from the time of James II. He entirely denied the principle promulgated by the Roman catholic association, that all power emanated from the people: if this were so, what would be the state of Ireland, where Roman catholics formed so large a majority of the population, when it was admitted on all hands, that the people were under the sway of the pope, and at the direction of the priests. It was to guard against the undue exercise of this influence, that the restrictive or penal laws had been enacted. He conceived that this bill was an absolute infringement of the bill of rights. He would not deny the omnipotence of parliament to make and repeal laws; but he thought their lordships ought not to sanction a measure which was subversive of protection, in regard to two

branches of the state, particularly when the most respectable and intelligent classes of the people had expressed an unequivocal dissent from the bill now before their lordships. It had been said, in support of this bill, that the causes for the exclusion of papists no longer existed—that the Roman catholic religion had changed its objectionable character; but his lordship conceived that there ought to be some evidence of that change—there ought to be some solemn assurance to that effect, by a council of cardinals, sanctioned by the pope, before this bill could be supposed to pass into a law. He denied that any such change had occurred, or if it had, it was of very recent date; for he found in a work, called *The Roman Catholic Spectator*, published only in 1825, a distinct affirmation, that the Roman catholic religion was unchanged in its principles or tenets. For these reasons, he was bound to oppose the motion of the noble duke; and he was ready to affirm that the friends of the constitution were determined to defend their rights.

Lord Lilford considered that one of two alternatives must be adopted—either further concessions must be granted, or martial law must be resorted to in Ireland. The latter course, he was convinced, could not keep that country in a state of permanent tranquillity, while its operation would be productive of the most appalling results. With respect to security, his lordship thought that the best security for the maintenance of the protestant church, would be found in the superior excellence of its principles.—The earl of Westmoreland supported the bill.

Viscount Sidmouth objected to the manner in which it was attempted to hurry it through its stages. He was of opinion, such a measure ought not to have been submitted to parliament, without being preceded by a general inquiry into the state of Ireland. Nothing was known of the state of that country now, which was not formerly known. What was the plea upon which they were called to pass this measure? The influence of the catholic association was talked of—its terrors magnified! For his part, he should be disingenuous indeed, to withhold from ministers the praise of sincerity. It was but fair to say, that he believed no set of men could be influenced by greater regard for the constitution of this country than his majesty's present ministers were. It did not follow, however, that he was of necessity to take for granted, that all their

measures were of the most judicious kind. Quite the contrary: respect was one thing, confidence another; but a blind and indiscriminating reliance upon the infallibility of any set of men, was a degree of self-denial to which he could not pretend. What, then, was his opinion of the present measure? Did he think, that under the present conjuncture of affairs in Ireland, nothing ought to be done? Certainly not. He agreed that that country was, and had ever been, in a condition to require the closest attention of the members of government; and no man was less disposed than he to withhold a remedy, when a proper one was pointed out. Much of the evil now complained of was traced to the catholic association. Why, then, had not that body been put down sooner? They were told it would not have been safe to do so. Nay, it was said, that so affectionate had the house of commons become of this favourite body, that it would never consent to its suppression by law, unless some other measure, by way of indemnification, was made congenial with that extinguishment. What then; were we come to that pass, that concession was the only basis of our legislation? Were we in future to pass no law, without first throwing a sop to the people of Ireland, in order that they would be pleased to condescend to submit to our imperial legislation? The evils of Ireland were long admitted to be poverty, ignorance, and bigotry. Which of these would catholic emancipation remove? Rid the people—the poor benighted people—of the trammels of priestcraft: that was the true and statesmanlike, humane emancipation. The great grievance of Ireland was distress, arising from the want of food. The remedy for that was acknowledged, on all hands, to be the influx of capital; but by a strange round-about mode of reasoning, the measure of catholic emancipation, which, after all, must influence only remotely and circuitously the sources of capital, was said to be the means of curing those evils.

The earl of Liverpool, though formerly opposed to catholic emancipation, thought it right now to declare himself a supporter of this measure.—Lord Tenterden had been educated in the church of England. He had all his life admired its principles, and he should be among the most ungrateful if he had not done so. His esteem for that church had grown stronger and stronger with his years. He was fully persuaded that there was no church so moral as this. “Can we,

then,” said he, “betray it, my lords? Others may betray it, if they think proper. I cannot, on looking at the present measure, but think that there is that in it which is calculated to overthrow the protestant church.” He would support the bill, if he could hope it would produce those results which its supporters expected from it; but this he could not do. He showed that it was at variance with the principles contended for by the former law-givers of England. “If,” said his lordship, in conclusion, “we pass this measure, we shall be much less able than we are at present to resist the attempts of those to whom, by the measure itself, we are giving, in the true sense of the word, political power, and who have long been making attempts against our existing laws. I hope, my lords, I may be mistaken in my views of the measure; but, in my opinion, should it pass, the time will soon come when your lordships will find the apprehensions I entertain of it realised.”—Earl Grey rose with considerable fear, that something like presumption would be imputed to him, if he ventured to differ from a noble lord (the lord chief-justice of England), who had rested the greatest part of the arguments he had addressed to their lordships on statements of law, with which he was necessarily more acquainted, which he had studied more, and of which he had a more perfect knowledge than he (lord Grey) could possibly have. He was, however, led by a sense of duty to state what his opinions were, and feeling assured the noble and learned lord himself would promote the measure if he thought it would tranquillise Ireland. He would abstain from entering into that debate which he had so often entered into on former occasions—namely, whether the act of union and the act of the revolution had been made so irrevocable, that, notwithstanding any inducement of policy or expediency, it was utterly impossible for parliament, without a breach of the contract which existed between the king and the people, to make the slightest alteration in those laws. “The noble lord,” he went on, “does not maintain that proposition: to what, then, are we to address ourselves? Why, my lords, to this—that, in the days of Elizabeth, it was thought necessary to guard against popery. I admit that; but in the time of Charles II. it was thought necessary, in the then circumstances of the country, to enact other laws for the exclusion of the papists and to guard the religion of this country. I

am also ready to admit that, under the same impression, at the passing of the bill of rights and the union with Scotland, parliament did proceed to enact certain laws against the Roman catholics. That I am ready to admit. But the question we have to consider this day is, whether these enactments are, in the present state of circumstances, so binding upon us, that we are precluded from applying the remedies we think most likely to prevent the dangers with which we are threatened. The noble and learned lord has talked much of the danger of Roman catholics being admitted into offices of the state. I thought these antiquated notions had, long ago, been exploded. The late lord Liverpool himself, in all his opposition to the Roman catholic claims, never imputed to them disloyalty. Now, my lords, can there be any better security than the security of the oath proposed for the Roman catholics to take? We all know the regard the catholics entertain for the obligation of an oath. It was because they would not take the testing oath, that they were excluded from various offices. Could it, then, be said, that they ought not to be trusted? In the time of queen Elizabeth, to which allusion had so often been made in the course of the debate, it should be recollected that the catholics were trusted and appointed to high offices. Who was it that destroyed the Spanish armada? Who was the admiral who commanded the fleets of England then? It was a Roman catholic—lord Howard, of Effingham, whose statue now adorns a neighbouring edifice. Perhaps, it would be said, he might have obtained a license from the pope, to fight the battles of a sovereign who had been excommunicated by the see of Rome, and which power had absolved its subjects from their allegiance. It is, however, certain, my lords, that Roman catholics were appointed, by a protestant queen, to oppose the most powerful force ever directed against this country; and that, too, acting under the banners of popery. Why, my lords, what more is necessary to show the confidence that can be reposed in Roman catholics? My lords, the acts imposing these disabilities, were passed under a strong sense of necessity, and I am, therefore, free to admit, that they are entitled to the greatest regard and attention; but I never can agree with those noble lords who wish to make an impression, that these laws were intended to be permanent, and that it is not

in our power to alter them. I say, my lords, we are called upon to make an alteration. It was never intended, when those laws were passed, but that, when circumstances changed, they should be repealed; and, in doing this, we are doing no more than what it is our duty to do; and, I may add, it is a matter of reproach that it was not done earlier. These laws were passed at the time of the revolution, and I fearlessly say, that it was the intention of the legislature—and they left that intention to their successors—to make those changes which circumstances might, in after ages, require; and if they could now legislate, no doubt they would bring forward the measure we are about to adopt."

As to the effect which might be looked for from concessions made to the Roman catholic body, his lordship said:—"It has been objected, that concessions would be dangerous, in consequence of the physical power of the Roman catholics. That, in my apprehension, is one argument why those concessions should be made. The very ardour they display is a sufficient reason for not refusing their claims. Let us look, my lords, to the power which they at present possess, and let us then see how that power has been employed. Eligibility to office, and to seats in parliament, is, I admit, political power; but I admit that they are also civil rights, and the Roman catholics aim at nothing more. They possess the eligibility to certain offices—the army and the navy are open to them. They enjoy the elective franchise; and since the abrogation of the penal laws, they have the power to purchase and acquire property, and are consequently in the possession of that power which is derivable from wealth. But there is no proof that they have abused that power, unless it be contended that the assertion of what they conceive to be right, can be construed into such abuse. Possessing all those privileges, they still consider themselves unjustly treated; and still labouring under a grievance which they feel ought not to be imposed upon them, they naturally exert the power that they possess in the assertion of rights too long withheld; and this is the only way that the catholics exert the power they possess against the government. What are the evils we anticipate from this measure? It would have the effect of introducing five or six peers into this house, and a number of members, not large, would be returned to the other

house. Catholics would also become eligible to civil offices, with few exceptions. What, then, is to be the consequence? It is argued, that all at once the king is to be influenced by some catholic charm—some Hohenlohe spell, which would work on his mind a miracle of conversion; and that he is to abandon the principles of the house of Brunswick. It is also argued, that the people who had been so alarmed at the very prospect of this law, will become so enamoured of the catholic faith, that their opposition to it will cease. To believe this, my lords, will be equal to a belief even in transubstantiation itself." He proceeded to argue, that till a measure like that now under their lordships' consideration were adopted, it would be impossible to tranquillise Ireland. What reprobation would not a statesman deserve if he did not attempt, in a time of tranquillity like the present, to bring forward some measure for the purpose of conciliating the people of Ireland, and avoiding that danger which they had so long failed to avert by means of force.

He then noticed the suggestions which had been thrown out in favour of using more vigorous means for repressing disorders in Ireland. "A noble peer," he remarked, "had said—'Why not enforce the laws which are at present in existence?' My lords, it is very easy to say this; but though the catholic association was in existence for such a length of time, and with the danger hourly increasing upon them, still it was found impossible to relieve Ireland from the danger which attended it. But I say, my lords, if this be charged against the government, those who are disposed to bring forward such a charge, should take especial care that the arguments they use will not apply with double force against their noble and learned leader. He applied himself to show that the church of England could be in no respect endangered by this measure. That church will, in consequence, increase in magnitude and prosperity. I do not mean, my lords, by means of conversion; for I think any injudicious attempts at conversion would only create injury; but I mean, by its superior truth and reason, it will prevail to a greater extent, as soon as you have relieved it from the invidious situation in which it now stands, by avoiding all means of provocation—as soon as you have taken away those pretended supports which only encumber its efforts. This prospect, also, may fail, and a

catholic association may again be established; but I believe, if anything could prevent such a recurrence, it is the measure which is now before your lordships. In the course of this debate, my lords, allusion has been made to Mr. Tone. I would strongly recommend to your lordships to read his memoirs. I would refer your lordships to the expected invasion of Ireland by general Hoche, which, had it taken place, notwithstanding the superiority of the British navy, must have caused a separation between the two countries. Such would have been the result, had he effected a landing; and that this country escaped on that occasion, was almost miraculous. It was like a merciful interposition of Providence; and surely, my lords, common sense would dictate that we should do our utmost to avert the recurrence of such dangers. My lords, I will put to you the case of Ireland invaded by a foreign force—of her people joining with a foreign enemy. I will suppose the Irish people united with the intruders, and departed from our government: what, then, will be the extent of their wishes? Will it be merely the emancipation from their civil disabilities? No, assuredly not; but that of having their own church established as the church of the state. And, my lords, what consolation would you have in saying to yourselves—'Oh, we have been at least consistent—we have done our utmost to maintain the 25th and 30th of Charles II.—we have clung by those statutes which prescribe the oaths of supremacy, and proscribe the doctrine of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints; we have laboured and succeeded in excluding from seats in the legislature, and from all high and influential offices, the catholics of Ireland; and, in so doing, have lost the most precious jewel of the crown, and lopped off the right-arm of the country. We have at least this consolation, that we have persevered against all the warnings which have been given by the most sensible men—against all the voices of the greatest men who have adorned the senate—against the conviction of the most eminent statesmen who have adorned either house of parliament—and against the advice of the greatest generals who have adorned our arms;—we have done all this, and we can console ourselves with the thought that we have done our duty'—

"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum."

His lordship warmly eulogised the conduct

of the duke of Wellington, in relation to this important measure, in adopting the course he now pursued to avert the horrors of a civil war. "I receive," he said, "with unqualified gratification the measure which the noble duke has proposed, and sit down, stating my conviction, that the country will feel towards that noble individual the same gratitude for this boon of peace, which they confess to have received at his hands as the triumph of war, and be as little churlish to admit the one, as they have been prodigal in testifying to the other."

The earl of Eldon had been alluded to, by earl Grey, as the *leader* of the opponents of the bill. This caused that learned person to take part in the debate. "I was strongly disposed," he said, "to abstain altogether from offering myself to your notice, conscious that to those who concur in opinion with me I could have but little new to advance, and that to those who differed from me, this was a question upon which I could but little hope, by any reasoning of mine, to make any impression. I am willing to give full credit to the noble earl (Grey) who has addressed you, for the compliment which he was pleased to pay me, by erecting me into the situation of a leader of a party; but I can assure your lordships, that there is no one who more sensibly feels his incompetence to discharge the responsible office to which that noble lord has appointed me, than I do." He addressed the house, probably, he said, for the last time. After four-and-twenty years of conscientious opposition to measures like the present, he was anxious to take this final opportunity of stating his opinion and the grounds of it. He assured the house that, after this bill should have passed, strong and deep-rooted as were his objections to it, he should feel it to be his duty, by every means in his power, to soothe down the agitation it had created; to let his countrymen know it was their duty to obey the laws, however they might have been opposed to them while in their progress through parliament. It was not his desire—God forbid!—to add, in any way whatever, to the agitation which he knew existed in the country, to an extent at which he was affrighted. He would be satisfied to pass the remainder of his days in retirement, confident that, during the many years in which he had been engaged in public life, he had endeavoured to do his duty, and that he had done it, sincerely and conscientiously, in oppos-

ing the present bill. During a long course of years, he had considered the nature and tendency of such a bill as this with all the attention in his power; and though, he admitted, that consistency in error was one of the greatest blots that could attach to the character of a statesman; and though he should be ashamed to claim credit for consistency in any opinion, if he should for an instant see that it was one which he could not justify—yet, with every disposition to discover the error (in his opinion, if error there was), he had considered this question over and over again, in every possible point of view; and after all that consideration, he would say, that so help him God, he would rather perish than give his consent to the bill before their lordships. He thought this bill the most dangerous one that had ever been submitted to parliament. Could it be a matter of pleasure or of comfort to him to stand in the situation he did—in opposition to the noble duke and those other friends from whom he now differed so widely on this point? He owned, it would have given him pleasure to support this bill, if he could have done so consistently. The noble duke would do himself the justice to acknowledge, that he had not found him inflexible on other points, or in any public measure, except on this. That he differed from him on this, he regretted; but his opposition, after all he had heard, was unaltered and unalterable. With respect to the right honourable secretary, the leader in the other house, he must say, that there never was a man to whose feelings and opinions he was more sincerely attached; and no circumstance of his life gave him more pain than the division from him on this subject. He adverted to the general impression, from the publication of the duke of Wellington's letter to Dr. Curtis, that no concessions to the Roman catholics would be introduced in that session, and complained of the present measure as being, consequently, a surprise on the public. He insisted upon the incompatibility of the pretensions of the Irish priesthood with the law of the land. He blamed the government for not having instituted prosecutions against Mr. O'Connell and other leading agitators; and forboded, that the bill then in progress for the suppression of the Roman catholic association would be ineffectual for its purpose. He quoted a declaration of Dr. Doyle, in his pastoral letter, that matters would never be set right until there

were a Roman catholic king and a Roman catholic legislature. In that opinion he could not avoid coinciding. If the present law were considered an insult by the catholics, they would still feel themselves insulted so long as a catholic was disabled from sitting on the throne. When Roman catholics were admitted to power, the principle was conceded, and there could be no limit as to numbers. When noble lords looked at the manner in which the house of commons was filled, he would ask, whether all that was stated about only twenty Roman catholic members getting into the house, was not, in the opinion of every man who knew what was going on in the world, downright nonsense? The forty-shilling freeholders would be disfranchised, but the influence of the priests would be exercised on the electors who remained; and after the act was passed, what was to prevent as many Roman catholic members from getting into the house of commons, as there were means to provide seats for, whatever those many might be? The advocates of the measure contended, that little danger was to be apprehended from it, because it was not likely that a protestant king would place a Roman catholic in any important office of trust. What would be the consequence? Why, that instead of the feelings of dissatisfaction, on the part of the catholics, being directed against the law of the country as heretofore, the king would be placed in such a situation that it must be directed against him.—After reviewing and insisting on the settlement made of the constitution by the revolution of 1688, and the act of union with Scotland, and indicating his doubts respecting the fitness of the Irish disfranchisement which was intended to accompany the relief bill, he protested against the present measure, as fraught with ruin to the purest church and the purest system of Christianity which the world had ever seen. "I believe," concluded he, "that I know something of the catholic clergy, and of their feelings towards our protestant church; and, though it is late in life for me to alter my opinion, I should be willing to think better of them if I could; but I do declare, my lords, that I would rather hear at this moment, that tomorrow my existence was to cease (an illustration, however, which I put as of no great force, since I should look upon that event as anything but an affliction), than to awake to the reflection that I had consented to an act which had stamped me as a violator of

my solemn oath, a traitor to my church, and a traitor to the constitution."

The speech just given is transcribed from the *Life of Lord Eldon*, but, in the reports of it, which appeared immediately after its delivery, some passages were given which are not uninteresting in themselves, and which, from their describing the career of one so long and so intimately connected with the duke of Wellington, belong to his political biography. His lordship said:—"I am too old, abruptly to change opinions which I have long cherished. I am now at that stage of life when I have the most indisputable authority for knowing, that what remains to me of life must probably be spent in infirmity and sorrow. I am, in fact, now verging on four-score; and I would fondly trust, that such has been my conduct through a long and arduous life, that I can look back upon it without being struck by the taint of any mark or stain affecting my character. If I have gone on so long without being compromised, I will not now expose myself to the agony of a change. Imputations have been cast upon me, however, which I feel I do not deserve, and I am emboldened to repel them in the presence of the parties who gave them. The first of these attacks upon me seems to be, that I was a willing party to the act of relief of 1791. Now, I was officially no party to this act; it was introduced, I know, into the other house of parliament by lord Redesdale, and had that sort of support, I admit, from me, which my affection and respect for him dictated, and which has been maintained between us for half a century. In the bill of 1791, I saw then, and see now, no alteration of the policy of our constitution as cemented in 1688. I am also identified with the act of 1793, which was, in fact, an act passed by the parliament of Ireland, with which I, of course, could have had nothing to do. Then comes the Scotch act of 1794, for which I am also to be rendered responsible. Now, my lords, allow me to say, that though I was, about that time, a good deal employed at your lordships' bar as counsel in Scotch causes, I found myself so little proficient in Scottish law, and felt such a difficulty in being master of it without an intense, and to me an inconvenient, application, that I left all matters connected with that law, to those who were more competent to undertake them. Noble lords should recollect that there was then such a person in parliament, the father of a noble lord

whom I now see opposite."—Lord Melville said (across the table):—"You mistake: my father was not then lord-advocate for Scotland."—Lord Eldon:—"So far, I am wrong; but I recollect that the noble lord's father was then a member of his majesty's government, and that he always assisted the lord-advocate of Scotland with his able and competent advice, upon matters connected with Scottish law; I had, therefore, little or no concern at that time with such matters; but I am quite ready to say, that I was an assenting and assisting party to that law. My mind, at that time, was not so much taken up with politics as some noble lords appear to think; my ambition was then directed to the chief-justiceship of the common pleas, to which my revered and dear sovereign presented me. I was afterwards, by the gracious condescension of my sovereign, made lord chancellor in 1804-5, where I remained, with the exception of a short interval, for twenty-five years. I know well, that during that period few persons were more exposed to obloquy than I was. I met that obloquy, however, by as careful and attentive devotion of my time to the duties of my office as it was possible for me to give it."

An opinion prevailed, that the duke of Wellington, from his habits as a military disciplinarian, was, in many cases, unnecessarily severe. He, however, did not escape censure for a failing of an opposite character; and certainly there is reason to believe, that before he was a convert to catholic emancipation, he was more than sufficiently guarded against interfering with those who were its most daring advocates. In the speech just quoted, the duke's government was censured for not prosecuting "the disgusting, seditious, and treasonable speeches which had been made in the catholic association." Lord Eldon said—"When he was attorney-general, he had felt it his duty to prosecute Mr. John Frost, an attorney of the king's bench, for seditious language. Mr. Frost was not a member of a convention, nor did he receive contributions from France or other foreign countries; yet what was the punishment which the court of king's bench visited Mr. Frost with? Not three months' imprisonment—the punishment provided by the suppression bill for the agitators, provided they could be laid hold of—but three years' imprisonment. Now, take the case of O'Connell. He was called king O'Connell, and well he deserved

to be so called. He had a princely revenue, no doubt. If it were not already in his pocket, it would soon be there. This O'Connell had designated an act passed by the legislature of the country, as an Algerine act. Was he liable to no punishment for that? Then the lawyer who, three months ago, figured away at Penenden-heath (Mr. Shiel), had over and over again, traduced every character in the country entitled to respect. Lately, however, this person had indulged in the most extravagant praise of the very men who, not three months ago, he had held up to the scorn and abomination of mankind. No reason had been stated to their lordships why those men had not been prosecuted; unless, indeed, it was to be found in the declaration, 'If you knew what we know,' &c."

The debate was continued on that day, and on the last stage of the measure, with almost as much animation as if the subject had not previously been discussed. The bill was supported by the marquis Camden, viscount Granville, the earl of Harrowby, the bishop of Norwich, the duke of Athol, lord Middleton, the bishop of Litchfield, the duke of Sussex, and the marquis of Lansdowne; its opponents were, besides the earl of Eldon, the earl of Abingdon, the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Roden, the earl of Falmouth, the duke of Cumberland, and lord Redesdale.

The debate was closed by the duke of Wellington. Adverting to the speech of the earl of Eldon, he said—"I had hoped that the noble and learned lord would have come down this evening with some legal arguments, in answer to those which have been so ably urged by my noble and learned friend on the woolsack, and by my noble and learned friend who sits opposite (lord Plunkett.) But instead of doing that, the noble and learned lord has again occupied the time of the house with personal attacks upon me and my right honourable friend in the other house of parliament; and he has repeated the charge against us, that in bringing forward this measure, we have taken the country by surprise. My lords, I conceive that the noble and learned earl should have borne in mind that we could not, as the responsible advisers of the crown, have brought forward this measure until we had known the king's sentiments upon it; and we could not declare those sentiments to the country, up to the precise moment when they were and ought to be made known—namely, in the king's speech. I there-

fore positively deny the charge which the noble and learned earl has preferred against us upon that head. I say, that the public were not taken by surprise in this case, or by this measure. The public were informed of the nature of this measure at the earliest possible period that they could be informed of it—by the king's speech; and nearly two months have now elapsed since that announcement has been made. The very number of petitions which have been presented against the bill—the petitions which have been presented by the noble and learned earl on the cross-bench, and by another noble lord, amounting, I believe, to nearly two thousand in the whole, sufficiently attest the fact, that the public have not been taken by surprise on this question. I rejoice that those petitions have been presented. I consider them, after the endeavours which have been made to impress the people with a notion that the government intended to introduce a measure in favour of popery and arbitrary power—I consider them, notwithstanding that such efforts have been made to get them up, an advantage; and I rejoice that they have been presented, because they demonstrate the truth of my position—that the public have not been taken by surprise by the introduction of this measure. The noble and learned earl has found fault with the manner in which this question has been hurried through this house. I certainly feel that your lordships' consideration has never before been given more deliberately to any measure, than it has been devoted to the bill now before us. It appears to me, that to no question has more attention been given than to the present one; and no question, I think, has been more fully or fairly discussed. It is quite true, that I have been anxious that this bill should be carried before the Easter holidays: it is quite true, that I am desirous that parliament should now, as soon as possible, pass it; because I am anxious to put an end to the agitation which prevails on this subject—I will not say in the country, but in this town, where the great majority of the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the city of London, and of the people at large, are in favour of the measure. The noble and learned earl complains that this measure will do away with the safe-guards of the constitution; and he has entered into a long discussion as to the oath of supremacy. I should like to know from that noble and

learned earl, whether, after this bill has passed, there will be a greater number of persons than we find at present who will not take the oath of supremacy? Surely the noble lord does not say so! What does this bill do, my lords? It admits to parliament five or six noble lords, who, at present, will not take that oath; and a certain number of members to the lower house of parliament, who are also, at present, unwilling to take that oath. I am asked by the noble and learned lord, what are the securities which I propose? But before I answer that question, suffer me, for a moment, to advert to the assertion, that the constitution and the religion established in this country will be destroyed by this measure, since it goes to repeal the oath of supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation, and to substitute the oath of allegiance in their stead. My lords, the acts of the 25th and 30th of Charles II. were passed, not on account of dangers to the protestant establishment of this country, from the concession of liberty to papists, but on account of dangers arising from the prospect of a popish sovereign and a popish successor. Is there any danger of a popish sovereign, or of a popish successor now? As the danger, then, no longer exists, the present bill proposes to substitute the oath of allegiance in the stead of the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation, which were framed at that period, with a view to provide against such danger. The noble lord says, that we offer no security in this bill. Now, I think this bill would produce great mischief, if such securities as those which have been suggested by some noble lords had been adopted. If they had been adopted, we should want securities against securities. The noble earl is mistaken, in supposing that this measure would be attended with any possible danger to the established church. By this measure, the established church is untouched; and the catholic religion, in this country, left in the same state as it is in at the present moment. All that this measure does is, to admit Roman catholic peers to this house, and Roman catholic members to the other house of parliament. The noble earl next talks of the dangers of the usurpation of popery, and he refers to an act of Philip and Mary, to confirm his apprehensions. The noble earl has also referred to the pastoral letter of Dr. Troy, and to a variety of other circumstances, which I must say, have nothing whatever to do with the question

now before the house, any more than they have to do with the established religion of Scotland. The noble earl spoke of the excommunicating power exercised by the pope, and the power exercised by the catholic bishops, in respect to marriages; but it is plain, that no individual in these kingdoms can be compelled, by law, to submit to those powers, after the passing of this bill, more than at present; and that then, as now, the authority of the pope will not for a moment stand against the sentence or decision of our ecclesiastical, or against the authority of the courts of common law in this country. When the noble and learned lord talks thus of the power of the pope, he seems to indulge in a strain similar to that which he adopted some time since, when he talked so much of the power of the common law to put down the catholic association. The noble and learned lord did not speak of such a power existing in the common law of the country, while he was himself a member of the government. Oh, no! his plan then was, 'let things go on as they are in our time, and when we have done, we will leave it to our successors to set matters right.' That was the system which the noble and learned lord advocated and adopted, and which has been the cause of bringing about a state of things in Ireland, to remedy which a measure of this kind must be passed, or it will be impossible, I say, to govern that country. The noble and learned lord has given his opinion in favour of the measure proposed by a right honourable gentleman, who was the first to move this question in this country—I mean the late Mr. Pitt. Will the noble and learned lord be bound by the plan of securities proposed by that right honourable gentleman? One of these was, to establish a provision for the catholic clergy in Ireland. Will the noble and learned lord agree to that? The measure before your lordships is far better; because it contains no such provision whatever. The noble and learned lord says, he sees no ground for the measure. I imagined, my lords, that I had already amply detailed the reasons which existed for the passing of it. I thought I had already clearly explained, that the state of Ireland was such, as to imperatively call for this measure; and that it has been brought to such a state, in consequence of a long series of mis-government. The position is one that no man can deny. I could certainly understand the noble and learned lord, if he were not aware

of the evils which demand such a remedy. But the noble and learned lord is fully aware of the existence of these evils: he has been cognizant of their growth and their increase; and it is, therefore, most extraordinary that, under such circumstances, the noble and learned lord should profess himself unable to discover the necessity which exists for a measure of this description. I am certain that those evils exist, in a degree, in Ireland, unknown in any other civilised country in the world; and I am equally certain that there is no remedy for them, with the exception of that to which I adverted on a former occasion, but the measure now before your lordships. But I am asked, what are my prospects of the success of this measure? My lords, I am sanguine enough to imagine that the greatest possible amelioration will be effected in the state of the country, in consequence of the passing of this measure. A noble lord says, that the agitation will only become greater in consequence: but I am inclined to think that the people will find that they are interested in preserving the tranquillity of the country, and will be rather disposed, than otherwise, to maintain the public peace, and thus to promote the prosperity and happiness of their native land. I am therefore satisfied, that this bill will do much at present; and that, in the long run, it will effect all that the most sanguine amongst us can possibly expect or desire. But, my lords, if such effects shall not follow this measure—if it shall be attended by the consequences predicted by the noble and learned earl (and in which predictions, give me leave to say, I place no faith)—then, my lords, I and my colleagues, who are the responsible advisers of the crown, in this instance, will come down to parliament, and ask your lordships to adopt other measures, that may tend more effectually to maintain the security, prosperity, and happiness of Ireland. It has given me great concern, that my advocacy of this measure has been the cause of separating me from many of my noble friends; and I have particularly to lament, that it has occasioned the separation of the noble and learned lord. I am sorry, too, to have observed, this night, that this measure has led a noble and illustrious personage to withdraw his confidence from me. For the opinion of that noble and illustrious personage I entertain every respect; but I confess, that though I know the zeal, anxiety, and intensity of feeling which that

noble and illustrious individual manifested at an early period of this session against the measure, before it had come under the consideration of this house, I flattered myself that, when the measure had been fully discussed by your lordships, it would not induce that noble and illustrious individual to announce the withdrawal of his confidence from me and my right honourable colleagues. The duty which I have performed has, unfortunately, separated me from many of my noble friends; but it was a duty which imperiously devolved upon me, and from the discharge of which no consideration whatever could induce me to shrink. I am confident that the results of this measure will be such as to convince even those who are now most opposed to it, of its wisdom and necessity under the existing circumstances of the country. All I will add is, that I have not uttered a word on this question, nor done anything in regard to it, which I have not considered it my duty to his majesty and the public, either to do or to say. I must add, that though I have to regret the separation from some noble friends, I have the consolation to think that many noble lords, who have hitherto differed from me on other subjects, have done me the honour of giving to me their confidence and support on this question. I have to return my thanks to the noble lords opposite, with whom I possess no political connexions, and from whom I had no right to expect support, for the cordial and handsome manner in which they have assisted me throughout the discussion of the measure in this house. I cannot sit down, my lords, without congratulating the house and the country, that this measure has now arrived almost at its final stage; and I confidently trust that, ere long, we shall behold its beneficial effects displayed in Ireland, and in the establishment of the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of the united empire."

Their lordships divided, and the numbers stood thus—Content, present, one hundred and forty-nine; proxies, sixty-four: total, two hundred and thirteen. Not content, present, seventy-six; proxies, thirty-three: total, one hundred and nine. Majority, one hundred and four.

Thus closed the struggle on this important question. The excitement which had prevailed on the subject soon, in a great degree, subsided. It was hoped the effects of the measure would not contradict the

bold predictions of its promoters, who declared it would give tranquillity and general prosperity to Ireland, and thereby confer an important benefit on the whole empire. The annoyances to which the duke of Wellington had been exposed while this business was in progress, were more generally understood from what speedily followed. "Ministers, of course, had assured themselves of the royal assent, and it was their duty to do so before bringing forward the bill. The difficulty of obtaining the consent, and the late period at which it was obtained, were put forward by the duke of Wellington as the causes of delay on the part of government in announcing their intentions, which looked so like an arrangement to take the protestant community by surprise. Beside the objections which his majesty was understood to have always entertained to the measure, or principle, it appeared, from the communications between the ministers and the lord-lieutenant, subsequently made public, when the recall of the latter was mentioned in the house of peers, that the king had felt strongly the indignities cast upon his government by the proceedings of the agitators, and by the connivance which allowed them to be continued with impunity. On the 11th of November, 1828, the duke of Wellington, in a letter to the lord-lieutenant, after referring to those measures of the viceroy which were considered to betray a friendly and encouraging inclination towards the association, said:—'I cannot adequately express to you the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create, in all discussions with his majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is violated every day with impunity by those whose duty it is to preserve it, and that a formidable conspiracy exists, and that the supposed principal conspirators—those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country—are admitted to the presence of his majesty's representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the king's most loyal subjects.' His grace added, in a subsequent communication of the 19th of November:—'I might have, at an earlier period, expressed the pain I felt at the attendance of gentlemen of your household, and even of your family, at the Roman catholic association. I could not but feel, that such attendance must expose your government to misconstruction. But I was silent, because it is painful to notice such

things; but I have always felt, that if these impressions on the king's mind should remain (and I must say that recent transactions have given fresh cause for them), I could not avoid mentioning them to you in a private communication, and to let you know the embarrassment which they occasion.' In a still earlier communication, dated the 28th of September, the duke of Wellington told the lord-lieutenant that the catholic question was 'a subject of which the king never hears or speaks without being disturbed.' Of the reluctance with which his majesty, therefore, was brought at length to consent to the introduction of the bill, no doubt could be entertained. The duke of Wellington admitted, that his efforts to obtain that consent had been continued during the summer and autumn; and it was pleaded, as the excuse for the short notice, on which the measure was proposed, that that consent had been wrung from the king only a few days before parliament met in February. His majesty's resistance, therefore, had been long and firm. It was not wonderful that he should at last have yielded to the representations daily urged by those in whom he most confided: that a continued refusal could have no other effect, than to keep one part of his empire in misery, and expose the whole to rebellion—it might be to dismemberment.*

The feelings of the marquis of Anglesey were much hurt by his recall, on account of the part he had taken in favouring agitation in Ireland; nor was the wound so inflicted by the duke healed, when it was made known that his grace was to become the advocate of that catholic emancipation which the noble marquis had maintained, was necessary for the well-being of Ireland. His impression was, that the duke wished to have all the glory of the measure to himself, and removed him, that, as lord-lieutenant, he might not share the triumph of the cause. On the 5th of May, his lordship brought the whole subject before the house of lords, and on moving for certain papers, went into a long statement of what had taken place. He read to their lordships the letters which had passed between the duke and himself, till his lordship was informed, that his conduct was deemed inconsistent with his duty, and the king was in consequence pleased to relieve him from his vice-regal duties. It is not necessary here to discuss the degree of praise or censure which might be due to the

gallant marquis for the view he took of this important question, or for the steps he took in consequence of such view; but there can hardly be a difference of opinion on this point—that the duke judged right when he came to the conclusion, that "he and the marquis could no longer go on as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and prime-minister of England, with advantage to the country." The duke, in the house of lords, very fully replied to all that was advanced by the noble marquis, and concluded with the following statement of the circumstances connected with his dismissal, which was determined by other facts than the writing and sending an objectionable letter to Dr. Curtis, which had been particularly noticed. The question having been first submitted to his colleagues, his lordship was informed by Mr. Peel, that he would be relieved from his government, but it was intended he should be relieved in a manner agreeable to himself; and till that could be effected, he was not to be recalled. The marquis replied, that he was dutifully disposed to await the time, manner, and circumstances under which it might be his majesty's pleasure to relieve him from his duties. The duke proceeded:—"My communication was dated the 28th of December: the noble marquis's reply was dated the 30th. In the meantime, however, I received a letter from Dr. Curtis, dated the 4th of December, to which I wrote an answer on the 11th, which the doctor thought proper to publish. I know it is said, the letter, to which mine is called the reply, was never written. My answer is, that I shall not follow the example of the doctor, by making that letter public: publish it I will not; but if any noble lord wishes to inspect that letter here, it is on the table for his perusal. On the 1st of January appeared the letter of the noble marquis to Dr. Curtis, being, as it seemed, a running comment on that letter which I had addressed to the same person on the 11th of December. The noble marquis says, that his letter was written on the 23rd, and that it was on the morning of that day my letter was first shown to him, in his official capacity of lord-lieutenant. It seems, however, a most extraordinary circumstance, that, on the morning when the letter was thus shown, it was also published in all the Dublin papers. This is, certainly, a most extraordinary circumstance; and the first thing I remark upon it, with respect to myself, is, that the noble lord there asserts, that he did not

* *Annual Register.*

know what I thought on the catholic question. Another remarkable circumstance in that letter is, that the noble lord observes on my feeling of the necessity of tranquillity in Ireland, previous to any further parliamentary discussion of the question. In answer to this observation, I beg to refer your lordships to a letter, written by the noble lord in the month of July previous, and which I wish he had read over attentively before he made the observation contained in his letter to Dr. Curtis. The letter goes to show, that the noble lord did not, at that time, object to that part of the subject; for in it he says—"If I should fortunately be enabled to keep this country in a quiet state, and if the association should cease, I sincerely conjure you, to suggest that it is the interest of the country to take the state of Ireland into consideration in the first week of the next session of parliament. I hold it my duty thus to explain myself." From this extract, your lordships will see that it is quite clear, that the opinion of the necessity of tranquillity is not mine, but was that of the noble lord himself. It was he that, at that period, judged it was necessary that tranquillity should come, before the catholic claims were conceded."

His grace proceeded—"But this is not the only point to which I have to call your lordships' attention. The noble lord has told the house, that he wrote the letter to Dr. Curtis confidentially, and that it was published afterwards with a view to put the country in a state of tranquillity. But let me ask, was it calculated to produce any such tranquillity? I will tell your lordships what Mr. O'Connell said on the subject. The words of Mr. O'Connell were—"The marquis of Anglesey recommends that all constitutional, in contradistinction to merely legal means, should be resorted to, to forward the cause: that is the only part of his letter which we are inclined to disobey; for though the measures may be unconstitutional, if they are against the law, we ought not to adopt them." So that it appears, the noble lord, by way of tranquillising Ireland, publishes advice to these agitators, which even they will not follow, because they think it too strong a measure to adopt. But the noble lord says, that the tenor of this letter is misunderstood; and that, although there is the word 'agitate' in it, it does not mean agitation." [The marquis of Anglesey here stated it was his impression that the word "agitate" was not used in the letter at all.]

The duke of Wellington, resuming, said—"The word 'agitate' certainly appears here:—"I fear that advantages might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent re-action; and by proclaiming, that if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-acted." Now, with respect to agitation, it certainly does appear that the letter contains not only advice to persevere in that course, but even goes on to show, by what means agitation may be made most effectual; for the word is not only mentioned incidentally in the letter, but the noble lord refers back to the past history of Ireland. And what is it that we understand by agitation? Why, if I may at all judge of its meaning by experience, it means something just short of rebellion—and that is all: it means a state of things in which the government of the country becomes absolutely impracticable, and where everything is bordering close upon irremediable confusion. Let me ask, whether that is the condition in which the noble lord contemplated leading the people of Ireland? Let me, also, beg your lordships to remember, that when the noble lord wrote thus, he was still in his majesty's service: let me beg the noble lord himself to look at the instructions he received when he assumed those functions—to look, also, at the sense of duty which he entertained during the whole period of his continuing in office. The noble lord began his government of Ireland by entering into discussion with the king's servants here, respecting the point of whether or not he should follow up the step he had taken, by an application to parliament to revive the laws that had reference to the disabilities of the Roman catholics. After this, the noble lord had received directions to consider (in conjunction with the law-officers of the crown) of the practicability of putting down the catholic association by means of the law, either through the medium of the common law, or of a specific act of parliament. The noble lord did consider that point; and I need not tell your lordships, that it was with a view to putting an end to agitation that the direction was given. Now let me ask, whether the noble lord's letter to Dr. Curtis corresponded in spirit with these previous steps? The next step adopted by his majesty's government was, to give directions for the proclamation of the 1st of October,

in consequence of the representations made to the ministry. Again, I ask the noble lord, whether agitation was consistent with the spirit of that proclamation? I ask, whether agitation was really consistent with his previous efforts? After that, the noble lord gave directions for the arrest of Mr. Lawless. These circumstances will serve to show your lordships the whole tenor of the noble lord's correspondence, from which I might read much more copiously, but that I have already occupied too much of the time of the house. Those extracts, should I read them, would all go to show that the noble lord, at the commencement of his government of Ireland, was fully sensible that the evil of that country was the agitation carried into effect by the catholic association. It was evidently impossible, after the letter which the noble lord addressed to Dr. Curtis, not to withdraw him from the government of Ireland; and I must say, that however painful—and certainly I never felt more pain at anything, than at the adoption of that step—however painful it was to me to form such a resolution, I should not have done my duty by his majesty or by the country, if I had opposed myself to the withdrawal of the noble lord from the government of Ireland."

The motion—which was but a matter of form—was negatived.

It was the lot of Wellington to witness many extraordinary changes in the course of his public career. The great alteration in the constitution, to which he so largely contributed, caused strange varieties to appear. While old friends stood coolly aloof, doubtful whether to lament imbecility, or condemn apostasy, those whose business it had been to traduce and lampoon him for many years, united to do him honour. On the 6th of May, a great meeting was held at the London-tavern, for the purpose of considering "the best means of raising a sufficient fund, by voluntary subscription, to erect a statue, in or near Dublin, of his grace the duke of Wellington, commemorative of the most glorious of his public services—the introduction and passing of the Roman catholic relief bill." Among those who attended on this occasion were the duke of Leinster, earl Fitzwilliam, the marquis of Downshire, earl of Darnley, the earl of Bective, the earl of Cork, lord Shannon, lord Stourton, lord Clifford, lord Dunally, lord Stafford, lord Gosford, lieutenant-general Thornton, the Knight of Kerry, sir C.

Coote, bart., M.P., the honourable George Agar Ellis, the honourable Mr. Jerningham, the honourable F. Ponsonby, the Rev. Mr. Courtney, the Rev. Mr. Wade, the Rev. Mr. Keating, Thomas Moore, Esq., James Grattan, Esq., Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, O'Gorman Mahon, Steele, Henry Hunt, and C. Phillips. The earl of Fitzwilliam presided, and a series of resolutions were proposed—laudatory of the duke, of course—in furtherance of the object of the meeting, and adopted. They were introduced with appropriate speeches by lord Stourton, the marquis of Downshire, lord Killen, lord Clifford, the earl of Bective, and Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, O'Gorman, and others. Mr. Thomas Moore, the poet, was among the speakers. He said—"The resolution which had been allotted to him expressed how much the great cause of religious freedom owed to the living and the dead. It was to the dead that he should first call their attention: there was, he believed, a superstitious notion among the ancients, that, in their battles, the shades of the dead stood beside them in the ranks, and helped to achieve their triumphs. Certainly it had been so in this great combat: in it the great and eloquent dead, still living in the words of wisdom they had left behind them, were present with their mighty aid, and the conquerors fought under the shadow of their shields. It was pleasant to look back upon past proceedings: still the pleasure was mingled with a degree of astonishment at the strange shifting of the political scene which had brought him malcontent—Irishman—to appear there as the eulogist of a prime minister of Great Britain; and a voter for a statue. All knew the story of the doge of Genoa, who, being asked what it was that most astonished him at Versailles, replied—'Nothing half so much as to find himself there.' Such, in part, might be our own feeling at the position we occupied; but between the feeling of the doge and ours there was this difference—that his was an uneasy and uncomfortable feeling, which dictated the famous answer; while ours is one of satisfaction and gratitude. The doge was astonished to find himself (who had been hitherto independent) at the feet of a haughty master: we, heretofore enslaved and degraded, are surprised at discovering ourselves in the arms of liberators and friends. The day of argument on this subject was gone by—the trite prosing of persecution—the tautology

of intolerance, which made the necessity of listening to and answering our antagonists not the least of our penal grievances: luckily, these were all gone by; and no longer was the land divided by two theological factions, which, raking back the dust of past ages, industriously employed themselves in discovering therein causes of polemical contention, like the Greeks of the lower empire, who, when the enemy was at the gates, were busily engaged in discussing the light on Mount Tabor. Pope said, there was every chance that he would never be worth a groat, for he was born a papist and a poet. Now, gentlemen, this saying of Pope, with the simple alteration of poet to poetaster, will be exactly applicable to me. But I add a third office to the catalogue—and, so far, I have the advantage of Pope—I claim to be a prophet also. Many years ago, after the great victories of the illustrious duke, I followed up the conqueror's renown with that sort of penny-trumpet eulogium which a small poet—in all respects small—could contribute. I afterwards regretted that praise, and became for the time an example of the truth of an assertion of Dr. Johnson—that poets are generally in too great a hurry: but I now blush no longer at it; since the duke of Wellington is not only the conqueror of other lands, but the pacificator of his own. I congratulate you upon this event, and also that it has been attended with no bad consequences (in spite of all auguries to the contrary.) But I am wrong. Addison makes his tory fox-hunter say,

'there has been no good weather since the revolution.' In that respect we, also, have cause of complaint since the passing of the relief-bill; but it is the only one. The resolution says—'We must ever bear in mind how much the great cause of religious freedom owes to the many illustrious persons, both living and dead, who have lent their powerful aid to its advancement.' This included many individuals whom it was not the object of to-day's meeting more particularly to commemorate. We had to think, however, not only of the illustrious dead, who welcomed the spirit of civil and religious liberty at a time when but very few welcomed it—like the nymph, whom few would praise, and still fewer love: to them, first, were we to direct our attention; next, to the efforts of that great political party, which could have no more illustrious representative than the venerable nobleman now presiding. We ought never to forget those distinguished persons who, by the toil of years—by the sacrifice of popularity—by abandoning power and place in their consistent support of this question—brought the cause to the situation in which the duke of Wellington found it. Next to the noble duke—that great and admirable man—thanks were due to his no less admirable colleague, Mr. Peel, who, in his sacrifice of self, and by abandoning preconceived opinions, had shown his superiority to narrow prejudices, achieved a victory over himself, and afforded an instance of rare moral courage and high-mindedness in our days."

CHAPTER XVI.

MOTION FOR AN INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE SILK-TRADE; DISTURBANCES IN SPITALFIELDS AND OTHER PLACES; BILL TO IMPROVE THE POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS; THE BUDGET; MR. O'CONNELL CLAIMS A SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; STATE OF PORTUGAL; MOTION RESPECTING IT; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT; POLICY OF RUSSIA.

VARIOUS branches of the industry of the country suffered at this period very seriously. The silk-trade had greatly declined, and the weavers of the metropolis, especially those located in Spitalfields, Bethnal-green, and their vicinities, were most loud in their complaints, and violent in their proceedings. A motion for a committee to inquire into the

state of the silk-trade was made by Mr. Fyler, on the 13th of April. The proposed inquiry was not to be confined to ascertaining its present state, but was to extend to the causes of its decline. That it had declined, and that those who depended on it for subsistence were in great distress, were facts which could not be denied; and its origin

was said to be identified with certain recent changes in the commercial system of the country. The weavers in Coventry suffered in common with the weavers of London; and the number out of employment in that town was stated to have been increased by five hundred, since the middle of the last month. The total number out of employ reached four thousand two hundred; and in Congleton, twenty-six mills were standing still. The following additional facts were brought forward:—"In 1824, the average rate of wages had been 12s. 8d. per week; in 1828, it declined to 4s. 7d. In Paisley, but one-third of the mills continued working at that period, which were employed in 1824. In that year, the average rate was fifteen shillings; in 1828, it had fallen to 8s. 1½d. There were fifty-two mills employed in March, in 1824; and of these, at the time the subject was pressed on the attention of the house of commons, sixteen were standing idle. At Taunton, fifty were standing still, out of seventy that were working at the former period, and wages had been reduced seventy per cent. In Spitalfields, in 1824-'5, Gros de Naples was paid for at the rate of tenpence a-yard; it had come down to sixpence: lutestring, then paid for at the rate of one shilling, now could obtain no more than sixpence. Other fabrics which, at the former date, commanded 1s. 2d. per yard, were now woven for ninepence. There were seventeen thousand looms working in Spitalfields in 1824-'5. Not more than nine thousand were employed in 1829. Then, the rate of wages averaged seventeen shillings; now, it was not more than nine shillings. For figured and fancy goods, the rate, in 1824, was twenty-two shillings; now, it averaged but fourteen shillings. One-third of the whole manufacture of Spitalfields then consisted of fancy goods; now, only two thousand looms, out of nine thousand, were employed in that way. Like distressing representations were made with respect to the weavers of Dublin: and the inference drawn from all these facts thus collected was, that a great amount of labour had been displaced, and a loss of more than a million of money, in consequence, thrown on the industry of the country. The English mills, in many parts of the country, were at present idle; their working-hands reduced to miserable want; while the masters became importers instead of manufacturers."

Such were the grounds on which the mo-

tion rested. It was resisted, on the part of ministers, as pointing, which it certainly did, to a return to the prohibitory system, which it was their determination not to restore, from a conviction, that to take such a course would be to increase the existing evil. Were the restrictions on monopoly restored, it was argued, all the probabilities were, that monopoly prices being revived, consumption would decline; and one consequence of that would be, the total ruin of the establishments which had grown up since, and because, prohibition was at an end. They held, that one of the main causes of the distress complained of, which was felt in France as well as in England, was overproduction, together with overtrading. That was proved by many circumstances: by the immense increase of the quantity of raw silk imported; by the high prices at which, owing to the competition of throwsters, the raw silks had been purchased at the East India-house, at the end of January; the number of new mills and works which had been established since 1823; and the distress experienced simultaneously in France;—all proved the causes of the evil were those which have been named. The change of system dated from the commencement of 1824; and in the five years which had since elapsed, the importation of raw and thrown silk had been eighteen million five hundred and eighty-four thousand two hundred and thirteen pounds. In the five preceding years, it was ten million nine hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and forty-six pounds; making a difference of seven million six hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and sixty-seven pounds in favour of the latter period; and long before 1824, a silk-trade was rising up in the provinces, which began to be severely felt in Spitalfields. It was then contended, that if the consumption were to be contracted, in the degree to which it would be on a return to the former system, the looms of the metropolis could not be kept at work, in opposition to the new establishments set up in the country. It was judged likely that changes of fashion, more than overproduction, had formerly caused distress to be felt in the trade, and to Spitalfields, those seasons must become more and more disastrous, in proportion as competition in the country had become more extensive. In former times, it was not possible to force a trade by low prices: cheapness was not regarded as important by the regular consumers; and the greatest degree

of cheapness which could then be reached, was not such as to bring in a new class of customers. If the manufacturers in England were distressed by French imports, the French manufacturers would be in a flourishing state; but the reverse of this was the fact. The French manufacturers were convinced, by fatal experience, that they could not undersell the British manufacturer, and this had thrown many thousands of hands out of work in France. In certain considerable towns, there had been a great increase of manufacturing establishments, where, previously to 1824, the number of spindles employed was seven hundred and eighty thousand: in 1829, the number was one million one hundred and eighty thousand; showing an increase of four hundred thousand. It, therefore, resulted, that admitting, previous to 1824, all, without exception, had been employed, the number returned, in 1829, as unemployed being three hundred thousand, served to show that there was no diminution of employment as compared with 1824.

These arguments prevailed. The motion of Mr. Fyler, after a debate, continued through two nights, was negatived, and resolutions were moved, by the president of the board of trade, which went to abate the duty on the importation of raw silk. These were carried, as was a bill founded on them, after being angrily opposed. While the measure was under the consideration of parliament, Bethnal-green and Spitalfields were the scenes of great disorders, which Mr. Peel declared had been created in the vain hope of deterring the legislature from taking that step which the government were satisfied would prove a benefit to the malcontents themselves.

When Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, president of the board of trade, offered his resolutions to the house of commons (the object of which was to reduce the duties on the different species of raw material), it was maintained, on the part of the government, that admitting the principle of drawbacks on manufactured silks, equal in amount to the duty on foreign thrown silk, were all that could be done by government to relieve the trade. If, by the aid of foreign thrown silk, required in the English manufactured article, an export trade could be created, it was obvious that by this the English weavers must be gainers. Mr. Fitzgerald's resolutions were carried, and a bill founded on them was introduced; and, after being warmly opposed, passed into a law.

If the disorders in Spitalfields and other places, to which Mr. Peel adverted, were not very formidable, they were still of a serious character, and marked by a ferocious determination to do mischief. As one specimen of the tactics of the Spitalfields malcontents, the police intelligence of the period shows a woman, named Mary Dove, to have been placed at the bar of Worship-street office, charged with conniving at the destruction of two hundred yards of rich puce-coloured silk, belonging to her employers. The foreman of the establishment stated, that the prisoner had that morning informed him, that the cutters had entered her house by force, and destroyed the work entrusted to her care. The woman said, in answer to the charge, that she was a widow: that she and her family, consisting of a son and daughter, retired to bed about half-past ten o'clock on the preceding night, and at about twelve she was awoken by a loud knocking at the window-shutter, when she asked, "Who's there?" Some person outside, replied, "A friend." She rejoined, "I won't let any friend in now:" whereupon, the same voice said, "For God's sake open the door, for my wife is just taken in labour." She got out of bed, and opened the door, and, that moment, in rushed three fellows, who swore if she made the least noise, they would kill her. She was very much alarmed, and they told her not to be afraid: if she was quiet, they would not hurt her. They then destroyed the silk by cutting it with a razor. She added, she knew none of the men of the gang; so she could not recognise any one of them. The magistrate inquired, if her son had come to her assistance. Her reply was, that the invaders of her dwelling threatened, that instant death should require any interference on his part. The magistrate doubted the truth of this story; but there was no evidence on which she could be detained. The whole affair was believed to be a concerted outrage. She was dismissed with a caution; and the following hand-bill was posted about the neighbourhood:—"Public-office, Worship-street, May 8th, 1829.—Whereas, several persons, suspected to be journeymen weavers, have, for several nights past, feloniously cut and destroyed silk in the looms: the magistrates of this office hereby warn them of the dangerous consequences of such conduct; and assure those who have committed, or connived at these offences, they will leave no

exertions untried, either now or hereafter, to bring the offenders to justice; and further apprise them, that if they should be convicted under the statute 22 George III., cap. 40, sec. 2, they will be subject to the penalty of death: or, if convicted under the statute of 7 and 8 George IV., they will be liable to be transported for life, or not less than seven years, or to be (if a male) once, twice, or thrice publicly whipped.

At Manchester, delegates were chosen and resolutions were passed, declaring, that "nothing short of the prices paid for weaving in 1824, would be satisfactory." The masters consented to return to those prices, but expressed a fear that the arrangement could not be permanent. That they should so far have given way, was regarded by the workmen as a matter of great rejoicing. At Rochdale, there were dangerous riots. A mob attacked the factory of a Mr. Chadwick. That gentleman, expecting an attack, had barricaded the doors of his mill with large bales of wool. The assailants, finding the doors fast, entered through the windows—abused all the persons employed in the establishment, including joiners, millwrights, and labourers, all of whom they drove into the street with their coats turned inside out. Even the children did not escape their vengeance. Some of these they threw from the windows into the street; others they carried out by the hair of the head. A young man who remonstrated with the chief actors in this barbarous proceeding, they threatened to throw into the river which runs close by. They shamefully attacked an old man about seventy years of age, whom they struck several times with a crowbar. Detachments of troops arrived from Stockport, Oldham, and Manchester. A troop of the king's dragoon guards had been dispatched by colonel Shaw from Manchester. They immediately proceeded, headed by the magistrate, to the rendezvous of the rioters at Cronkey Moor, whom they completely surrounded, and apprehended five of the most active. Other parties were subsequently captured; and twenty-three persons, in all, were brought before the magistrates, of whom, sixteen were committed to Lancaster castle, for trial at the assizes. At the close of the examination, the prisoners were placed under an escort of about forty of the 1st dragoon guards, and conveyed back to the lock-ups, where they were lodged under the protection of five soldiers of the 67th foot. When the dragoons had retired,

a mob collected round the lock-ups, and began to throw stones at the soldiers. There were among the crowd a number of women, who encouraged them to this outrage. One of the soldiers being struck on the head with a stone, by which he was severely cut, his comrades fired several blank cartridges over the heads of the excited frantic rioters, for the purpose of intimidating them. While this was going forward, a reinforcement of a sergeant and six soldiers arrived, making a force of twelve men. The rioters continuing to throw stones, the soldiers loaded their muskets with ball, and again fired over the heads of the people. By this discharge, a boy, about six years old, who was standing at a window in the top storey of his father's mill, at some distance from the lock-ups, was unfortunately shot. He lingered a day or two, and then died. As the mob kept still rushing on, throwing stones, and expressing a determination to rescue the prisoners, the soldiers again loaded, and were compelled, in their own defence, and for the protection of the prisoners, to continue firing amongst the crowd, until they had discharged eighty-five shots. Several persons were killed on the spot. One man, named Abraham Taylor, was killed in the act of throwing stones, and after his death, a stone was found in each of his hands. A party of dragoons, hearing the discharge of musketry, hastened forward, and having made a charge upon the people, soon dispersed them. The remainder of the foot-soldiers in the town came to the assistance of their comrades, and charged the mob with the bayonet. Besides those who were killed, there were about twenty-five persons wounded, some with ball, and others with sabre and bayonet wounds.

Notwithstanding the melancholy scenes to which the prevailing excitement gave rise; it will be seen, from the reasoning opposed to Mr. Fyler's motion, and the important facts stated, that it was impossible to comply with the demands of the poor men, whose distress could not be doubted, though they were in error as to the causes by which it had been produced. To unsettle the commercial policy of the country, under the circumstances of the time, must have led to fatal consequences; but this was not acknowledged by the sufferers; and the duke and his colleagues were subjected to bitter reproaches in the localities which have been named. If, in relation to literature, "a little learning is a dangerous thing," as-

surely it is not less so in connexion with politics. Men in humble life, on the information which reaches them, have no doubt as to the course which a wise government should pursue; but were they possessed of that which is furnished to those entrusted with the management of public affairs, they would, in most cases, know embarrassments which never crossed their minds before. That this must necessarily be the case, is obvious—

“For just experience tells, on every soil,
That those who think, must govern those who toil.”

Great was the alarm expressed by the weavers, and others connected with the silk-trade, at the decision pronounced by the legislature. While this prevailed, an application was made to the government to provide means for enabling the sufferers to emigrate. A letter, addressed to the duke on this subject, from a Mr. Brutton, was thus answered:—

“London, July 9th, 1829.

“Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving your letter, and a memorial signed by a committee of the unemployed weavers in this city, the object of both of which is to require me to find money to pay the expense of the emigration, to New South Wales, of four thousand silk-weavers. I don’t know whether you or the gentlemen of the committee have estimated the expense of such emigration; but I can assure you that I have it not in my power to advance, from the public funds, any sum which could be considered as at all adequate for such a purpose, even for a small proportion of the number, upon the most reduced estimate that has ever been formed. I lament that the weavers continue to feel distress: I attribute that distress to causes over which the government have no control, and which you so feelingly lament.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.

“Robert Brutton, Esq.”

The late inquiries into the state of the police proved that some change had become indispensable to the well-being of the metropolis. It was shown to be necessary by Mr. Peel, on moving for leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of the police, as it appeared, from returns before the house, that the state of crime in the metropolis, as compared with Wales, was very unfavourable for the former. Calculating the number

that criminals in London and Middlesex bore to the population, they would find that not less than one person in every three hundred and eighty-three had been committed, for some crime or other, in the year 1828. If, in the same manner, they determined the ratio between the number of persons similarly committed in England and Wales, the proportion would be found to be one criminal to every eight hundred and twenty-two of the entire population. Crime had, of late, been on the increase. In 1821, the number of persons committed, in London and Middlesex, was two thousand four hundred and eighty; the population being one million one hundred and sixty-seven thousand. In 1828, he regretted to say, the committals for crime amounted to three thousand five hundred and sixty. There was no official returns of the population up to that date; but assuming it was in a corresponding ratio to other periods, the number of individuals, in London and Middlesex, would be one million three hundred and forty-nine thousand in the year. The result, therefore, of a comparison between the ratio of increase of population and the ratio of increase of crime in the metropolis, showed that the former was not in proportion to, and could not account for, the great increase in the latter; for there was an increase of forty-one per cent. in the number of committals; while there was only an increase in the population of fifteen and-a-half per cent.

In the course of the able speech Mr. Peel made on this subject, he showed that, while there was so startling an increase of crime in the metropolis, there was, generally, a diminution in the committals throughout the country. In Lancashire, in the last year, there had been but four hundred and forty-eight commitments; in 1827, there were no fewer than two thousand four hundred and fifty-seven. He proposed to unite under one head all parochial police authority, including, of course, night-watchmen; the whole to be under a board of police, whose duty it would be to superintend and be responsible for all the agents required by the police. He would abandon the term watchmen, and speak of their substitutes as a species of nightly patrol; and the bill which had been prepared he would propose to refer to the police committee of last year, for the completion of its details, that committee to be re-appointed for that purpose.

The budget was submitted to the house of commons on the 8th of May, when it ap-



DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ^{RE}

Painted by J. Henry, Esq^r for the late Catholic Association of Ireland.

Engraved by J. W. Cook.

peared that the revenue—which the chancellor of the exchequer had estimated last year at fifty-three million nine hundred thousand pounds, while the expenditure was taken at fifty million one hundred thousand pounds, giving about three million eight hundred thousand pounds applicable to the reduction of the public debt—had exceeded all he had hoped to realise. The actual income of the year 1828 had reached fifty-five million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds; while the expenditure was not more than forty-nine million three hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds;—giving a total surplus of five million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, instead of three million seven hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds, on which he had reckoned. With the exception of about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, that increase had arisen from those two great branches of the revenue—the customs and excise. The former had been estimated at seventeen million six hundred thousand pounds; but the amount produced was only seventeen million two hundred thousand pounds—an apparent diminution arising from the tea-duty, in Ireland, being transferred from the Irish customs to the English excise. The estimate of the customs was reduced eight hundred thousand pounds by the loss of that duty; while, in the excise, there was a counteracting increase of six hundred thousand pounds, and it had actually exceeded seven hundred thousand pounds. The excise—estimated at nineteen million two hundred thousand pounds—had reached twenty million seven hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds. The tea-duty deducted, the amount would be twenty million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, giving an excess of one million pounds above its anticipated produce. He anticipated the revenue of the present year would be fifty-one million three hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds. The expenditure, he showed, would be forty-eight million three hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and ninety-three pounds, which, deducted from the former sum, gave an excess of three million thirteen thousand four hundred and seven pounds. The finance-committee having recommended that a clear sum of three million pounds should always be applied to the redemption of the national debt, it was not proper to abate any of the existing burthens of the country. In making these statements, on which he wished the house

to form their own opinion, he should not do justice to his own feelings, Mr. Peel said, if he did not take the opportunity of saying, that whatever might be the temporary difficulties of the country, he saw nothing to lead to any doubt as to the extent of the means and the resources of the country; on the contrary, when the cloud which had lowered over it should pass away—and pass away he was confident it would, at an early period—the country would present a picture of prosperity, happiness, and wealth, such as had scarcely been equalled at any former period.

Mr. O'Connell's pledge—if returned for the county of Clare, that he would repair to Westminster for the purpose of taking his seat—was now to be redeemed. On the 15th of May, he made it known that it was his determination to claim a place in the house of commons. On that day, immediately after prayers had been read, the speaker, in the usual way, desired, if there were any member to be sworn, that he would come to the table, that the oaths might be administered. All the members then rose in expectation of a scene; and a few minutes afterwards, Mr. O'Connell was introduced by lords Ebrington and Duncannon. The clerk tendered the oath which had been repealed by the late act, but which act was in force at the time of Mr. O'Connell's election. He declined taking it, as it was no longer required by law. Mr. O'Connell conversed for a few seconds, in an undertone, with the principal clerk of the house, and the latter communicated the substance of what passed to the speaker. The speaker then said—"It is my duty to state to the house, that the course the honourable member at the table intends to pursue cannot be permitted; and I must consider I am right, unless corrected by the authority of the house. The honourable gentleman claims to be admitted to take his seat under the authority of a recent act of parliament. If I properly understand that act, it repeals the oath of transubstantiation, and appoints an oath to be taken by all Roman catholics, in lieu of the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, but with this condition, that the honourable member thus applying, must be returned after the passing of that act. Now, the honourable gentleman at the table was returned long before the passing of that act, and, therefore, it cannot apply to any person circumstanced as he is. I think I have put the proper construction upon that act.

It is, therefore, necessary for the honourable gentleman to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before the lords of the privy council, and those in conjunction with the oath of abjuration here, the same as all other members, before he can take his seat. I feel it my duty to state that the honourable gentleman must now withdraw. If I am wrong in my judgment, there is an appeal open by petition."

Mr. O'Connell had not obeyed the mandate of the speaker; when Mr. Brougham rose to speak, but was immediately pronounced by the speaker to be out of order. Upon this, Mr. O'Connell left the table, and Mr. Brougham proceeded to say, he considered the speaker in error when he came to the conclusion that the honourable member for Clare, according to the usage of parliament, had not a right to be heard. The first difficulty in the case did not present itself until the honourable member for Clare was ordered to withdraw; and then he (Mr. Brougham) endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was called to order by the chair, until the honourable member had withdrawn. What he wished to contend for was, the right of the honourable member for Clare to be heard in his place, or—as he had, perhaps, no place—at the table of the house, without taking the oaths, in order to state his objections to taking them. There were two or three precedents directly in point; and these he particularly described, contending that, as in those cases members had been heard by the house, Mr. O'Connell might be permitted to speak before any further proceedings took place. He then moved that the member for Clare be recalled, and heard at the bar of the house.—Mr. secretary Peel said, he could not entertain a doubt but that the honourable and learned gentleman was not entitled to be heard on the question; because, in that case, every man who was returned to that house, had an equal right to state his objections to taking the oaths.—It was, however, apparent that the house was disposed to hear Mr. O'Connell; but as a question arose, whether he should be heard at the bar or at the table, the debate was adjourned to the 18th, when it was decided that he should be heard at the bar. Mr. O'Connell being called in, after briefly apologising for his ignorance of the forms of that house, proceeded to state the grounds upon which he claimed to sit and vote, as the member for Clare. He reviewed the various enactments

respecting Roman catholics, from the 30th of Charles II. down to the passing of the relief bill. He contended that, although the act of union with Ireland prescribed certain oaths, yet the obligations of that act were done away with by the relief bill. He had, he said, already taken two oaths, which were all that the statute required; and he could not, therefore, be denied a participation in the privilege which that bill conferred on persons of every religious denomination: the bill was for protestants, dissenters, catholics—all, all—and not for catholics alone. The only statute that could exclude a person in his situation from a seat in that house—he meant the statute of Charles II.—was not now in force. He asked the house to allow him to take the new oaths at his own peril—he was ready to do so. If they did not, what then was to become of him? Was he to remain the representative for Clare, the house not allowing him to come in, and being unable to turn him out? He claimed to sit and vote in that character as a civil right; and he implored the house to consider what it was they were about to do, if they resisted his claim—to look at the consequence of their declaring that civil right was not civil right.

The speech which Mr. O'Connell made on this occasion astonished some of his hearers, by its mild and conciliatory tone, as well as by the force of the arguments he employed. A debate followed on the question, whether or not he could be allowed to take his seat? By some of the legal authorities of the house, it was argued, that as there was a doubt on the subject, Mr. O'Connell ought to have the benefit of that doubt, and be admitted, on taking the oath required by the new law. This doctrine, which, in the case of a prisoner charged with a capital offence, could not be questioned, was deemed less applicable to a gentleman elected to sit in the English house of commons; and the solicitor-general submitted to the house a motion, which ran thus:—"It is the opinion of this house, that Mr. O'Connell having been returned as a member to this house before the commencement of the act passed in the present session, for the relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, is not entitled to sit or vote in this house, unless he first take the oath of supremacy." A long debate ensued, and the result was unfavourable to Mr. O'Connell's pretensions. On a division, a majority declared for his exclusion;

the numbers being, one hundred and ninety to one hundred and sixteen. The next day he appeared at the bar of the house, when he was asked, if he was prepared to take the oath of supremacy? He desired to see the oath; and having perused it, remarked that it contained one assertion, as to a matter of fact, which he knew was not true; and he also remarked in it an assertion as to a matter of opinion, which he believed to be untrue; and, therefore, he must refuse to take it. A question was next raised, whether a writ should issue for a new election, or an act be passed for the relief of Mr. O'Connell, to avoid the excitement of a new election? The final decision of the house was in favour of the former course.

The state of Portugal continued to be anything but satisfactory. That the friends of Don Pedro were active in stirring up discontent, and in spreading disaffection far and wide, admits of no question; and hence it may be conceded, that the situation of Don Miguel was one of great difficulty. But this admitted, the course he thought fit to take, was as remote from good policy, as it was repugnant to humanity.

When the insurrection at Oporto had been suppressed by his troops, he used the late outbreak as an instrument to ruin or destroy all who were supposed to be favourable to Donna Maria, however forbearing their conduct might have been. Many individuals, who were anonymously accused, were arrested and committed to the dungeons of Limero, or shut up in the castle of St. Julian. This hateful tyranny was felt by all classes. The judges, before whom the Oporto insurgents were tried, sentenced many of the prisoners to banishment. Miguel, not satisfied with this, on his own authority, punished them capitally. "The prisons were crowded, and the parties so incarcerated, were subjected to great severities. There were among the captives, persons of affluence, who gave from their means to relieve their humbler fellow-sufferers. With an extraordinary refinement in cruelty, the satellites of Miguel caused the richer prisoners to be withdrawn, that their unfortunate neighbours might not have the rigour of their destiny mitigated by their means. They were denied all communication with their families, but not brought to trial. Many of them sunk beneath the cruelties to which they were exposed; and, in some cases, it was reported that poison had been administered. The rage of the oppressor

seemed to urge him almost to madness. Neither age nor sex found favour in his sight, or mercy at his hands; and among his prisoners, a little boy, but five years of age, is mentioned, who was detained several days in solitary confinement, with a view of frightening the child into giving evidence against his father and mother. There was in Lisbon a refugee Spanish bishop, who had been a member of the cortes in 1812. He had latterly lived in obscurity in Portugal, but was now cast into the cells of St. Julian, where the ill-treatment he experienced from Telles Jordao, the governor of the place, a wretch described to have been a savage monster, terminated his existence in the course of a few days. The queen-mother was believed to prompt and abet the violence of her son. She was the elder sister of Ferdinand VII.; a woman of good capacity, but endowed with little of the gentleness of her sex. The priests were charged with encouraging the usurping prince in his dreary career of misgovernment at Oporto and Lisbon. A pamphlet was put forth by a monk, named Jose Agostino, a court preacher, entitled *The Beast Flayed*. In this publication, the importance of exercising a salutary severity was insisted upon. It undertook to prove, that all who had favoured the constitution, 'ought to be hung up by the feet, that the people might be joyfully treated, daily, with fresh meat from the gallows.' The sister of Miguel, who had acted as regent, having made some representations in vindication of her fame, which served to show that she was not the author of the arbitrary proceedings of the usurper, and having, moreover, dispatched a servant to England, as he concluded, to report on his proceedings, raised his wrath so excessively, that he burst into her chamber with a pistol, to which a bayonet was affixed, and attempted to strike the princess. Her chamberlain, the comte de Camarido, interposed, and received the blow. Miguel then fired. The bullet missed the lady, but killed a servant who was in attendance. The domestics hurried the princess away, and saved her from further violence." Such were the facts now published respecting the conduct of Don Miguel.

Towards the end of May, accounts were received of the execution of ten persons, condemned for high treason by a special commission. Senhor Gravito, one of them, was the friend of lord Heytesbury. His

case, and his melancholy end, were much commented upon. Before leaving his prison, Gravito, addressing the parties there confined, declared, that he and those who were to suffer with him, died for their country—for their lawful sovereign, Donna Maria II., and for having supported that excellent charter which Don Pedro had given to Portugal, as the only means of remedying the many evils it had endured. He recommended to his hearers perseverance in the same good cause; adding, that although many more might, and no doubt would, fall in the struggle, yet liberty would conquer in the end. On the steps of the scaffold, he again addressed the comparatively few persons who were looking on—and few they were—when he was launched into eternity. The rope by which he was suspended broke, and he fell to the ground before life was extinct. Recovering his senses, he began to utter some indistinct expressions of inquiry after the fate of his friends. The executioner rushed up to him with fury; and, uttering horrid imprecations against him for being yet alive, proceeded to finish the work of butchery by cutting off his head.

The dismal reports of Miguel's severities were the subject of much indignant criticism in England; and many were of opinion, that the British government, which had so greatly exerted itself to save Portugal from being oppressed by a foreign power, ought now to interfere in order to snatch her from the grasp of an odious usurper. On the 1st of June, sir James Mackintosh brought the subject forward in the house of commons. He spoke of Portugal "as a country connected with Great Britain by an alliance originating four hundred and fifty years ago, keeping up a connection unparalleled in the history of mankind; being scarcely interrupted by clouds of enmity for a single day;—a country bound by the strictest treaty of alliance and guarantee with England for one hundred and twenty years, which had never in that time drawn her into a war, nor even exposed her to the risk of one; but had been thrice invaded for her steadfast fidelity to this country—in 1761, 1801, and 1807; in the last of which years she had endured a severe and rapacious conquest;—that country," he said, "is now under the yoke of an usurper—of one who has made his way to the throne by a series of falsehoods, perjuries, and frauds, which, in any one amenable to

law, would have subjected him to the most disgraceful, if not the most extreme punishment—a man, against whom lies the imputation of private crimes, unconfuted and almost uncontradicted—who reminds us rather of Commodus and Caracalla, than of the mediocrity of modern vice, or, perhaps, of modern virtue—and who still bears upon his brow the pardon of his king and his father for a parricidal rebellion. The king has twice told parliament from the throne, though in milder language, that he had been obliged to cut off all diplomatic intercourse with this ancient and renowned member of the Christian family for the last twelve months. This was a thing without example between two states which were not at war; and was the strongest and most decisive proof that Miguel's conduct had been displeasing in the highest quarters. Europe had sat in judgment upon the conduct of that man; and it had decided, that with him who had brought dishonour upon an ancient and respectable kingdom it would hold no intercourse. His majesty and his ministers, with equal propriety and justice, though with doubtful expediency, have recognised the rights befitting and due to her majesty, Donna Maria II. She has been received by the king with all that courtesy which is so characteristic of him, and by the nation with all that sympathy and interest which her youth, innocence, rank, and character inspire."

Notwithstanding this, sir James Mackintosh remarked,—Donna Maria was in England—a queen only in name; and he bitterly complained of the conduct of the English government towards the Portuguese emigrants. "Those brave men," he urged, "had sought protection in this country at a time when there were three ambassadors connected with the house of Braganza in London. There was, first, the marquis of Barbacena, the guardian of Donna Maria, the young queen, and representing the person of Don Pedro, the head of the house of Braganza; the marquis Palmella, in behalf of the Portuguese nation; and viscount Itabayana, the minister of the emperor of the Brazils. How did the government act to each of these? It said—'Marquis Palmella, we cannot recognise you, for Don Pedro has left Portugal; the government is changed, and you are no longer the functionary of an existing government.' To viscount Itabayana it said—'You are the minister of the emperor

of Brazil; we cannot recognise in you any right to interfere in the affairs of Portugal.' And, lastly, to the marquis Barbacena, ministers said—'You are here as the representative of the father of Donna Maria; but we deny that Don Pedro has a right to interfere.' This was what, in the courts of law, would be called sharp practice. The formal acknowledgment of the minor queen, at the same time that she was denied a protector or guardian, was but putting a 'barren sceptre' into her hand." He contended, that under all the treaties from Edward to George III., the people of Portugal had fairly a right to look to Great Britain for military succour. After animadverting on the many and great atrocities of the usurper Miguel, particularly at Oporto, the right honourable gentleman asserted, "that he had given a deliberate defiance to all Europe—holding up, as it were, the bloody heads of his victims to the sovereigns of the nations of Europe, to tell them how he scorned their judgment and defied their power."

Firm to the principle which he had previously declared ought to govern the conduct of England, in her relations with Portugal, the duke of Wellington, while he took no pains to conceal the disgust inspired by the conduct of Don Miguel, would not recognise his enormities as justifying, on the part of this country, interference with the internal affairs of Portugal. Mr. secretary Peel, in reply to sir James Mackintosh, offered the following exposition of the policy of England:—"The state of our relations with Portugal I apprehend to be this—that there exists between England and Portugal a long series of treaties, imposing upon England the obligation of protecting the territorial integrity and independence of Portugal; but, on the other hand, I must deny that there exists in those treaties, either in their letter or spirit—either in their literal construction, from any expressed provision of separate treaties, or in their accumulate construction from the general sense of them—any engagement or obligation, on the part of Great Britain, to guarantee the succession of any particular individual, or to guarantee the existence of any political institutions in Portugal. No claim for such guarantee has ever been preferred in the history of those two countries before the year 1820. In consequence of the unfortunate dissensions which have prevailed in Portugal since the year 1820, frequent appeals have been made to England, by

different parties, either for a guarantee of political institutions, or for an interference with the internal affairs of the country, for the purpose of giving a character to those institutions; but the uniform answer, with respect to every application, given by every minister of England, has been this:—"Our guarantee is for the security of Portugal against foreign invasion: there is no guarantee—no engagement, expressed or implied—of interference with institutions; and the general rule which England lays down, not to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries, applies with undiminished force to this." He said, "this was the line of policy upon which both lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning had acted, and quoted a passage from Mr. Canning's memorable speech on the message from the crown, in support of his assertion. It was no part of his duty to vindicate the conduct of Don Miguel; but he thought the private vices and crimes laid to his charge, were for the consideration of the people of Portugal: if such matters were to be mixed up with the general policy of England, public peace could not long be preserved. The only question now was, as to whether England was called upon to undertake the conquest of Portugal for the sole purpose of asserting the rights of Donna Maria da Gloria? There were only two courses open to us: either to observe a complete neutrality, or to undertake the conquest of Portugal for the young queen. Of what avail would it be to give advice to Don Miguel, without having the power to oblige him to follow it? To threaten him, without having the means of carrying our threats into effect, would be altogether unworthy the dignity of the country. But were England to undertake the conquest of Portugal, she must, from her proximity, become a principal in the war; while Brazil, being at such a distance, could only take a secondary part. He contended, however, that there was nothing in this case to justify the forcing upon a reluctant people a sovereign whom they were not willing to accept. It was sufficient that Don Miguel was king *de facto*; and he did not think it would be either prudent or politic in England to attempt to displace him. With respect to the refusal, on the part of the British government, to permit the Portuguese emigrants to proceed from Portsmouth to Terceira, it would have been inconsistent with the strict neutrality upon which this government had determined to act, if a body of three or four

thousand men were suffered to embark from one of our ports, with hostile intentions, against a nation with whom this country was at peace; and it would have been a violation of existing treaties. That was the answer given by the duke of Wellington on the application of the marquis Palmella and the marquis Barbacena."

The motion for the production of papers, which, on the part of the government, there was no objection to give, was, in fact, merely one of form, to afford an opportunity of commenting on the conduct of Don Miguel, and was, therefore, agreed to.

The prorogation took place on the 24th of June. In the speech delivered by the lords commissioners, the houses were told:—

"His majesty laments that he has not to announce to you the termination of the war in the east of Europe; but his majesty commands us to assure you, that he will continue to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the extension of hostilities, and to promote the restoration of peace.

"It is with satisfaction his majesty informs you, that he has been enabled to renew his diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Porte.

"The ambassadors of his majesty, and of the king of France, are on their return to Constantinople; and the emperor of Russia, having been pleased to authorise the plenipotentiaries of his allies to act on behalf of his imperial majesty, the negotiations for the final pacification of Greece, will be carried on in the name of the three contracting parties to the treaty of London.

"The army of his most Christian majesty has been withdrawn from the Morea, with the exception of a small force destined, for a time, to assist in the establishment of order in a country which has so long been the scene of confusion and anarchy.

"It is with increased regret that his majesty again adverts to the condition of the Portuguese monarchy. But his majesty commands us to repeat his determination to use every effort to reconcile conflicting interests, and to remove the evils which press so heavily upon a country, the prosperity of which must ever be an object of his majesty's solicitude."

Russia prosecuted the war against the Turks with apparent success; but England could no longer rejoice in her triumphs. It soon transpired, that conscious he was playing an artful and a selfish game, the emperor Nicholas was haunted with apprehensions

that the British government would consider they had been made the tools of his all-devouring ambition, to depress the Ottoman power. An article in the *Smyrna Courier* reported that the Russians had some idea that a rupture with England might be expected, and that admiral Heyden deemed it prudent to consult with count Capo D'Istria in what port he could be secure from the hostility of the English. This might be untrue; but the mere rumour, as was remarked at the time, betrayed a strong impression in that quarter, that the politics of England and Russia were decidedly at variance. In the *Hamburg papers*, able writers described, in glowing terms, the power and means of Russia. It was believed that these representations were prompted by agents of the czar, to awe into acquiescence those who might deem their interests affected by his proceedings. That he felt the bonds of amity, which had lately connected him with England and France, were seriously weakened, and might suddenly fail altogether, was past conjecture. Men were led to review the modern history of Russia; and, doing this, they could not but remark circumstances which justified suspicion of her present designs. It was remembered, that forty years before, the eyes of the empress Catherine were fixed on Finland, as those of Nicholas were believed to be then on the Turkish capital. Gustavus III., when he declared war against his mighty neighbour, in 1788, accused Andrew Razumofsky, the Russian ambassador, of attempting to raise an insurrection in that country, by sowing dissensions among the Swedish nobles, to pave the way for its future conquest by Catherine. The charge was indignantly denied at the time—as the wish to possess Constantinople was at the time this retrospect was entered upon; but it was truly remarked, that what had since occurred (the snatching Finland from the Swedish nation), justified the suspicion of Gustavus. The voluntary restoration of conquered territory by Russia was sarcastically proclaimed "to be a spectacle which, whenever it may be presented, will have for the rest of the world, all the splendid attraction of novelty."

These reflections, which were called forth by the circumstances of the period, would seem more than justified by the following *resumé* of Russian acquisitions. It was estimated, that the territory she had gained from various powers stood thus:—"From

Sweden, there had been wrested as much as equalled the whole remainder of that kingdom; from Poland, that which equalled in extent the Austrian empire; from European Turkey, dominion not less than that of Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces; from Asiatic Turkey, what might be deemed equal to the German small states—Rhenish-Prussia, Holland, and Belgium. The cessions gained from Persia were equal, in extent, to all England; and those from Tartary, to European Turkey, Greece, and Spain! The Russian frontier had advanced towards Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Paris, about seven hundred miles; towards Constantinople, five hundred miles; towards Stockholm, six hundred and thirty miles; and towards Teheran, one thousand miles. When Peter the Great ascended the throne, in 1688, Muscovy contained only sixteen million of inhabitants; its numbers, up to the period of which we are writing, were computed to amount to fifty-six million, the greater part of the increase having been the result of conquest.”*

In the contest the Turks fought bravely, sometimes successfully; but, in the end, fortune favoured Russia. In the meantime, the French and English ambassadors had returned to Constantinople. The Wellington government had begun to look with a jealous eye on the advance of the emperor's troops towards Constantinople. A curious and interesting view of the feeling which then prevailed, is furnished in a leader of a popular journal of that date (July 26th, 1829.) The facts which it embodies are important:—“It was on the 11th of June that the ambassadors of England and France entered Constantinople, and it was on that same day, that victory crowned the arms of the Russians, under general Diebitsch. And what was the consequence of this event? No exulting threats were issued—there was no talk of pushing on for Constantinople, to make the Russian flag wave over the towers of St. Sophia. No; with the apparent gentleness of a Tamerlane, the women and children belonging to the Turks, who had fallen into the hands of the conquerors of the day, were restored; and, at the same time, it was intimated, on the part of count Diesbitsch, that though the good fortune of his master must prove to the Turks that eventually his cause would triumph, it was still the sincere wish of the emperor to make peace; and he solemnly renounced all idea

of acquiring any portion of the Turkish territory. When the war commenced, it was justly feared by many, that if the Russians proved conquerors, and upon easy terms, all the moderation and magnanimity of the emperor Nicholas, which were then the theme of daily laudation in the ministerial papers, would not suffice to induce him to forego the sweets of conquest. And why, it may be asked, should he do so now? Has the autocrat of all the Russias become a philosopher? Has he on a sudden discovered that—

“All heads must come
To the cold tomb?”

And that—

“Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust?”

“No,” the writer continued, “we do not assume this; but we believe that the experience he has had—the losses he has sustained—and, more than all, the great financial efforts, which he has ascertained will still be necessary to conduct the war to that termination which he originally contemplated, added to the certainty that France and England, one of them at least, aided by another great European power, would ere long interfere in behalf of the Turks, and either turn the scale in their favour, or render triumph valueless—we do, we say, believe, that these considerations have had due weight with the emperor. Hence, we are led to conclude, that he seeks peace with sincerity.”

This reasoning was justified by the event. Of course, the good offices of France and England were not wanting to effect a pacification; and it was soon announced, that peace had been concluded between Russia and the Porte. The terms, all circumstances considered, were pronounced to be less favourable to the latter than might have been expected. It was arranged, that the Pruth should continue the boundary line on the European side of Turkey; but Silistria was to be dismantled. The eastern coast of the Black Sea, from the Cuban to the harbour of St. Nicholas, with the fortresses of Anapa and Poli, were to remain to Russia. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be confirmed in their rights, but the hospodars were to be nominated only for life. There was to be allowed to vessels belonging to Russia, free trade and navigation through the Black Sea, and to the commerce of all other countries at

* Bell's *System of Geography*, 1841.

peace with the Porte. The sultan was to defray the charges of the war, and accede to the treaties concluded by England, France, and Russia, for putting an end to the Greek contest.

The course of events was bewildering. Before the duke of Wellington was placed at the head of affairs in this country, a strong feeling had been raised in England and France in favour of the Greeks. It suited the policy of Russia to act in accordance with that feeling. The Turkish government of that day adopted a tortuous course,

which was not consistent with the frankness which more enlightened nations find identified with true policy; and this led to a fatal catastrophe. Russia then pressed her ancient foe, unaided (but, for a time, wholly unrestrained) by England and France. There is, however, reason to believe, that but for the gathering clouds in the west, added to the losses and the expense incurred, she would have spared no effort to make Constantinople her own. That enterprise, from the circumstances stated, it was judged well to defer for a season.

CHAPTER XVII.

AGITATION IS CONTINUED IN IRELAND; THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION RE-ASSEMBLE UNDER ANOTHER NAME; O'CONNELL AGAIN OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE ELECTORS OF CLARE; HE QUARRELS WITH COBBETT; AN EXTRAORDINARY FESTIVAL SCENE; NEW CHARGES AGAINST THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; LIBELS PROSECUTED.

THE catholic question was now carried, and the voice of exultation was loud in celebrating the triumph of a measure described to be identified with wise and benevolent legislation. If lively gratitude from those most largely interested in the decision were not to be expected, it might reasonably be hoped that angry feelings, previously aroused, would have been laid aside. But even this could not be conceded by the Irish patriots—or, as they should rather have been called, tyrants of that day. The language held continued to be—"Agitate!—agitate!—agitate!" It was incessantly pressed on the Irish people, that nothing had been gained but by agitation; and they must proceed in the same course to obtain all they were told they ought to desire. Mr. O'Connell distinctly intimated, that he was determined to annoy the English government by every means in his power. It was well remarked by a contemporary, "The no-popey terrorists were scarcely more mistaken in their anticipations of woe and destruction from the emancipation of the catholics, than the liberal politicians of the time were in their expectations of the contentment and tranquillity which were to ensue in Ireland. The last reasonably laughed at the hobgoblin images of the pope and the jesuits which the London Tories and the Irish orangemen

conjured up, to frighten themselves and everybody else whom they could alarm: they reasonably insisted on the impossibility of doing anything for Ireland, till this measure of relief should be granted: but they unreasonably went further in their expectation, and concluded, that the tranquillity of Ireland would follow from the measure of relief. It was now Mr. O'Connell's daily and nightly care, that the people should not be the better disposed towards the law for its having become favourable to them."

Whether by design or not, crime of the blackest dye would seem to have been used in furtherance of this object; not by the immediate direction or desire of the leader, but by excited listeners, who could discover no other instrument suitable to the purpose which he was supposed to have in view. Daring violations of the law were of frequent occurrence; and, worse than these, there was a systematic denial of justice, or rather a league against it by jurors—a miserable trifling with conscience—and that, too, for the purpose of securing the escape of a blood-stained criminal—was, in many instances, to be deplored. Twenty-one persons were brought to trial, under a special commission, on the 30th of July, for a conspiracy to murder. The four individuals first brought to the bar were found guilty; but two other

efforts to punish men who appeared to have been savage offenders, failed. In one case, eleven jurors out of twelve—in another nine—refused to convict, and no verdict being delivered, the jurors were discharged, and the accused parties liberated. At the close of the trials, the solicitor-general, speaking of the assistance the crown had received from the gentlemen and magistrates who had to take an active part in the prosecutions, said he had never witnessed a more anxious desire to have the ends of justice satisfied, associated with the more tender feelings of humanity. "Would to God!" he exclaimed, "that some of the infatuated people who now disturb and distract that part of the country in which these trials had their origin, could have been present at the different consultations it fell to my lot to have with these gentlemen; they would find, that in marking them out as objects for assassination, they were dooming to destruction their firmest friends and most anxious benefactors."

The dreadful crimes perpetrated at this period, called forth from the catholic priest, Dr. Doyle, condemnation appropriately severe. Of the scenes which had been witnessed, and associations which had been formed, he said:—"They have, on account of the ignorance, the depravity, and malice of the men who took a lead in them, been marked in their progress by the committal of the most horrid and barbarous excesses. The innocent and the guilty have become the victims of the bad men who composed them. These men framed without authority, and enforced by the most shocking cruelties, laws destructive of both property and life. The leaders and the followers in those associations became idle and vicious. Drunkenness, theft, lewdness, murder, blasphemy, became their daily and nightly companions, until at length, wearied with the weight of their own guilt, they became traitors to one another, and the law, the gibbet, or the sword, inflicted on them the punishment which their crimes deserved. This has been the origin, the progress, and the end of every association such as yours, which has been formed in Ireland these last 300 years. First, because to preserve any union of men, for any purpose, there must be rules and regulations, founded in justice and supported by good morals, or by some external force, stronger than any other force that can be brought in opposition to it. But, in such associations as yours, the rules and regulations are directly opposed to order

and justice: these rules, in place of resting on good morals, are subversive of all morality; for disobedience to parents and superiors, drunkenness, plunder, and the profanation of God's holy name, are mixed up with them in all their stages and operations. Nor, again, can they be sustained by force; for I need only ask yourselves, or your predecessors in the same cause,—have you ever been able to appear, whether by night or day, unless as thieves or plunderers, murdering the defenceless, oppressing the weak, but always obliged to fly from the first appearance of that force which is brought against you by the laws and government of the country?"

The monstrous iniquity of such conspiracies as had recently been brought to light, he thus awfully denounced:—

"But it is the wrath of God, which your impiety and evil deeds provoke, which makes all things fight against you. You endeavour, by your sinful oaths, to make this God a witness and a party to your combinations. He is, indeed, a witness to it; for to his eye all things are naked and revealed: but he witnesses your oaths only to record them as evidence of your guilt; and on the last day, when, as the gospel tells us, the books which record all our actions in life will be opened, these oaths of yours shall appear against you; and if they be not blotted out by tears of repentance, they alone will exclude you for ever from the kingdom of heaven. You seek to make God a party to your combination; but do you think there can be any society between light and darkness—between justice and injustice—between Christ and Belial? or, that he who loves justice and hates iniquity can look, unless with horror, on the violation of all right—on the disturbance of all order—on the abandonment of all the sacred obligations which, as Christians, you are bound to fulfil; but which, alas! as members of these secret societies, you utterly disregard?"

O'Connell had staked his professional reputation on the success of the claim he preferred to sit in the house of commons, before the emancipation bill passed. He had two pleas to advance: the first, founded on the legal quibble, that although the act of union forbade a Roman catholic to sit in parliament, it imposed no penalties in case of taking his seat; the other was founded on the enactment of the new statute. But, however plausible the great agitator's application of it, it was expressly limited to such persons

professing the Roman catholic religion as should, after its commencement, be returned. He was mortified by the result. It was supposed he felt personally aggrieved, that ministerial influence had not been effectually exerted to gratify his vanity, by conceding the point for which he contended. "Because an existing statute had been impartially applied, the unsuccessful redeemer of his pledge chose to consider himself persecuted, and hastened back, inflamed with anger, to his constituents, who listened with delight to the vile and revolting epithets which he heaped upon the men who had just been instrumental in conferring a mighty benefit upon his country—one which neither he nor his predecessors, 'with all means and appliances to boot,' had been able to obtain, by their combined efforts, during a century and-a-half. In a similar vindictive spirit he announced his long-vaunted project—which he had always reserved for trying times as a special tub to the whale—of repealing the union by a fresh system of agitation. He must have been perfectly aware of the extent of Irish fanaticism and gullibility at the moment he was speaking. But all the inflammatory harangues, and various threatening demonstrations on the part of the priests and agitators, failed to shake the premier's resolves with regard to measures which he conceived to be just and necessary."*

Mr. O'Connell, on returning to the electors of Clare, was not sorry that a new offensive weapon had been put into his hand. Because that cause had triumphed for which he had contended through a quarter of a century, he was not disposed to lay down his arms, as he desired nothing less than that England, or England's minister should enjoy repose. While the registration was going on, he took measures to secure his re-election. He addressed a long letter to the electors, in which he described the parliament and the ministers in terms very different from those which, when he pleaded his cause in the house of commons, had gained him credit as a temperate and moderate-minded man. He now spoke of himself and his constituents as the conquerors of the government: he spoke of the government as faithless and insulting. "The house of commons," said he, "have deprived me of the right conferred on me by the people of Clare. They have, in my opinion, unjustly and illegally deprived me of that

right; but from their decision there is no appeal, save to the people. I appeal to you. In my person, the county of Clare has been insulted. The brand of degradation has been raised to mark me, because the people of Clare fairly selected me. Will the people of Clare endure this insult, now that they can firmly, but constitutionally, efface it for ever? Electors of the county of Clare! to you is due the glory of converting Peel and conquering Wellington. The last election for Clare is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing the catholic relief bill. You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland. Another such victory in Clare, and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country." That victory, he told them, was still necessary, to prevent catholic rights and liberties from being "sapped and undermined by the insidious policy of those men, who, *false to their own party, can never be true to us*—and who have yielded, not to reason, but to necessity, in granting us freedom of conscience. A sober, a moral, and a religious people cannot continue slaves; they become too powerful for their oppressors: their moral strength exceeds their physical powers; and their progress towards prosperity is in vain opposed by the Peels and the Wellingtons of society. These poor strugglers for ancient abuses yield to a necessity which violates no law, and commits no crime; and having once already succeeded by these means, our next success is equally certain, if we adopt the same virtuous and irresistible means."† Such was the strain of invective which this representative of the feelings and interests of Ireland thus early directed against the granters of emancipation: this was the first sample of the gratitude and affection which, in the catholic body, were to take the place of hostility and insult. The relief bill itself did not escape his censure; and the prohibition contained in it against the growth of the monastic orders, he frankly declared would not be obeyed. "I trust I shall be the instrument of erasing from the statute-book that paltry imitation of the worst and still-existing portion of French jacobinism—a miserable imitation, which pretends to do that which nature and religion forbid to be done—to extinguish monastic orders in Ireland. While it is law, its penalties will be submitted to; but let me add, as a matter of fact, that its mandate will most assuredly not be obeyed.

* Alexander's *Wellington*.

† *Annual Register*.

It was formerly death in Ireland to be a friar; and the Irish earth is still scarcely dry from the blood of martyred friars: the friars multiplied in the face of death. Oh, for the sagacity of Peel, and the awful wisdom of Wellington, that meditate to suppress monastic orders in Ireland by a pecuniary penalty, and the dread of a foreign mission, under the name of banishment!" The grounds on which he claimed the voice of the county, now that the stalking-horse of religious inequality was removed, were simply, that whatever the county wished, or ought to wish, he would take care should be done, and that no other could do it. He would accomplish the repeal of the disfranchisement act, which was "a direct violation of the union;" of the sub-letting act, which was "calculated to make the poor more wretched, and render the destitute more miserable;" and of the vestry-bill, which "enabled a few protestants to tax, at their fancy, the property of catholics." He would assail the system of "grand-jury jobbing and grand-jury assessment:" he would procure an equitable distribution of church property between the poor on the one hand, and the really laborious portion of the protestant clergy on the other: he would struggle hard to cleanse the Augean stable of the law, "for which Herculean task," said he, "my professional habits give me peculiar facilities:" he would procure for every catholic rector of a parish, a parochial-house and an adequate glebe: he would make manifest the monstrous injustice that had been done to the jesuits and the monastic orders: he would labour hard for the improvement of their river and the construction of a harbour: he would wage war on the East India charter: he would strain every nerve in the cause of parliamentary reform: he would provide for Ireland a system of poor-laws, containing everything that was good, and not a particle of anything that could be detrimental—no, not even to the pockets of those who were to pay. Of these, and many other matters, his language was, "if you wish to see them done, send me to parliament. If the gentry of Clare are desirous to have, as their representative, a man who is able and most desirous to protect, in parliament, their properties and permanent interests, let them do me the honour to elect me. But let them not 'lay the flattering unction to their souls,' that they can, without an independent man of business as their representa-

tive, postpone the introduction of the English system of poor-laws."

He had no sooner taken the field, than what was termed an "aggregate meeting" of the Roman catholics was held, to consider what steps should be adopted to forward his re-election. This was, under another name, a meeting of the Roman catholic association. It was held in the old association-room: it was held for old association purposes. A large sum of the catholic rent still remained on hand: this meeting was held, and was followed by others, to consider how that fund should be disposed of; and only the catholic association could dispose of that fund. The first thing done by the meeting, was to vote five thousand pounds of the rent, as an aid to Mr. O'Connell in standing for the county of Clare. This was the very thing which the catholic association had done in 1828. The one was as much an act of the catholic association as the other had been, and was in the very face of that law suppressing it, with which the relief bill had been so pompously introduced. The vote was strongly opposed by some members, on the ground that such a mode of appropriating the money was not among the objects for which it had been contributed; and Mr. Eneas M'Donnell gave the treasurers warning, that if they applied any part of these monies towards such a purpose, it would be at their own peril. Mr. M'Donnell probably acted from resentment; but the very cause of his resentment was the doings of this revived catholic association. He had put in a claim to be remunerated from the fund for what he had done and suffered in the catholic cause. That claim was rejected; but it was rejected only after a debate of three days, regularly adjourned from day to day; and these meetings took place under the very eye of the government, without interruption.*

The conduct of O'Connell surprised both friends and foes. The fiercest opponents of the emancipation bill, while they expressed a perfect conviction that the measure would not produce the happy effects which its advocates predicted must follow in its train, had not anticipated that the mask would be thus audaciously thrown aside the moment it was passed. In one of Mr. O'Connell's orations, delivered on his entry into Ennis, he said:—"The forty-shilling elective franchise has been taken from you, and the ten-pound substituted in its stead. You

* *Annual Register.*

will give me an opportunity of having that franchise—that right—restored. I promised you religious freedom, and I kept my word. The catholics are now free; and the Brunswickers are no longer their masters: and a paltry set they were, to be our masters! They could turn up the white of their eyes to heaven; but, at the same time, they put their hands very slyly into your pockets. They would discount God Almighty for the ready-money. The Brunswick clubs of Dublin have sent down one—a miniature in flesh, poor Bumbo, and his land-calf brother—to disfranchise the brave freeholders; and crooked-eyed Fitzgerald swore to it: but I call on the gentry of Clare to separate themselves from the disgraceful Dublin bloodhounds, and join what is intended for the good of the people. The question is no longer a question between protestant and catholic—that is at an end: it is, now, who is a good or a bad man? If you thus decide, which will you choose—Bumbo or me? I hope you will rub off the foul stain of any connexion with those bloodhounds, and ratify the former election. What good did any member, ever before in parliament, do for the county of Clare, except to get places for their nephews and cousins, &c.? What did I do? I procured for you emancipation. Does the sub-letting act oppress? I shall not be six months in parliament until all your oppression shall be done away with.”

He did not conceal his ulterior views. Whenever opportunity offered, he made a speech, and announced his great object now to be, a repeal of the union with England; and the means by which he was to seek it, “the same organisation of the people to which his majesty’s government had lately told the empire it was impossible for them to say no.” “We have now,” said he, at Youghall, “a brighter era opened to us; and I trust that all classes of my countrymen will join together, and, by forming one general, firm phalanx, achieve what is still wanting to make Ireland what it ought to be. Ireland had her 1782: she shall have another 1782. Let no man tell me it is useless to look for a repeal of the odious union—that blot upon our national character. I revere the union between England and Scotland; but the union which converted Ireland into a province—which deprived Ireland of her parliament—it is for the repeal of that measure we must now use all the constitutional means in our power;—that union which engenders absenteeism,

and the thousand other evils which naturally flow in its train. We are bound to England by the golden link of the crown; and far be it from me to weaken that connexion by my present observations. I want no disseveration; but I want, and must have, a repeal of that cursed measure which deprived Ireland of her senate, and thereby made her a dependant upon British aristocracy, and British intrigue, and British interests. I may, perhaps, be told, that to attempt a repeal of the union would be chimerical. I pity the man who requires an argument in support of the position that Ireland wants her parliament; and that individual who pronounces the attainment of such a consummation to be utopian, is reminded of the catholic question. Look at the catholic cause. Do I not remember when it was difficult to procure a meeting of five catholics to look for a restoration of our then withheld rights! I recollect when we, agitators, were almost as much execrated by our fellow-slaves as we were by our oppressors. For the attainment of the repeal of the union I shall have the co-operation of all classes and grades in society; the orangemen of the north, the methodist of the south, and the quiet, unpresuming quaker, who may think his gains shall be thereby augmented:—all shall be joined in one common cause—the restoration of Ireland’s parliament. I am now on my way to Dublin; nor shall I be there a fortnight, when a society, having for its title, ‘Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-two,’ shall be formed. I dare say I shall have but a few persons enrolled in it at the first; but, like the mighty oak, which spreads and overshadows the desert, resisting for centuries the most furious blasts of the elements,—so shall ‘Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-two’ extend its influence throughout Ireland, nor cease till her parliament be restored—her sons be of one creed;—all joined in the common cause of seeing Old Ireland great and glorious amongst the nations of Europe.” In another and earlier oration, delivered at Carrick-on-Suire, he had said:—“What was to be done for Ireland? The contentions of religion were over; freedom was obtained; they never desired more; they never were base enough to be contented with less. The people shall no longer be misrepresented: what was done in one county, another county can accomplish. Waterford owed it to Clare to imitate it; and Waterford should imitate it: nor should the scions of *Knockloftiness*, and

the paltry *Prittiness* of another county [Messrs. Hutchinson and Prittie, members for Tipperary] be suffered to prevent the just representation of its feelings;—no, the men of that county were too brave to be intimidated. However pure the intentions of the duke of Wellington might be, the designs of his ministry betrayed no symptom of improving the internal condition of Ireland.”

He was never weary of telling what wonderful things he meant to accomplish on taking his seat in the house of commons. He would be in the house with the speaker, and only leave it when he did. With questions affecting the creed of the church of England he would not interfere; but, as the measures he should propose would be to equalise the salaries and emoluments of the clergy, he would never sanction the filthy and abominable compromise which the East India company had entered into, for the purpose of supporting their monopoly, by permitting the bloody sacrifices which were offered to Jaggernaut. He would also oppose the horrible system of perjuries connected with the customs and excise. There were, at present, no fewer than seventeen or eighteen hundred oaths which were regarded as matters of course; and perjury was not regarded, because it was of constant occurrence: as if its frequency diminished the crime. He proclaimed religion to be the only basis for liberty. The men of Clare had been successful, because the voice which was raised for their country had first been raised in prayer to God. “And now,” he concluded, “the song of freedom is heard in the green fields of our country: it has ascended the hills; it has filled the valleys; its echoes are borne along the mountain-streams; and its sweet music has been wafted over our rivers; while the universal voice of the people proclaims Clare independent, and Ireland free.”

His pretensions, however, were not universally allowed to escape ridicule. At Clare, a Mr. Glasscock (above described as *Bumbo*) came forward as a candidate in opposition to O’Connell. His address to the electors, conceived in a sportive vein, was wanting in dignity and propriety, but was not without point; and its rudeness, though startling, was amusing. “I cannot say,” Mr. Glasscock wrote, “that I have the honour to be personally cognizant of many of you; but, as more people know Tom Fool than Tom Fool knows, I dare say I am not an utter stranger in your county. No; I flatter myself that in no

part of England, Ireland, Scotland, or the Isle of Man, would Toby Glasscock be mistaken for a fellow who had just dropped out of the clouds. Let Shiel steal from Shakspeare, according to his usual custom, and exclaim—

“‘Little shall I grace my speech
In speaking of myself.’”

I am of another way of thinking. Nothing advances a man so well in this world as the puff-personal; and, therefore, I am not altogether such an anti-egotist as Dickey Shiel. I will make but few positive pledges; for (between you and I) they are a d—d sight more easily made than redeemed: that I know by experience. This, however, I will say—send me to parliament; and, upon my honour—as a gentleman and an attorney—I will take my seat.”

He afterwards added:—“Send me to parliament; and I will never shake hands with Cobbett, after what I have said of him. Send me to parliament; and I will not slinge about the lobbies for three months, whilst your interests are in jeopardy within doors, hawking my patriotism from Peel to Goulburn, and from Goulburn to Billy Holmes, that I may sell it to the best advantage. Send me to parliament; and, if the government enter into a league with your hard-hearted landlords to exterminate you, I will not write over to Ned Dwyer, that ‘my heart is so full of joy, and so fraught with sorrow, that I don’t know whether to laugh or cry; but that, to-morrow, please God, I will write to my constituents, and put them in a way not to be bamboozled.’ I will not write all this, I say, to Ned Dwyer, and afterwards remain as mute as a shark with its mouth open in the wake of an hospital ship, until my constituents are fairly bought and sold, ejected and undone. Send me to parliament; and I will not call upon you to raise a new catholic rent for my exclusive benefit, and for the use of my ‘fine family.’ Send me to parliament; and I will not flatter ministers to their faces, and tell lies of them when I come home. Send me to parliament; and I will do all that my honourable opponent promises to do; and I solemnly pledge myself to do no one thing that he will do.”

The promise made by Mr. Glasscock—not to shake hands with Cobbett—had reference to a recent scene, which though not of great importance, was, in some respects, so striking as to deserve being noticed, affecting, as it did, two of the fiercest assailants of the duke of Wellington.

Cobbett and O'Connell had long been considered friends in politics—most warmly attached to each other. Their harmonious action was proclaimed to the world; and each delighted to sound the other's praise, and to laud the all-surpassing talent, public spirit, and disinterested virtue, which entitled the journalist and the orator, as appeared from their writings and speeches, to the admiration of all mankind. Suddenly their love changed to hate. When O'Connell claimed to sit in parliament, under the law as it stood, he gave Cobbett offence. They quarrelled, and assailed each other with all the virulence they had been accustomed to pour on the common enemy. At the close of the month of May, the journals of the time gave, in juxtaposition, the sketches which follow:—

Mr. O'Connell's character of Cobbett in December last.—"I deeply regret that the ears of the meeting have been shocked and insulted by the name of that savage, Cobbett. After all the outrages that that miscreant has been guilty of—upon public and private feelings—upon public and private reputation—the fell monster has again returned to strike at and lacerate the feelings of all those persons who were interested in the fate of the late lamented John Bric. This monster has been threatened as an infliction upon the catholic association. The man whose name was without a blot, has been made a subject for the ferocious and ribald jests of one of the greatest monsters that ever disgraced any age or nation. When this assembly is told that it should regard the censures of such a practised liar—of such a living libel on the human species—I lose my patience. Let not the name of this beast—for man I will not call him—be ever again mentioned in this assembly. He is, as he should be, an outcast from all that is respectable and dignified in society, and a disgrace to the literature of the age."

Cobbett's character of Mr. O'Connell in March last.—"I have had three years to fathom the depth of O'Connell's hypocrisy, falsehood, impudence, and political perfidy. It is impossible for me to describe how very base the man is. I will make him despicable in the eyes of the people of Ireland. He is a fool as well as knave—a profound hypocrite—a trembling poltroon—a stupid, profligate, impudent brawler. The fellow has no bottom. He has no regard for truth. To deceive and delude people, and to gain by the deception, are the trades of his life.

When the toad spits his venom at us, we do not answer in words. No: with stick or stone we knock the reptile on the head. If O'Connell were placed conveniently within my reach, I might thus answer him. He has committed an enormous offence against me. I never will forgive him until he make atonement."

The meeting which called forth this unexpected display of returning amity, was a perfect political curiosity. Sir Francis Burdett, through many years retained all the popularity which belonged to him when he was imprisoned in the Tower; but of late it had been rumoured, that he was no longer what he had been. He had been annually glorified by those who returned him to parliament as "Westminster's pride and England's hope," when the anniversary of his election was joyfully celebrated at the crown and anchor tavern. It was at the twenty-second festival in honour of the patriotic baronet, that Mr. Cobbett and Mr. O'Connell, after the wordy war in which they had engaged, came together. There, some of the company succeeded in prevailing on them to sit down as friends.

Mr. Hobhouse, long the colleague of sir Francis Burdett, presided; and, on giving the great toast of the evening—the health of sir Francis Burdett—who was absent from indisposition, a most extraordinary scene was produced, the object for which the meeting had been convened borne in mind. The toast was opposed by Cobbett, who insisted, that the honourable baronet had changed of late years. He asked, "Has he kept his compact with us? Has he protected the rights of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland?" Then, looking for O'Connell's support, he proceeded to explain the grounds on which peace had been made between himself and that learned gentleman. He said, "Gentlemen, here is Mr. O'Connell present. If he let this opportunity slip —! I have to-day shaken hands again with Mr. O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell has disavowed some expressions which had been imputed to him, and which I conceived him to have used, very derogatory to my character. I told Mr. O'Connell that I would shake hands with him if he disavowed those expressions. He has disavowed them; and I now say, that I would not have shaken hands with him, even upon the retraction of these expressions, if he had not been discarded by the honourable house. If the honourable house had not done Mr. O'Con-

nell gross injustice, I would not have condescended to shake hands with him." He went on to censure the course sir Francis Burdett had pursued with respect to several public questions, describing his conduct to have been mean, cruel, and inhuman.

Such a speech, addressed to parties assembled to do honour to the subject of it, offended many, and surprised all the company. The great majority disapproved of what they had heard, and considered it an unwarrantable intrusion on the part of Cobbett; but enough favoured his views to induce the chairman, Mr. Hobhouse, to put the question, whether or not they should drink the toast he had proposed? (which was nearly the same as raising the question, whether those he addressed ought or ought not to be there on such an occasion?)

This course being taken, it was at once decided that the usual honours should be rendered to the honourable baronet, and the toast was drunk with shouts of approbation from his admiring friends.

Mr. Hobhouse, in the course of the evening, having risen to return thanks for his own health being made the subject of a toast, thought it right to take some notice of the assailant of his old friend and colleague. It had been asked by some of the company, whether sir Francis had recently brought on his annual motion for a parliamentary reform? On this, the chairman remarked, there were persons present who well knew the taunts, outcries, and laughter directed against his honourable colleague when he had brought forward this subject, and not from the opposite side of the house, but by the friends of parliamentary reform itself, who said—in the expressive language of a gentleman (Mr. G. Lamb) once opposed to him in his attempt to represent the city of Westminster—that in making those annual motions, sir F. Burdett, and those about him (with the exception of lord Cochrane), were, in military language, merely keeping time, making much dust and little progress. Let any man put his finger on the occasion which offered, where he or his honourable friend had not stood forward as the advocates of the cause, and he would confess himself guilty. But they could not do this: he appealed to what had passed on this subject, respecting which some men could not easily lie, though some men did lie.

This strong language was rendered more pungent by the speaker (while he uttered the offensive word) fixing his eye on Mr.

Cobbett; and that called forth a shout of applause. However great the merits of Mr. Cobbett, reverence for truth was not the qualification for which he was most admired. Mr. Hobhouse continued:—"If they found a man standing honestly and truly before the public for more than a quarter of a century, never fluctuating or undecided in any matter that concerned the general good or that of his constituents—if they found a man of unblemished private character, against whom not the finger of scandal, or even of scorn, could be raised—you might predict, without any pretensions to the character of a prophet, that such an individual would stand true, not only in his public, but his private capacity. If, on the contrary, there were any individual in the world (such, he was happy to say, was not a common character) who was never known to be true to any public or private trust—if an individual, who, after having been only half trusted, thought proper to appear before the public as if he had been wholly trusted, and played not a single but a double game of villany—if there should be any man who, in order to convince the people what care he would have taken of the public purse, had shown the consideration he had for the private property of his friend;—if there be a man such as I have described—a person who has been scouted, not by parties (for that an honest man well may be), but by society at large—any person whose character is thus declared by his conduct, that individual may well 'read his history in a nation's eyes;' and it is not difficult to tell what is to be predicted of his future fame. Those who acknowledge his talents (even his best friends) must sigh for his baseness, and be sorry, that a mind qualified to illustrate the days in which he lived—a mind qualified to shed lustre over the great stage of his contemporaries—should have been disgraced only by the misfortune of casting its own blacker, deepest, and most disgraceful shade on the era to which it belonged."

The odious picture of a public man thus presented to the meeting, was recognised as intended for the portrait of Cobbett, and the bitterest passages were welcomed with tumultuous cheering. They were known to refer to transactions with sir Francis Burdett, who, having accommodated Cobbett with a loan, the latter failing to repay it, did not hesitate to declare, that the lender had no right to expect his money back while that political system was upheld from

which Cobbett alleged he largely suffered. Mr. Hobhouse further remarked on some disparaging comments made on his own conduct in parliament, and, in particular, on his supporting a bill for giving bodies of poor persons, under certain circumstances, to professors of anatomy. Upon this, Mr. Hobhouse said, such a charge was amusing, and treated it with ridicule. Many of the hearers, by this time much excited, called out insultingly to Cobbett—"Bone-grubber, what do you say to that?" alluding to his having brought the remains of Paine to England, and proposed to sell the hair in rings, for which a guinea each would be charged. He proceeded:—"Allow me to ask, whether this objection, brought forward by men of ability against sir Francis Burdett, and so humble an individual as myself, does not partake of something exquisitely ludicrous? Is it not strange, that the serious charges previously brought against us should have degenerated into this 'most lame and impotent conclusion?' If I thought those very intelligent and able individuals sincere, I confess I should be somewhat surprised that they had so much care for the bodies of the dead, particularly as one of them does not appear to have cared much for the bodies of the living. Certainly I have not found in the public career of one of these gentlemen evidence of any very tender regard for those who walk about above-ground, though he takes the persons of those under-ground under his especial protection. (He was here interrupted by laughter, and exclamations of 'Poor Tom Paine!') I was not aware," he went on, "that this gentleman cared much for the persons of those living, to whom he is so kind after they are dead. His conduct reminds me of the lines—

"But still the great have kindness in reserve;
They help to bury whom they help to starve."

The honourable gentleman thinks it necessary to bring a grave charge against sir F. Burdett and myself, because, not having thought enough of the living, our neglect has also (according to Mr. Cobbett) extended to the dead. Allow me to make a contrast between our conduct and that of Mr. Cobbett in this respect, who, having made as much as he can of the living, wishes also to make as much as he can of the dead. However, gentlemen, having met for higher purposes than the dissection of base and infamous characters, I shall presently pass from this subject. Passing by the case of

the poor, I may say there are a great many individuals who, though they have done no good in their lifetime, perhaps might be found serviceable in their death. When we hang up these gentlemen in surgeons' hall, being well-limbed, stout men, they may do credit to a scientific dissection, and afford an example calculated to enlighten and illustrate us in a physical, if not in a moral, point of view."

A visitation like this, might have disturbed the serenity of a gentleman more remarkable for patient endurance than Cobbett was at any period of his life. He indignantly replied by making a new attack on sir Francis Burdett and his colleague: he complained that they had ceased to meet the people out-of-doors; said they had not met them for the last three years; and predicted that they would never meet them again. He lengthened his defence, which, with the running commentary of the meeting, was thus reported:—"As to the attacks which Mr. Hobhouse has made upon me, one is, that I have cheated somebody—he dare not say whom—out of money; another is, that I starve the poor whilst alive, and only take care of them when dead; and a third, that I take up bones, and dispose of 'em for a profit, after a man is dead. As to the charge of cheating somebody out of money, I have only to say, that Mr. Hobhouse dare not say whom I have cheated; no, nor the mighty don, his master. (A voice, 'Why you bamboozled him.') That is one of the most barefaced and impudent lies that was ever stated by man, or retailed by the dirty rump of Westminster. Let the tellers of it come into a court of justice, and I'll prove the charge against me a base falsehood. As to starving the poor, I have had great delight, during the whole course of my life, in being beneficial to the poor. (A loud laugh, mingled with hisses.) I have, I say, with my slender means, done more for the poor, than Burdett with all his thousands. Then, as to the bones. (Cries of 'Now for the bones,' mingled with laughter.) A dead body sold to be cut up! (Cries of 'What's become of your rings with Tom Paine's hair?') Yes, there is a mighty difference between selling a dead body to be cut up by surgeons, and bringing the bones of a great man home, which were lying in neglected obscurity, for the purpose of burying them in his native land."

Mr. O'Connell spoke in the course of the day. He applied himself to disparage the

government of the duke of Wellington. The disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, on which he now deemed it fitting to enlarge—the subjecting to such treatment those heroic and magnanimous freeholders (these laudatory terms he bestowed on the helpless, unreflecting crowd brought to vote—on imaginary freeholds—at an Irish election), he declared would work on the relief bill as a canker and gangrene, until the people cut away from it that corrupt and unsound part. Ministers might think, that by passing that measure they had put down the cause of freedom in Ireland; but they would find themselves deceived. In the county of Clare there were six thousand forty-shilling freeholders; in a fortnight's time there would be three thousand ten-pound freeholders ready to set an example to the rest of Ireland, which the rest of Ireland would follow. If the people of England bore with tranquillity the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, they would, before long, witness the same disfranchising experiment made on the forty-shilling freeholders of England. After they had struck off the forty-shilling freeholders, they would then attack the ten-pound freeholders, then the twenty-pound freeholders, and then the fifty-pound freeholders; till at last the lords would not go through the present form of electing members for the commons' house of parliament, but would send down a warrant under their sign-manual to Mr. Speaker, desiring him to admit Mr. So-and-so as their representative into the house of commons. After making severe remarks on the conduct of lord Eldon, whom he described as a person who looked at his conscience and wept, and at his purse and doubted, he turned, by way of contrast, to the contemplation of the conduct and character of his friend, the illustrious Burdett. He recollected that that illustrious man was once convinced that the catholics of Ireland ought not to be emancipated. He went over, however, to the green fields of that country, saw the desolation and oppression which paralysed the exertions of its inhabitants, and turned all that was meant for blessings into curses, and he became enlisted at once into their cause. His exertions—his patriotic exertions, had rendered him dear to all the natives of Ireland. Her matrons and her maids sent up their prayers for his happiness; and her streams poured forth in a voice of thunder echoed back

again from her mountains, “Long life to the illustrious Burdett.” Mr. Cobbett had that day condescended to shake hands with him; but when he got into the house of commons, no honest man should shake hands with him, if he did not contend for freedom of conscience for men of every class, description, and colour—if he did not oppose monopoly, both in small corporations and in the accursed system of the East India company—if he did not oppose that bastard species of free-trade, which, whilst it gave commodities free to the rich, gave bread dear to the poor.

From the glowing panegyric pronounced by O'Connell on sir Francis Burdett, it was felt that, notwithstanding the former had shaken hands with Cobbett, the thoughts of the two champions of the people were not exactly in unison. The duke of Wellington and the friends of his government, if they were disappointed at not witnessing any symptoms of the loyal thankfulness which the two sanguine advocates of catholic emancipation had prophesied would spring from that source and live for ever, were not displeased to see the union of the most active and unscrupulous of his adversaries proved to be rotten to its core; and that the instruments of ridicule and invective, powerful in such hands, heretofore directed by the Irish orator and the English writer in concert against him, were likely, as they had lately been, to be employed against each other. Those to whom the fame of Wellington is dear, will be entertained, if not gratified, at seeing in what estimation his most virulent adversaries held each other.

As might be expected, he was not less offended with the creeping servility of some, than with the rampant insolence of O'Connell. A morning paper gave a ludicrous report of the course he took, in one instance, when annoyed by the corporation of Dover proposing to offer him their congratulations at Walmer castle, on one of his appointments. His reply was described thus:—“Tell their worships that I am ready to receive them, if they have any business of importance to communicate, or anything useful to suggest to me touching the wardenship of the Cinque Ports; otherwise I have no leisure at this time to attend to them.” And then, the writer added, “their worships looked at each other a bit; and so came back to Dover, each man with a flea in his ear. Never was the corporation of the town and port of Dover so cavalierly treated by any

constable of Dover castle since the days of Odo, bishop of Baieux, the first constable, down to Robert Jenkinson, earl of Liverpool, the one hundred and thirty-seventh and last constable! And nobody can make out why they were so treated—except that on the 14th of May, 1827, only twenty-one months ago, they sent up their hearty congratulations to the king for having allowed Mr. Canning to form a cabinet from which the duke was excluded; and in which hearty congratulations, they took occasion to insinuate, that the duke had been engaged in ‘an attempt to control the just prerogative of the crown.’”

It must be admitted, that the temper of a minister is severely tried who has, by turns, to meet such servile adulation and such unmeasured condemnation as were offered and heaped upon him. By a considerable portion of the press, he and the members of his government were fiercely assailed for their conduct in reference to the catholic emancipation bill. A paper, called the *Morning Journal*, was distinguished for the violence of its articles; and sir James Scarlett, who had succeeded sir Charles Wetherell in the office of attorney-general, thought it right to take proceedings against Mr. Alexander, its editor. On the 11th of September, the grand jury for the county of Middlesex returned two true bills against Messrs. Marsden, Alexander, and Isaacson, charging them with the publication of libels on the duke of Wellington in the *Morning Journal* newspaper.

The first indictment, which contained eight counts, recited that his grace the duke of Wellington was, at the time of the publication of the alleged libels, first commissioner of his majesty's treasury and a member of the privy-council, and that George Marsden, of Westminster, printer, Robert Alexander, and Stephen Isaacson, of the same place, gentlemen, had contrived to defame and vilify the said duke as first commissioner of the treasury and privy-councillor, with the view of bringing him into public scandal, infamy, and disgrace with the king and his subjects; and to cause it to be believed, that the said duke was “proud, overbearing, grasping, dishonest, unprincipled, and capable of a design to overturn the throne, and prostrate the laws and liberties of England.” The indictment then proceeded to set out the following words of the alleged libel, as published in the *Morning Journal* of the 17th of July:—

“We leave so important a question to be answered by the silent response of the reader's own heart. But we can imagine a case, and one of not mere visionary application, when the devolvement of royal honours on the next in succession would place in the hands of the prime minister of such a sovereign all the power and patronage of the crown. If such a minister were an honest one, no danger might be created; no abuse of power might be indulged in; no arbitrary measure sanctioned; no family interest erected into a monopoly of all the gifts of the king. But if it should happen, as it might happen, that the minister of such a sovereign were an ambitious soldier—a man of vast wealth and great family connexions; proud, overbearing, grasping, dishonest, and unprincipled—a man having the army at his command, the navy at his nod; every situation under the crown at his disposal; every sinecurist, every commissioner of taxes, every dignitary of the customs and excise at his mercy,—what could not such a man do to overturn the very throne itself, and prostrate to the earth the laws and liberties of England?”

The third, fifth, and seventh counts charged other libels, as having been published in the same *Morning Journal* on the 18th, 22nd, and 24th of July, viz.:—On the 18th of July—“All the declamation in the world will not convince us we are wrong; and we shall continue to warn those more immediately interested, of the danger in which they would evidently be placed, were they for one moment to relax in their vigilant opposition to an ambitious and haughty minister. We would say to the duke of Cumberland, ‘*Respice, aspice, prospice.*’ And we say it with that confidence, rationally inspired by the certainty that all the great and good are on his side. For we do not believe that Cromwell, in the most hated period of his most hated career, was ever looked upon with more jealousy than the duke of Wellington. He is feared, not loved: neither in his civil nor his military career did he ever make a friend. Witness the proofs of his sincere affection for the marquis of Anglesey and sir H. Clinton! His has been a reign of terror: the ‘bonnie gallows-tree’ was the link that united the army to him in Spain: the fear of being cashiered made Mr. Peel lick the dust beneath his feet. Esteem or respect form no part of the cabalistic spell which forces the cabinet into apparent harmony. No: he is

the Atropos, and holds the shears, and the political thread only waits the wave of his mighty hand to be severed."

On the 22nd of July—"We look to the duke of Wellington for a reply. We have a right to ask the man whose unbounded ambition and stubborn indifference to the wishes of the majority of the nation, has brought on the accumulated distress and awful position in which we find ourselves, what he intends to do? We ask this man of carnage, whether the blood of Waterloo has not slaked his thirst; and we, moreover, tell him, that his truckling, heartless, and dishonourable reply to the starving weavers of Spitalfields will not satisfy us nor the country. * * We know, and we confidently proclaim the fact, that, finding himself embarrassed and foiled, he has resolved to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the nation, and pursue his heedless career as long as possible: in the first place, to deter every honest tory from assuming the responsibility of the premiership; and in the next, that affairs may be left in such a complicated state as almost to require a miracle to save the nation. We beg to call our readers' attention to this fact. We have the most unquestionable authority for the assertion; and to this cause alone may be imputed the miracle that the cabinet still hangs together."

On the 24th of July—"We are in possession of certain circumstances connected with the political career of this *Marius*, which convince us that the welfare of the country is but a feather in the scale of his ambition. We know, that provided the territories of Strathfieldsay are extended, the weavers, the agriculturists, and the merchants, may starve and die in the streets and highways, and that, to stay the progress of an Egyptian plague, he would not retrograde one step; and we farther know, that while Apsley-house rears its magnificent front at the expense of thousands of the public money, no mite comes from him to assuage the sorrows and sufferings of his perishing countrymen. How long will England—Old England, once merry England—bow the knee to this golden image, who has been made great at the expense of the tears and the deprivations of all classes of the king's subjects. We repeat it, that no hope, no relief, no prosperity, no commiseration can ever be looked for from the present ministry. Every individual complaint is treated with contempt. Every collective peti-

tion affords matter of amusement to the popery ruffians who swagger in the cabinet."

The second indictment charged the same parties with publishing a libel, in the shape of a letter from John Litton Crosbie, M.A., &c., inserted in the *Morning Journal* of the 30th of July, addressed "to his highness the duke of Wellington," charging him with entertaining disloyal and undutiful designs and projects. This indictment consisted of three counts, varying the form of the charges. The following are the libellous passages:—

"To his highness the duke of Wellington. —In the miserable state to which your united ignorance, vanity, and ambition have reduced a once exalted and flourishing nation, it only remains for your highness, and your whig attorney-general, to put down the press of the country, silence public opinion, and ultimately stifle the complaints of the surviving but persecuted protestants of Ireland, now weeping over the murdered remains of those relatives who have been slaughtered at the shrine of your highness's popish relief bill. Did your highness tell the truth, when you assured a right reverend and venerable prelate, that the relief bill (so called) was calculated not only to preserve the protestant institutions of this country, but also to overturn popery altogether? Did your highness, really from your heart, tell the truth, when with despicable cant, and affected consideration, you drew so pretty a little picture of the horrors of a civil war, and in a whining, weeping tone, deprecated the crushing treason by the law of the country and the bayonet? Oh! yes, indeed! When did your highness acquire these fine feelings? Whoever suspected or even presumed to accuse your highness of compassion or moderation, or any of those more kindly or tender sympathies which distinguish the heart of a man from that of a proud dictator and a tyrant? But what has your highness done? You have, as you allege, avoided a civil war. I deny your assertion: you have put off the evil day. The conquest of the traitorous and confederate papists did not suit your present ambitious views: and I hereby publicly arraign your highness of the grossest treachery to your country, or else the most arrant cowardice,—or, if you please, treachery, cowardice, and artifice united. How have you avoided a civil war? By suffering the sanguinary papist to issue forth from his den, and murder his protestant subject

in cold blood. How have you avoided a civil war, I ask you again? By seeing the decent, loyal, free-born, educated protestant impaled to the very earth on the pike of the popish assassin, at the very moment when the last drop of blood flowing from his heart, was not sufficient to glut the vengeance of his enemies, because the wretched man had dared to wear an orange lily, or drink the memory of a prince who gave us a constitution which your highness has destroyed; and yet, with an effrontery only equalled by the fraud, tyranny, and perfidy with which you carried your odious relief bill, you say you have given peace to Ireland. * * * If you possess, however, one particle of honour, bravery, loyalty, or justice—if you be not actually driven to insanity by the reckless ambition which characterises your well-known and ulterior objects—if you wish now, in your old age, to conciliate a confiding and affectionate people, who once believed you to be their own—if you know that your projects are known to an illustrious individual whom you permitted to be vilified, traduced, defamed, and calumniated, without ever once denouncing his traducers—if you think that the blood of those loyal murdered subjects cries aloud for vengeance—if you be a Christian—if you know the certainty of death—that you are but a man—that you may be a kindred of the worm before you can wield the sceptre of an infant princess—that this infant has, in case of necessity, a rightful guardian in a royal and exalted protestant relative, and that the best and proudest blood of England shall be shed in the defence of that prince and his royal house—if, duke—if, I say, your highness knows that these things are so,—then, in God's name, I conjure you to restore peace. * * * If I discover your base hireling press again daring to insult and calumniate my royal master, the duke of Cumberland, and if ever I find you to suffer the foul libellers to pass by unnoticed and unpunished, I will, by God's blessing, hold your highness up to public view, and unmask you more openly than you have been hitherto exposed to your insulted and betrayed country; and further, let me tell you, duke, that I will do so in defiance of your highness, your whig attorney-general, your whole cabinet, and the popish mob of Ireland into the bargain; for I am determined to try, either with the sacrifice of my own life, or your highness's head, whether

it be in your power to keep the protestants of my native land in the degraded, miserable, and humiliated state to which I again repeat your vanity, ignorance, treachery, ambition, and artifice have reduced them. One word more. There is not a sensible man in the kingdom who believes the flip-pant and well-contrived report that your highness's eldest son is about to be married to the accomplished daughter of your physician. Trust me, that we know your highness too well. Long, long since has your highness aspired to a higher place for the heir of Apsley-house. Do you understand me, then, duke? If not, my next shall speak in plainer terms than those which bewildered my lord Lyndhurst on the interesting story of *My Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*. I will watch you. I will unmask you. I have the power to do the first: I have the power and the courage to do both; but, as I once told your highness, you are watched by deeper and wiser heads than mine. I leave you to the consolations of your conscience, while you reflect on the blessings and advantages of the relief bill, although I do not know what bill you intend to introduce to relieve yourself from the scorn of every loyal subject in this land of former pride and liberty.

"I am not hypocrite enough to say—

"I am your highness's obedient servant,

"JOHN LITTON CROSBIE, M.A.,

"Minister of Sydenham, Kent, and domestic chaplain to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, a prince before whom I hope to see you quail."

To imitate the bitterness of Junius was evidently the object of the reverend gentleman. At this time rumours were abroad of an extraordinary character;—of nothing less than a plot to interfere with the succession to the English crown. Attention was directed to the proceedings of certain political associations, known as orange lodges, with which a captain Fairman, an enthusiast in politics, and in circumstances far from affluent, was connected. Indignant at what they deemed the overthrow of the protestant constitution, by the large concessions which had been made to Roman catholics, their wishes and designs, it was said, pointed to the setting aside, at the proper time, the duke of Clarence, who had supported the emancipation bill, that the duke of Cumberland, its opponent, might be offered to the nation as the protestant successor of George IV.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIBELS ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE KING AND THE GOVERNMENT; TRIALS AND CONVICTIONS OF THE LIBELLERS; GROWING DISAFFECTION IN FRANCE; FRENCH EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS.

MORE than the usual conflict of opinions as to the character and stability of the duke of Wellington's administration was now witnessed. With too much reason, the opponents of the great measure recently carried, insisted that as yet there were but slender proofs of its having benefited Ireland and strengthened his grace; while its advocates declared that it could not fail of doing both, and fix his government on a basis not to be moved. Reports had got abroad, that George IV. could neither forget nor forgive the pain his minister had caused him to experience, and could confide in him no longer; but these were boldly contradicted. A popular journal thus pleasantly described what had been said on this important subject:—"Some of our contemporaries have busied themselves this week with speculations on the amount of confidence with which the king may be presumed, at present, to honour the duke of Wellington. The *Morning Chronicle* has brought forward the fact of the duke having had an interview of three hours on Tuesday, as a proof of increased cordiality between the parties, and an assurance of the stability of the present government. The *Standard* again professes to have consulted the court calendar on the subject, and to have discovered there, that the three hours, on which the *Chronicle* lays stress, when added to the amount in time of the interviews of the last twelve months, yield a sum-total of twenty-seven hours devoted to confidential communication between the king and his prime minister. The *Globe*, without entering into these minute calculations, thinks that the king may, like other masters, be well pleased to be as little as possible intruded upon by his servants; and that it is no slight merit in the duke, to get through his work without fuss or agitation—without finding it necessary to unbosom his griefs, day by day, to the king on the one hand; or to exhibit in Parliament-street, dressed in black, with broad weepers on his sleeves, shedding tears as large as pistol-bullets over the fate of the sultan, or the obstinacy of

Don Miguel. For our own parts, we believe that the duke of Wellington's administration stands, at this moment, as firmly as any which England has ever known."*

The agitation for a repeal of the union was continued by Mr. O'Connell; and it was now proposed to give a public dinner "in honour of the Irish volunteers of 1782." Irish affairs were said to occupy much of the attention of government at this moment; and it is easy to perceive that the success of the efforts to disturb that ill-fated country anew (so perseveringly continued by a traitorous and savage clique), could not be viewed by the minister without anxiety.

The year had nearly reached its close, when the trials of the parties charged with libelling the duke and his government, came on before lord Tenterden. In the court of king's bench, on the 22nd of December, the case of *The King v. Alexander and others* was submitted to a judge and jury. The defendants were John Matthew Gutch, the proprietor, John Fisher, publisher, of the *Morning Journal*, and Robert Alexander, the editor. The libel on lord Lyndhurst was first taken. It spoke of its being in contemplation to appoint Mr. Sugden solicitor-general. This was ridiculed by the attorney-general, as indicating that the editor of the *Morning Journal* knew more of the secrets of government than ministers themselves. "The reasons (said the writer) which led to this promotion (of Mr. Sugden to be solicitor-general) are really so natural, that we beg leave to explain them as Sterne would have done, by the mouth of his inimitable *Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*." "The reasons of what promotion? The reasons of Mr. Sugden's promotion to the solicitor-generalship. Now, gentlemen, we shall see what the writer considers to be the causes or reasons of my learned friend's promotion. They are contained in a dialogue between *Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*:—

"*Uncle Toby*.—If a paymaster, or a barrack-master, lend money to his commanding officer, what should he expect?

* *Spectator*, November 21st, 1829.

“*Trim.*—To be promoted, of course, your honour.

“*Uncle Toby.*—If a captain—a tall, broad-shouldered fellow, for instance, who has married a rich dowager—should lend a thousand pounds to his colonel, what does he look for?

“*Trim.*—To be made a major the first opportunity; and, as your honour knows, (God bless you!) to be placed in the way of higher preferment.

“*Uncle Toby.*—And if a major should lend his general all his fortune—say thirty thousand pounds, for example—what then?

“*Trim.*—To be placed in the general's shoes, your honour, before the end of the campaign.”

“Now comes the remark of the editor:—‘This is, we admit, quite satisfactory.’ Satisfactory! In what sense? Why, in the sense in which he introduces his reason for Mr. Sugden's promotion—‘There is reason in this merit.’ What merit? Why, in the merit that the individual who is the ‘learned personage’ mentioned here, should, for the advance of thirty thousand pounds, appoint Mr. Sugden to the solicitor-generalship. ‘And there is point, too, in the argument, which Mr. Sugden and another learned personage will be at no loss to comprehend.’ Now, gentlemen, let us pause here for a moment, and ask ourselves what other possible meaning this writer could have had, or rather what other possible meaning those who read it could attach to it than this—that the cause of my learned and honourable friend's promotion, is that species of promotion pointed out in the libel—that he has lent thirty thousand pounds; that there is reason in that merit; and that Mr. Sugden will understand the point of argument, and that another learned personage will also understand it? Under the head of ‘Gossip of the day,’ there is a paragraph with this title: ‘Let it stand over till next session;’ and it runs thus:—‘This parliamentary cant-term, which has been so constantly used by our procrastinating, vacillating ministers, has lately been adopted in another house—that of a great legal lord and lady, who are so much sought after by certain loud single-knock visitors, that the servants, to save themselves time and trouble, have hung up in the hall the following written answer—let it stand over till the next session.’ Now, take these two paragraphs together, and tell me, gentlemen, to whom you would apply them? He first makes an insinuation,

which nobody, on the first reading of it, can doubt is aimed at the lord chancellor; and then, by turning to this paragraph among the ‘gossip of the day,’ you find an allusion to a legal lord, as he is called—a legal lord and lady, both of whom are represented in a state of pecuniary distress, and to whom, therefore, an advance of thirty thousand pounds would be a great accommodation. I think it is impossible to read these two paragraphs without seeing that they referred to the lord chancellor; and if any man were to swear himself black and white in that box, I should refer his statement to your judgment; but, whatever your opinion might be, I, for my own part, should not believe him.”

Mr. Alexander appeared in court, and defended himself; but without success. The jury, with little hesitation, found all the defendants guilty. On the following day, the libel on the duke of Wellington and his majesty's ministers was tried. In laying the case before the jury, the attorney-general said—“In the early part of the present year, the public mind was a good deal excited by the discussion of the question of catholic emancipation, brought forward in parliament by his majesty's ministers. However the jury might differ from him in regard to that great question, he was quite sure that after it had been settled by the voice of parliament, and after it had been ratified by the assent of the sovereign himself, it was incumbent on every man to pay obedience to the law; and any subsequent attempt to bring either his majesty or the legislature into disgrace and contempt, was most wicked and reprehensible. The writer of this libel, in the early part of the discussion, entertained a notion, that the measure was impolitic, and that it could never pass into a law: he affected to know more of the secret springs of government than he really did; but, after the question was disposed of, he thought fit to continue that hostility and personal attack in which he had previously indulged. Pending the discussion, full latitude was given to the public prints: no steps were taken against the press at that time, although the most violent attacks were made on the person who brought forward the measure. But when all should have been peace, what would the jury think of the writer of this publication, who undertook to state that his majesty was acting solely under the authority of others—that he was under restraint, and subject to an influence unworthy of any sovereign what-

ever—inconsistent with his dignity, and affecting his personal honour? By the publication which this gentleman thought fit to send forth under an affectation of pity, which is insulting, addressed from such a quarter to such a quarter, and an affectation of compassion, he chose to represent the king of England as a person destitute of a will of his own, enthralled, subject to fetters and restraint, not daring to show himself in public, having become unpopular, and so bound down by the control of an imperious minister, as neither to have a capacity or voice of his own.” He then read the libel, as follows, commenting on parts of it as he proceeded:—“We have the best reasons for stating, that his majesty has lately evinced something more than even marked coolness towards his grace the duke of Wellington. The cause of this is known; but, as stones have ears, we shall, to a certain extent, be silent for the present. His majesty, it is said, complains bitterly that his ministers have placed him in such a position that he cannot enjoy the pleasure of exhibiting himself to his people. George the Fourth was, till now, a popular monarch. That he has been rendered otherwise is the act of his imperious minister. We deeply lament the occurrence; but public feeling is an ever-moving tide, that is affected by causes, which, although invisible, often lead to disastrous results. We pity our aged and revered sovereign.” How very condescending in Mr. Alexander to pity his majesty!—Mr. Alexander pities George the Fourth! The article proceeds:—“But there are sorrows which are too poignant to be relieved by the secret tear: they must be rendered torpid by other appliances. It is sufficiently obvious, that there never was a more ambitious or a more dangerous minister in England than the duke of Wellington. But if his ascendancy over the monarch be such as is represented, or, rather, such as it is represented to have been, then we are sure that national sympathy must spontaneously flow toward the king. The people must feel intensely the restraints imposed upon the sovereign, and regret that, overflowing with goodness as he is, kind to excess, fondly attached to his subjects, and paternally anxious to see them all prosperous and happy, he cannot mingle with their public entertainments, or receive those congratulations which must be gratifying to his majesty in the wane of existence. But his majesty may yet have strength and intre-

pidity to burst his fetters, dismiss from before his throne evil councillors, and assume that station in public opinion which befits a popular monarch.”

Mr. Alexander again addressed the jury, but with no better fortune than before. The other defendants, on this and on the former trial, attempted no defence. A verdict of guilty was pronounced.

The prosecution of another libel on the king and the legislature immediately followed. The attorney-general read the article, commenting upon it as he proceeded. In the first place, he remarked, there was a charge against the house of commons, that they had no sympathy with the distresses of 12,000 of their countrymen; and then all the members of his majesty's government, who, for the best security of the liberty of the people, were members of the house of commons—all these persons were described as eaters of taxes and suckers of the life-blood of their country. Then, with respect to individuals, there was a gross attack on Mr. Peel. He appealed to the jury to judge whether such accusations should be allowed to be published. It would be observed, that the libel did not point out any particular measure of the government, but charged the government, in vague terms, of being guilty of the most unfeeling conduct. His majesty was represented as being held in chains, prevented from appearing in public, insulted by his serviles, and kept in the dark respecting all the questions which a constitutional king should be acquainted with; as destitute of mind, firmness, and authority; as wanting all those attributes which belonged to a voluntary agency. One of the passages ran thus:—“We must have bread, though St. Stephens' and all the *Stephens* suffer martyrdom in Smithfield;” and another represented that his majesty's head “the likeness of a kingly crown had on,” but he was destitute of judgment and energy. The result of this trial was the same as that of the preceding cases.

On the next day, the libel contained in Mr. Crosbie's letter was proceeded against. Commenting on this, the attorney-general said, with reference to the passages relating to the prize the duke aspired to secure for the heir of Apsley-palace:—“By these passages it will appear, that in them the writer intends to make an insinuation affecting the loyalty and the honour of the duke, by pointing to an infant princess, and the ambitious views of the duke in his ex-

pectation of wielding her sceptre. Now, gentlemen, you will consider whether this is, or is not, a statement fit to be borne by a minister. This libel pretends that the duke of Wellington is to take the sovereign power, and that he means to do it in this way:—the son of the duke of Wellington, through the power and authority of his father, is to effect a marriage with an illustrious princess, who, in all probability, is destined to fill the throne of these realms. If the duke of Wellington, or any minister, were to make use of his power and influence to accomplish this species of treachery, if not treason, to his sovereign, he would betray the trust reposed in him, and render himself justly liable to condemnation and punishment. The question, then, is, gentlemen, whether the duke of Wellington is to endure this charge, and is it to be passed over with impunity? The person who makes the charge appears in the character of a gentleman: it is not the dull production of Mr. Alexander. Most unquestionably the duke of Wellington has felt that such a libel was not to be endured; and I think with him. The libel, gentlemen, is not brought before you by what is called an *ex officio* information, but by an indictment; the only difference between the two proceedings being, that in an *ex officio* information there is no need of the previous opinion of the grand jury that the libel deserves prosecution. The libel concludes thus:—‘I am not hypocrite enough to say, that I am your highness’s obedient servant, John Litton Crosbie, A.M., minister of Sydenham, Kent, and domestic chaplain to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, a prince before whom I hope to see you quail.’ Whether his royal highness the duke of Cumberland has such a chaplain as this Rev. J. L. Crosbie, I do not know; but if he has, I am sure he could not desire him to state that he wished to see the duke of Wellington quail before the duke of Cumberland. As to the duke of Wellington quailing before the duke of Cumberland, it was rather extraordinary that, in the said paper, his grace should be charged with exceeding the bounds of respectful influence over his sovereign, and yet at the same time should be supposed to quail before any other individual. If there were any person whom the duke of Wellington approached with reverence and submission, it was his sovereign, for whom he felt all the respect which was due, as well to his personal qualifica-

tions as to his royal dignity. But, as to fearing or quailing before any man, the duke of Wellington was the last man in the world whom he could suspect of it.”

The verdict in this case was—guilty. Another action, brought against Mr. Bell, the editor of the *Atlas*, for a libel on the lord chancellor, produced a conviction, but with a recommendation to the merciful consideration of the court.

The defendants in these cases were dealt with very leniently, with the exception of Mr. Alexander, who, for each of the three libels of which he had been convicted, was sentenced to be imprisoned four months in Newgate, and for each offence to pay a fine of one hundred pounds; and give security for future good behaviour, himself in five hundred pounds, and two securities in two hundred and fifty pounds each.

The spirit in which sir James Scarlett (a whig attorney-general, or rather a tory attorney-general, though a whig lawyer) conducted these prosecutions, called forth sharp animadversions; and it was contended, that the duke’s government was in no respect bettered by the convictions which had been obtained. It was pointedly asked, “If the *Morning Journal* were a formidable enemy, will these trials diminish its power?—if a feeble one, will they accelerate its downfall? Will any man that respected the ministers before, now respect them more highly? Will any man who hated them before, now hate them less? Will the duke of Wellington’s renown be enhanced, because he has shown himself equal to the conquest—not only of Napoleon, but of Mr. Alexander?”

A new subject of anxiety was now pressed on the British government. The Bourbon rule was again complained of as intolerable; and England was looked upon with an evil eye, when prince Polignac, who had been ambassador at the court of St. James, was chosen by Charles X. to be his prime minister, and a cry was raised that the duke of Wellington, who had brought back the Bourbons, had appointed the prince to further the views of despotism in France. This feeling was so strongly manifested, that the other French ministers objected to his being appointed; and Polignac having made a speech, in which he repelled the charges preferred against him, returned to England as ambassador. He did not remain long in London, but reappeared in the French metropolis; and on the 8th of August, 1829, a royal ordinance announced

the formation of a new administration, of which he was considered to be the head, though the office assigned to him, in the first instance, was that of foreign secretary. It was industriously proclaimed that the new ministers were far from contemplating any violation of the charter; and the *Moniteur* remarked, that "if they had for a moment contemplated governing by ordinances instead of laws, the king would, on the first hint of such a design, deprive them of power, which had only been confided to them that they might govern according to the laws." The people, notwithstanding, remained unsatisfied, and the government of prince Polignac was reproachfully named "the Wellington ministry."

The irritating and disparaging remarks made on the minister, were certainly well calculated to render him hostile to a free press; and the freedom claimed by the Parisian writers of that day was most unbounded, and was exercised with an extravagance of rancour. New restrictions were judged necessary by the government; but the means could not be discovered of rendering them efficient; and articles continued to be published which spared not the monarch, but reproachfully declared there was no union between him and the millions he claimed to govern. In the *Journal des Debats*, it was said, "the bond of affection and confidence which united the monarch with the people is broken. Unhappy France! unhappy king!" On this a formal accusation was preferred, and the article was prosecuted as an offence against the king's person and authority; as any impeachment of the king's judgment in choosing his ministers must so be considered. M. Bertin, the editor, was acquitted, on the ground that however improper the expressions in the article objected to, and however at variance with the moderation which ought to be kept in view while discussing the acts of government, they did not constitute actionable offences against the royal person or dignity. When judgment was to be pronounced, after three hours' deliberation on its form, silence within the walls of the court was strictly enjoined; notwithstanding which, the moment the decision was made known, loud acclamations burst forth, which were heard, echoed, and prolonged by the assembled multitude in the street.

Events succeeded events, all pointing to a new political catastrophe. The duke D'Angoulême had been president of the

council. He withdrew, and his place was supplied by Polignac. That appointment caused new discontents, which were not abated by the evils consequent on a bad harvest. The year closed gloomily; but the public mind appeared tranquillised by the chambers being summoned to meet at the beginning of March.

Charles X. was indignant at the libels and caricatures which unceasingly held him up to hatred and contempt. His situation was, in some respects, not unlike that of James II. of England. James, looking back to the story of his father, read that Charles I., after yielding much, closed his life on the scaffold. Charles X. remembered that Louis XVI., after accepting a constitution, and wearing the *bonnet rouge*, perished by the guillotine. Had he acted with less gentleness and more determination, many writers and speakers confidently declared such would not have been his melancholy fate. Charles, like James, determined to act with vigour, and to vindicate his authority. So resolved (when, at the opening of the new year, the president of the court before which M. Bertin had been acquitted, attended, according to ancient custom, to offer to the king and royal family the usual congratulations and loyal assurances), on M. Segurier expressing satisfaction at the privilege he enjoyed, of thus attending to express his wishes, the king replied to him, "that it was his desire that the magistrates of the court should never forget the important duties they had to fulfil, and should labour to render themselves worthy of the marks of confidence they had received." The harshness of the admonition, breathed at such a moment, was not abated by the suavity of the royal ladies present. The only reply they vouchsafed to like homage tendered to them, was conveyed in the abrupt direction or command—"move on." Such a reception given to M. Segurier, whose recent judgment had been extolled to the skies, gave great offence to the French public; and the newspapers, at once exasperated and emboldened by what had occurred, now in various shapes put the question, "what had France gained by the return of the Bourbons; and might she not hope for happier days under another dynasty?" New prosecutions were instituted; convictions were obtained, and heavy fines were exacted; but still the blow aimed at the press, failed to accomplish the object in view; as the people being appealed to, came

forward with liberal subscriptions, and saved the editors from pecuniary loss; and for other inconveniences they were largely consoled by public applause, and an increase in the sale of their journals.

This state of things continued through January and February. When the day named for the reassembling of the chambers arrived (the 2nd of March), Charles went, accompanied by the royal family, to open the session. The ceremonial was marked by more than ordinary grandeur. The speech delivered by the king gave satisfaction for the most part. It told of France being at peace with all foreign powers, the finances were improving, and it also spoke of fidelity to the charter; but in conclusion, the king called upon the peers to assist him in governing the nation; and he declared, that he put his trust in them to repudiate wicked insinuations. It added, "if obstacles to his government should be thrown in his way, which he could not, and would not foresee, he should find strength to overcome them in the loyalty of his people." When the last paragraph had been read, though the customary demonstrations of loyalty were made, the words of his majesty were supposed to have a latent meaning, which threatened new attempts on the liberties of France. The peers coldly replied. Their address set forth that there was nothing to dread from the efforts of faction, if the government had the support of both chambers, and of the great majority of the people; the crown, the charter, the rights of royalty, and the liberties of the people, being inseparably connected, and as such, to be transmitted undivided to posterity.

The chamber of deputies went further than the peers. In the address moved there, which, as usual, echoed in laudatory terms all that was communicated in the speech, paragraphs were introduced which told that the charter supposed, in order to its beneficial working, a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of the people, and the painful duty devolved upon the deputies, to declare that such concurrence existed no longer; all the acts of the present administration, being founded on the assumption that disaffection prevailed among the people, an assumption which the nation felt was derogatory to its character, while it threatened its liberties. It added, the distrust spoken of was not entertained by his majesty. His heart was too noble,

too generous to admit of that; but he could not be farther from coveting despotism, than his people were from desiring anarchy; and he was implored to place confidence in the loyalty of Frenchmen, as they securely reposed in the sincerity of his assurances. In conclusion, he was entreated to choose between his faithful parliament, and those who misrepresented the calm and enlightened views of the loyal French people.

Language like this in France recalled the proceedings of other days, when warm affection was expressed for the person of Louis, and his confidence was invited by those who were preparing to effect his overthrow. Charles appointed the 18th of March for the reception of the address. On that day, at noon, there was a more numerous attendance than usual, and the president of the chamber proceeded to read the document. Charles listened with composure; but when he pronounced the reply his voice evinced considerable emotion. "I have listened," he said, "to the address which you have presented to me, in the name of the chamber of deputies. I am justified in relying upon the concurrence of the two chambers, in accomplishing all the good which I contemplated. I am concerned to find that the deputies proclaim that on their part such concurrence no longer exists. Gentlemen, I announced my intentions in my speech at the opening of the session. They are immutable. The interests of my people forbid my receding from them. My ministers will make my further purposes known to you."

It was now expected that some arbitrary proceeding would be witnessed, and the expectation was not disappointed. On the next day, the 19th of March, the chambers were prorogued to the 1st of September. "Long live the king!" was shouted on the ministerial side. It was responded to by the cry of "Long live the charter!" from the opposition. The galleries were crowded; and one ardent citizen in that part of the building, recurring to what had been the practice forty years before, raised the cry of "Long live the constitution!" Then the royalists called upon the president to clear the gallery; but the session had now been closed, and the president's power was no more. Of course great confusion ensued. Though the chambers were prorogued, no budget had been brought forward, nor had any provision been made for the ordinary expenses of the year. A dissolution of the chamber of deputies followed. The elec-

tions were ordered for June and July, and the new parliament was to assemble on the 3rd of August.

While the suffrages of the people were being collected, Polignac and his colleagues made every exertion in their power to secure the return of members who were likely to support their views; and they even instigated the king to solicit votes for them. On the 14th of June, a proclamation was issued, commencing thus:—"The elections are about to take place throughout the kingdom. Attend to the voice of your king." It went on to speak of the blessings secured to France by the charter and the national institutions; but represented, that to preserve these intact, the royal prerogative must remain unassailed; and finished by calling on electors to hasten to the place of voting. "Let not guilty negligence induce you to absent yourselves!" it urged. "Let one sentiment animate you—one banner be your rallying point! It is your king who claims this from you: it is a father who thus exhorts you. Do your duty, and I will do mine."

Some years before this period, differences had occurred between the dey of Algiers and France. Angry discussions occurred; and, in one of them, the dey struck the French consul with his fly-flap. The insult thus offered being unatoned for, led to a declaration of war on the part of Charles X. Arbitrary visits and depredations were complained of, committed on board French ships; while the sovereignty of France over that portion of territory which is comprised between the river Seibus and Cape Roux, and which she had possessed since the middle of the fifteenth century, had been disputed. Satisfaction was peremptorily demanded; and, as negotiation failed to produce the desired result, the ministers of Charles X., in the hope of exhausting or fixing the attention of that restless spirit abroad which they could not control at home, thought fit to prepare an expedition against Algiers, to claim reparation for all the wrongs of which French subjects had complained. So formidable an armament was assembled in the ports of France, that it attracted the serious notice of the duke of Wellington, and explanations were in consequence demanded by the British government. Lord Aberdeen, as the foreign secretary, wrote to the French minister of war, that the magnitude of the force assembled appeared more than sufficient for the object in view,—exacting satis-

faction for insults, which it was admitted his most Christian majesty had a right to avenge. Explanations were in consequence claimed. "Whatever," lord Aberdeen said, in an official despatch to lord Stuart de Rothsay, "may be the means which shall be found necessary to secure the objects of the expedition, the French government ought at least to have no difficulty in renouncing all views of territorial possession or aggrandisement. The expressions of a former despatch from the French minister, and the substance of which was communicated by the duke de Laval to his majesty's government, were sufficiently precise in this respect; and it is therefore to be presumed that the cabinet of the Tuileries will feel no reluctance in giving an official assurance to the same effect. * * * * Your excellency may recall to the recollection of the French government the conduct observed by his majesty upon an occasion not dissimilar from the present. When his majesty found it necessary, for the vindication of his own dignity and the reparation of his wrongs, to prepare an armament against Algiers, the instructions addressed to the commander of his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, were communicated to his allies without any reserve; and the whole plan, objects, and extent of the expedition were laid open."

The vigilance thus exercised by the duke of Wellington and his government, was not in the sequel sustained with that energy and decision which might have been expected from the character of the prime minister. A satisfactory answer was not returned. Lord Stuart de Rothsay having communicated the demands of his court, still found them studiously evaded. Adverting to the despatch quoted above, his lordship wrote back to the earl of Aberdeen:—"After hearing the contents of that paper, the prince de Polignac said, that having in the first instance made it known that the expedition was not undertaken with a view to obtain territorial acquisitions, he had not thought it necessary to insert the positive declaration which your lordship appears to expect; but that he can have no difficulty in giving me any assurance which may be calculated to remove the uneasiness of his majesty's government; though he begged me to remember, that he does not mean to abandon the establishments of La Calle and Bastion de France, together with the rights which have accompanied the possession of those ports, during more than a century, and which are

necessary for the protection of the French fisheries on that coast."

There was something very like mean duplicity apparent in the language held by the French government. The throne of their master they probably felt was tottering to its fall; and they feared to precipitate his ex-

pected ruin by frankly and unequivocally declaring that to obtain reparation justly due, and with no view to future aggrandisement, the meditated expedition would sail. This question, however, became one of minor importance by the side of mighty changes soon to be witnessed,

CHAPTER XIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE IS ADDRESSED TO PUT ASIDE THE CHARTER; ORDINANCES ARE FRAMED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION; THEY ARE SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED.

THE operations against Algiers were completely successful. All France rejoiced at the triumph thus obtained; but the murmur of discontent was heard mingled with the shouts of victory. Prince Polignac and his cabinet had hoped that the glare of success would restrain disaffection. They were miserably disappointed; and having exhausted every expedient which they thought likely to stem the torrent now set in against them, they were forced to decide that they were in no condition to meet the new chamber of deputies elected in consequence of their appeal to the nation. Such being the case, instead of resigning, they took the rash course of addressing a memorial to his majesty, petitioning him to set aside the charter. They declared it to be their opinion, that no means remained for saving the monarchy, but by a daring invasion of the constitution. They held that in them it would be cowardice to desert the king at such a moment, and discussed among themselves a plan of three ordinances, which, issued by Charles, might at once relieve the government from the interference of the press, and the opposition of the chambers. On the 21st of July, certain ordinances were laid before the king in council, with a memorial explanatory of their object and of the circumstances which rendered their adoption expedient. In this it was stated, that "no provision had been made in the charter for the proper regulation of the periodical press, which had never been anything but an instrument of disorder and sedition. It had established for itself a despotism in the chamber of deputies, where every man who advocated the cause of order,

exposed himself to the outrage of the public journals." It further represented, that the success of the expedition to Algiers, had been greatly endangered by the disclosures and criticisms of the press; and the language and sentiments of his majesty himself had been disrespectfully treated in the newspapers. The ministers therefore, considered that it was for his majesty to decide whether such offences should be continued with impunity. They held, that government and a free press could not coexist; and the prolonged cry of indignation and terror from all parts of the kingdom against the Paris journals, pointed to the necessity of their suppression. With respect to the representative body, the memorial urged, that the right of government to provide for its own security must, in the nature of things, be paramount to all law. All legal measures to check the growing disorders had been resorted to in vain; and if the ordinances now submitted were not framed according to the letter of the laws, they were animated by the spirit of the charter, and, therefore, the memorialists did not scruple to recommend that they should be forthwith issued, feeling, as they did, that they were founded in justice, and that justice must prevail.

That a free press is valuable—eminently valuable to a nation—few men will be bold enough to deny. Its civilising influence is confessed: it extends the bounds of knowledge, and it teaches all reflecting minds the importance of obedience to the laws. Still must it be admitted, that it is a blessing often abused; and, perverted by the hands of madness and violence, it may, under

some circumstances, cause enormous disorders, and produce fatal catastrophes. This Polignac and his colleagues believed to be the danger they had to guard against in the then state of France; and such considerations disposed them to frame the ordinances which have been mentioned. By the first of them, the liberty of the newspaper press was suspended: no newspaper was to be published but under the express sanction of government, which was to be renewed every three months, but which might at any time be withdrawn. All writings containing fewer than twenty pages of print, were to be subject to the same regulations. The second ordinance dissolved the chamber of deputies. This was justified on the ground, that in various parts of the kingdom, during the late elections, extraordinary efforts had been made to mislead the judgment of the electors. In order to correct the abuses which had prevailed, a third ordinance abolished certain provisions of the charter which had led to such a result, and power was given to the king to lessen the number of deputies, shorten the duration of their powers, and alter their qualifications and the mode of their election. The ordinances contained other articles, recalling to the council men who were known to be unpopular. They were countersigned by the six ministers present in council, and kept profoundly secret till near midnight on the 25th of July, when they were forwarded to the *Moniteur* for publication the next day.

On the 26th, they saw the light. All Paris was astounded. The opposition newspapers were not slow to assail them; and opinions were obtained from the most eminent lawyers, which declared them to be illegal. A protest against them was framed in the office of the journal called the *National*. It set forth, in strong terms, the arbitrary and illegal character of the obnoxious edicts; and those from whom this document emanated, unequivocally avowed it was their determination not to submit to them, while they invited the deputies to meet on the 3rd of August. The protest described the government to have wholly put aside that character of legality which rendered obedience to its ordinances a duty. In the course of the day, M. Belleyme, a magistrate, gave the sentiments of the protest his sanction, by authorising the printer of the *Journal of Commerce*, to continue the publication of the protest, till the ordinances of the 25th should

have been legally promulgated. Crowds assembled near the exchange at an early hour, and when the gates were opened, a violent tumult arose. The funds declined. The alarm spread in every direction; master manufacturers decided on closing their establishments, and workmen thrown out of employment, swelled the general confusion. The theatres continued open, and there every passage that could be construed to indicate a political feeling, was eagerly applied, and applauded or hissed by the audiences. Notwithstanding these startling symptoms, the ministers remained unmoved, and expected the excitement would subside in impotent murmurs. Numerous groups of malcontents assembled in the leading thoroughfares, and no authorised attempt was hazarded to disperse them. No preparations were made to check the disorders by the interference of the military, and officers obtained leave of absence as usual. Marmont, the duke of Ragusa, commanded the troops, and from the feeling manifested by the soldiers, was soon aware, that in case of an outbreak, he could not depend on their fidelity. Of the force under him (six thousand men) nearly one-third were required in the regular routine of duty, in various parts of the capital, and at the palace. This reduced the number on which he could rely, in case of emergency, to about four thousand. On the 27th, the police were employed to stop the offensive publications, but the conductors of the newspapers resisted them with bold determination. They barred the doors of their offices, and continued to print, and copies were thrown from the windows to the expectant crowd without, as fast as they could be taken from the press. Many thousands were thus put into circulation. The police, to vindicate their efficiency, resolved to break open the doors of the offices, and blacksmiths were required to employ their sledge-hammers for that purpose. The call was disregarded, and one patriot blacksmith after another flatly refused his assistance. An entrance was at last forced, and the papers, manuscripts, and types, were scattered or destroyed, with the presses. But this still more inflamed the indignant populace. One printer, connected with the *Courrier Francais*, fearing to print the paper in violation of the ordinance, was sued by the editors for breach of contract. The tribunal before which this question was to be decided, participated in the general disaffection, and

M. Ganneron pronounced a decision, that as the ordinances were at variance with the charter, they could not be binding on Frenchmen; and the printer was required to fulfil his contract within the ensuing twenty-four hours.

It is not necessary here to describe the scenes which ensued in detail. Let it suffice to say, the disorders increased in the course of the day. Gunsmiths' shops were rifled; barricades were erected; the arsenal was invaded; and still ministers remained firm to the purpose they had avowed. At seven o'clock on the following morning, the prefect of the Seine thought it necessary to apprise the government that a stronger guard was necessary, for the defence of the Hotel de Ville. If this were not promptly supplied, he expected the mob would force an entrance, and establish a provisional council within its walls. This serious intimation appears to have been thought of little importance; and the framers of the ordinances were still confident that declar-

ing Paris in a state of siege would restore order. They met in council at the king's palace at St. Cloud, where the royal family then remained, but nothing was done in consequence of the prefect's communication; and by this time his apprehensions were realised: the Hotel de Ville had been stormed, and its guard, which consisted of but sixteen soldiers, turned out. The intruders then sounded the tocsin, and displayed from the window the tri-coloured flag, surrounded with crape for mourning. The Parisians were now awfully reminded of the dismal scenes of the former revolution; and soon afterwards the tri-coloured flag waved from the ancient towers of Notre-Dame, while the great bell sounded to call the Parisians to arms. Long insensible to the danger, Charles X., when at last he was startled by the belief that Paris had become the scene of a serious revolt, and inquired if such was the case, had to listen to the portentous rejoinder—"Sire, it is not a revolt, but a revolution."

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLES; AMENDMENTS PROPOSED TO THE ADDRESS; DISTRESS DECLARED TO BE UNIVERSAL; PARLIAMENTARY REFORM CALLED FOR

CONSIDERING the part which the duke had acted during the French revolutionary war; the sentiments he avowed at its commencement; the share he had had in bringing it to a close, and restoring the Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors, it seemed desirable to trace the progress of the disaffected in France, from their refractory proceedings towards the close of 1829, till they produced a new revolution in 1830, before narrating the course which, as one of its consequences, Wellington held it his duty, as prime minister of England, to pursue in the latter year.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 4th of February. In the speech delivered by the lords' commissioner, the following were the most important passages:—"His majesty has seen with satisfaction that the war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a conclusion. The efforts of his majesty to accomplish

the main objects of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, have been unremitted.—His majesty having recently concerted with his allies measures for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, trusts that he shall be enabled at an early period to communicate to you the particulars of this arrangement, with such information as may explain the course which his majesty has pursued throughout the progress of these important transactions.—His majesty laments that he is unable to announce to you the prospect of a reconciliation between the princes of the house of Braganza. His majesty has not deemed it expedient to re-establish, upon their ancient footing, his majesty's diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Portugal; but the numerous embarrassments arising from the continued interruptions of these relations, increase his majesty's desire to effect the termination of so serious an evil. His majesty commands

us to inform you that the export in the last year of British produce and manufactures, has exceeded that of any former year.—His majesty laments, that notwithstanding this indication of active commerce, distress should prevail amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom. It would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his majesty, to be enabled to propose, for your consideration, measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general and permanent interests of his people. It is from a deep solicitude for those interests, that his majesty is impressed with the necessity of acting with extreme caution in reference to this important subject.—His majesty feels assured that you will concur with him in assigning due weight to the effect of any favourable reasons, and to the operation of other causes, which are beyond the reach of legislative control or remedy. Above all, his majesty is convinced that no pressure of temporary difficulty will induce you to relax the determination which you have uniformly manifested to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and the permanent welfare of the country.”

The address was moved by the duke of Buccleuch, and seconded by lord Saltoun. It produced a warm debate. Earl Stanhope said, a speech more inapt and inappropriate had never been delivered from the throne. After congratulating parliament on the close of the war in Turkey, it informed them that distress prevailed among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in “some” parts of the country. Surely it would have been much more correct for his majesty to have told parliament, that unexampled distress prevailed in every class, and in every interest. A portion of his lordship’s speech was especially levelled at the duke of Wellington. He severely remarked on the mention made of the existing distress. It was said that it existed in some parts, when, in truth, it was universal. What part of the country was it in which ministers had not found distress prevailing, and that, too, general, not partial? The kingdom was in a state of universal distress—one likely to be unequalled in its duration, as it was intolerable in its pressure, unless parliament thought fit to inquire for a remedy. It was not confined to agriculture; it had extended to manufactures, to trade,

and commerce. All these great interests had never before, at one time, been at so low an ebb, nor in a condition which demanded so loudly the prompt and energetic interference of parliament. The speech found not only mere partial distress in some parts of the country, but ascribed what it did admit to unfavourable seasons. Unfavourable seasons did, of course, operate upon grain; but was their effect usually visible in a reduction of prices? Did a bad harvest make corn cheap? The evil was so notorious, that nobody but his majesty’s ministers doubted its existence; and how could even they feebly pretend to deny it, if they only cast their eyes around, and saw the counties spontaneously pouring on them every kind of solicitation for relief? Why, then, was inquiry evaded or denied? The petitions of the people, he maintained, had been treated with neglect, and the circumstances of the country were such as imperiously called for inquiry. A course different from that which had been pursued must be adopted to extricate the country from its present difficulties. It was mainly to save the house from the disgusting ridicule and scorn (for he could not use milder terms) to which it would be exposed if the address were carried, that he should propose an amendment which had this recommendation,—that it would neither prejudge the cause of the distress, nor the remedy that ought to be applied; it would merely pledge parliament to institute a minute inquiry into the existing distress, with a view to the amelioration of the suffering classes in all parts of the country. The terms of it would be—“That this house views, with the deepest sorrow and anxiety, the severe distress which now afflicts the country, and will immediately proceed to examine its cause, and the means of affording effective and speedy relief.” His lordship said, should he be unsuccessful, as probably he should be, he should then enter his protest against any further proceedings; and in a very short time, as soon as a sufficient attendance could be obtained, he should submit a motion for inquiry—not by any “select” committee of members to be named by the duke of Wellington, but an inquiry by the whole house into the state of the nation, as to its internal condition. His taking that course would not preclude any noble lord from moving for an inquiry into the state of the foreign relations of the country: but that he did not intend to do;

first, because he was not sufficiently informed on the subject; and secondly, because, though he might see much to deplore in the foreign policy which had been pursued, he also saw much to admire in the pacific course which had been preferred by the duke.

The address was supported by lord Gode- rich. Doing this, he assured their lordships, that insensibility to the distress which prevailed in the country could not justly be imputed to him; but, while looking at that, they ought not to neglect other important subjects which were brought under their consideration by the speech. That his majesty saw with satisfaction the termination of the war with Turkey, he could believe; but he could not feel great satisfaction at the mode in which it had been terminated. His lordship had never thought it could come to any other end. For the last hundred and thirty years, the power of the Turk had dwindled every day; while the power of those states which would be most likely to contend in warfare against him had been progressively and naturally increasing. The principle of his government and his faith made it impossible for him to advance in the same degree as others: he was the victim of a blind, stupid, prejudiced fanaticism; while those powers whom fear before restrained—but whose cupidity was now awakened by the hope of deriving benefit from his weakness—had been making a daily progress in those arts which first make a country independent of, and afterwards superior to, her less civilised neighbours. That had been strongly exemplified with respect to Turkey. There had not been a single war in which the Turks had been engaged for the last hundred and thirty years, which they had not come out of shorn of a portion of their strength. He had been convinced that nothing could save the sultan but a combination of the other powers—a combination which he could never have counselled.—The earl of Carnarvon dwelt on the distressed state of the country, and declared the great and overwhelming cause of it was the line of conduct which had been adopted within the last few years, which had brought the country down from the pinnacle of prosperity to its present depressed state. He charged the government of the duke with partiality to Don Miguel. They had, in fact, acted as constables for his protection. The conduct of the government in preventing the landing of the Portuguese, who went out unarmed to join the force of

their lawful queen at Terceira, was a decided violation of the neutrality which ministers professed to observe, and was an interposition unwarranted by the law of nations. England was certainly not bound to assist in conveying them there; but he defied any man to prove that she was justified in preventing an unarmed body from landing on that island. Even if the government knew that the men were afterwards to be all armed, and sent to attack Portugal, still he would contend that England, as a neutral nation, had no right to interpose. He would ask the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, if he had ever heard of such a naval or military armament as an unarmed vessel, containing six hundred unarmed men? In regard to the distress which prevailed, if a wide step had been taken in error, it was only by taking as wide a step in retreat, that they could hope to recover their lost advantages. "The government," he remarked, "had confessed themselves not only unable to relieve the distress complained of, but they now declared that they could not even distinguish it." He could not vote for the address, as he thought it would pledge him to a blind reliance on ministers, and to an opinion as to the state of the country which he believed to be inconsistent with truth; and he was astonished that that opinion could have found its way into the speech.

The duke of Wellington followed the noble earl, and made a speech, in which he maintained that the distress was not universal. His view of the then state of the country he thus expressed:—"If, my lords, I could entertain any doubt of the propriety of the determination which I had formed, not to refer to those points of the motion of my noble friend near me, relative to foreign affairs, in answer to noble lords opposite—I say, my lords, if I had ever harboured any such doubts, they would be entirely removed by the latter part of the speech of the noble earl (Carnarvon) who has just sat down. Instead of referring to those parts in his majesty's speech, and in the address of my noble friend, which have relation to the transactions of the present year, he has found it necessary to refer to the history of the last two years, in order to find ground of blame against his majesty's government. In the very last session of parliament, I declared my earnest anxiety that your lordships would be pleased to discuss the very question which the noble earl has taken the advantage of this night's discussion to intro-

duce to your consideration—taken advantage of to introduce without notice to any one concerned, or opportunity given them to consult the documents, that we might see whether the noble earl quoted them correctly, or whether any others were necessary to the elucidation of those transactions to which he has referred. It was not to those transactions that the noble earl addressed himself, but to certain papers for which he had upon some former occasion moved; and to-night, upon the occasion of considering an address in answer to the speech from the throne, he loses sight of all the topics of that speech and address, and refers to other transactions, upon which no information has yet been given to the house—or, at least, but very partial information—and charges government with certain things—where he found them, God only knows—most certainly not in the dispatches which have been laid before this house, or which have reached the public offices.” In reference to complaints made, that the British army in Portugal had been disposed of to favour the views of Miguel, while steps had been taken or sanctioned, which caused the failure of the insurrection at Oporto, continuing his speech, he said:—“I say, my lords, there was no such communication as that which the noble earl refers to. It was desired by Don Miguel, that the British troops should continue in Portugal, but the proposal was negatived by the British government; and it is not true that any such proposition was made by any individual, or set of individuals, on the part of this government, that I know of. But the noble earl considers that to us is attributable the failure of the insurrection of Oporto. Surely not, my lords; we had nothing to do with it. The truth is, that the insurrectionists of Oporto had all the strength of troops, abundance of ammunition, and all the muniments of war necessary to carry their points, and they were joined by the very officers who (the noble earl says) were absent, and who, if present, would have obtained all the ends of the expedition: but they withdrew from Portugal; they quitted the ship which carried them; they left the country, because they saw the whole country was against them. That was the fact, and it appeared upon the face of the correspondence. But not only has the noble earl referred to transactions for which there are no documents, but also to others, of which the documents are before your lord-

ships, and to which he might as well have given notice of his intention of referring to-night. I say, my lords, that we were neutral in the contest between Don Miguel and his niece or brother; that we were neutral in the civil war of Portugal. The neutrality was never violated by us. We were bound in commercial relations with Portugal—bound by a commercial treaty before the time that he usurped the government of Portugal, and under that we had rights to maintain. Being so situated, could we suffer an army to be organised at Plymouth for the purpose of invading Portugal, the Azores, Terceira, or any other place within his dominions? Don Miguel might be an usurper, or he might not; that was not a question which we had a right to settle by appeals to such arguments as would show a disposition to violate the strict neutrality it was our duty to observe in the contest. The noble earl talks of the cruelty of that transaction at Terceira, and regrets that blood had been spilled. I regret it too. I believe that one man was killed, though the evidence on that point is not so clear as the noble earl would make it appear. The fact has not been proved. But this was not our affair: we did no more than was required to keep his majesty's neutrality, and we were fully justified by the laws of nations, and by that treaty, in taking those measures. The noble earl has also adverted to the correspondence having been carried on through the person who filled the situation which I had the honour to hold upon that occasion, as if I had taken upon myself the duties of that noble lord (lord Aberdeen.) But if the noble earl would quote accurately that correspondence, he would see why it devolved upon me; why my noble friend did not undertake it; and why it was afterwards transferred to my noble friend. It remained in my hands while the person acting here for Portugal did not assume an official character, a state of things it was our object to prolong; but as soon as an official person did appear, the business was then transferred to my noble friend, and from that time he took upon himself the negotiation. Such was the history of that transaction, so far as I recollect. For, not thinking that an affair which happened so long before last session, would be made the subject of discussion to-night, I do not pretend to speak with any accuracy upon it, and, in fact, trust entirely to my recollection of its circumstances. I

had intended to confine myself in what I had to say to the latter part of the speech from the throne, and the latter part of the address, which was particularly alluded to by the noble earl at the table, and which, notwithstanding the great pains that have been taken with other topics, I consider the most important part of the speech. His majesty has thought proper to recommend to this house that it should proceed with great caution in the consideration of the subjects which are to be submitted to it. But what does the noble earl oppose to? He not only does not attend to the recommendation of his majesty—a recommendation to proceed with prudence and discretion—but he calls upon your lordships to pledge yourselves not only to inquire into those transactions for the good of the country, but he points out the very measures which ought to be adopted; namely, an alteration of the currency. This, I say, my lords, is the measure pointed out by the noble earl. He has thought proper to make some observations on the speech, as if his majesty's government had neglected to ascertain the true state of the country—as if they were ignorant of its distress, and as if I, in particular, was negligent of my duty in this instance. I can assure him, that no one is more sensible than I am of the state of things, and that no one laments it more sincerely than I do; and I am certain, that independently of motive or interest in this subject, arising from my official situation, there is no person in the country who feels for its distress more acutely, than the person who fills the situation which I have the honour to hold. The noble earl has said, that in the speech the whole of the distress was attributed to the state of the seasons; but what is the statement of the speech upon that subject? Without affecting to quote it literally, is it not in substance this,—that in considering the remedies to be applied to this state of things, you are to give due weight to the unfavourable nature of the seasons, which occasioned enormous expenses in collecting the harvest, and which has, in fact, occasioned one bad harvest, if not another; so that the collection of it was excessively expensive. Surely these circumstances must not be overlooked in taking the subject of distress into consideration. But, besides the agriculturists, there is another class labouring under great distress—the manufacturers. I want to know whether the competition of machinery

with labour in all departments of mechanics—the general application of steam—the competition abroad with our manufacturers—and the general imitation of our fabrics—have not produced very great distress among the manufacturers at home? These are the circumstances to which his majesty refers as important to be considered in connexion with the subject of distress, and they are those over which parliament has no control. Can this house prevent competition by foreign markets with our own? Can we prevent improvements in machinery? Can we prevent steam from being applied to foreign manufacture? And yet we all know that this injurious competition is ruinous to the manufacturer, by lowering his wages, or throwing the labourers out of employ. But then, the noble earl says, the distress is general—universal. My lords, I am afraid the distress is very general; but notwithstanding the distress which prevails, there are symptoms to show that the country is advancing. I say—and it can be proved by the documents—that the exports of British manufactures have increased—have been increasing for the last few years; and that in the last year they were larger than they ever were before. There are, upon all sides, shown the strongest symptoms of improvement in the condition of the country: there is not a railroad or canal, upon which the traffic has not increased of late years, including last year. True it is, that the profits of trade are now smaller than they were formerly; but if profits, however small, are being derived from the labour of man and animals, surely it is impossible but that some advantage must accrue to some one. These advantages are not so great as they were ten or fifteen years ago; but there is some advantage, or would the increase of traffic exist? And where that is the case, the distress cannot be said to be universal. There is in this country a very large class of persons who are retail dealers: I ask if they are distressed? This class is very numerous in every town and village in England: I want to know if they are distressed? Are they able to pay their rents? Who build and rent all the new houses that one sees in all directions? These, my lords, are circumstances, say what you please, which every man must feel and acknowledge as indications that the country, notwithstanding the pressure upon it, is still rising, and in some points must continue to rise. I will now say

one word, my lords, upon the remedies proposed by the noble earl, who had entirely misunderstood the argument of the noble viscount (Goderich.) The noble viscount had said that the revenue in the year 1815 produced eighty millions sterling; and that the taxes had been reduced, first to the amount of eighteen million pounds, and afterwards to the amount of nine million pounds; making, altogether, twenty-seven million pounds: the revenue produced in sound currency now, the same amount as it did in a depreciated currency before. Does not, then, this fact of the revenue keeping up, though the taxes were taken off, prove that the consumption of articles had increased one-third since the period when the taxes were taken off—a proof also of the better state of the country. It would be impossible for the country to increase in its consumption one-third in fifteen years, if it was suffering under the universal distress which the noble lord talks of. The noble lord opposite, and the noble lord who spoke last (Carnarvon), have thought proper to refer the distress to a deficient circulation. Now, my lords, I hold in my hand a paper which gives the relative amount of the circulation at different periods. By this, it appears that the largest sum ever known to be in circulation during the bank restriction, was sixty-four millions sterling. The sum was made up of—bank of England notes, thirty million pounds; country bank-notes, twenty-three million pounds; gold, four million pounds; silver, seven million pounds: total, sixty-four million pounds. But in the last year the circulation consisted of—bank of England notes, nineteen million nine hundred thousand pounds; country bank-notes, nine million two hundred thousand pounds; gold, twenty-eight million pounds; silver, eight million pounds: total, sixty-five million one hundred thousand pounds—being an excess over the largest circulation ever known. If the question be about the actual amount of money in circulation, I beg to observe that there is more money in circulation now than there ever was at any period of the bank restriction; and that whoever considers there is abroad sixty-five millions, cannot say that money is scarce. Why, the truth of the matter is, that noble lords want not extended circulation, but unlimited circulation—that is, to give an unlimited power to some individuals—not the crown—any one but the crown—to coin as much money in the shape of paper as they please,

that they may be enabled to lend a fictitious capital to all sorts of speculators. This is what the noble earl opposite wants, but what the country cannot have, without exposing it to a degree of ruin from which it so narrowly escaped in 1825 and 1826. If your lordships will attend to the arguments of the noble lord, you will see that this is what he wants. For what is the language now held? 'In the west of England,' one says, 'I inquired, and found the farmer could not borrow any money: his corn-yards and hayricks were full, but he was not able to raise money upon them; and why? Because the country banker cannot coin one-pound notes.' If these bankers, says the noble earl, cannot lend their money, they cannot get any interest upon their capital. I beg his pardon. The banker may have discount upon cashing the farmer's bill; but he is not content with that profit; he wants to be coining one-pound notes, and to have profit upon these insecure notes, in addition to the discount. And what is it the noble earl wants now, and will move for, perhaps, in a few days? Not to increase the circulation, for there is as much now as at any former period; but to give certain persons power to lend as much money as they please upon any or no land—security or no security. I submit to your lordships, that the noble earl has not proved the want of money: there never was a period when money was less wanted. Is there any man, however speculative—any scheme, however visionary, provided only it is a little plausible, which now-a-days lacks support? Is there any power, however bankrupt—even Portugal and Brazil, though the creditors of these countries have been so ill-treated—but can borrow money in this city, upon any security or no security? In fact, capital is more abundant now than it was ever known to be; and the evil is certainly not too limited a circulation. I will now pass to more important topics in his majesty's speech—namely, the measures which affect the permanent welfare of the country. In answer to all the declamation that we have heard to-night, as to the evils resulting from free-trade, and this system of currency, I beg to state to your lordships only one fact. Since the year 1815, but principally since the bank restriction was taken off, measures have been adopted by which this country has been relieved from twenty-seven million pounds a-year taxes, besides three or four millions of interest, representing a

capital of a hundred millions of debt. I will tell the advocates of what is called an 'equitable adjustment,' that with all their measures, they could not have accomplished so much. I repeat, that since the bank restriction has been taken off, the country has been relieved to the amount of nine millions, and eighteen millions beside. I wish to take no credit for this: I give it to those to whom it is properly due—to my noble friend upon the cross-bench (lord Bexley), and to the noble viscount (Goderich) opposite. Your lordships, then, perceive what may be done by economy: we give our pledge to strive to attain similar ends, by the like means; and we call upon you, and count upon you giving us that aid, in putting that economy into practice, which will enable us to imitate and rival our predecessors. I trust that your lordships will believe that his majesty's ministers will do all in their power to relieve the distresses of the country."

The marquis of Clanricarde justified the comments of the earl of Carnarvon, and held them to be seasonable when ministers, by their own confession, were about to recognise Don Miguel.—The earl of Aberdeen said due notice would be given before any steps were taken towards that recognition. He would not say that at that moment any intention existed on the part of the government to recognise Don Miguel; but for himself he had long considered such recognition as only a question of time; for take place it must, at one time or other, though the period might be precipitated or retarded by different considerations.

Upon this, lord Holland indignantly said, he understood the noble earl to tell their lordships, that when the happy period arrived when they were to acknowledge as king of Portugal the usurper whose whole course had been marked by the greatest hostility and perfidy to this country, that then parliament was to be made acquainted with all about it. From the papers which were already before them, the conduct of ministers appeared to him to have been very disgraceful. He hoped before they resolved upon the disgrace and ignominy of recognising the bloody usurper and tyrant of a country which was of more importance to England than any country in Europe, that full information would be given to their lordships as to what had been done in that matter.

To this it was bluntly replied, by the earl

of Aberdeen, that when ministers thought fit to advise their sovereign to renew diplomatic relations with Portugal, it would not be thought necessary to ask his advice as to the course proper to be adopted; but such information would be laid before the house as would, he trusted, fully justify the government. He spoke of the unfavourable reports affecting Don Miguel as having been much exaggerated. At all events, he was the choice of the Portuguese people; and it was for the interest of England to be connected with Portugal, whether it was governed by one brother of the house of Braganza or the other. The interruption which had now taken place in the relations of the two countries, had been of greater duration than had ever occurred before in the course of two hundred years. That interruption was calculated to injure the union which had so long subsisted between the two countries; and it could not, therefore, be wondered at, that ministers were anxious to get back to that state which had been the settled policy of the country for so long a period.

The amendment was supported by the earl of Winchelsea; but lord King said he found it absolutely necessary to submit to their lordships an amendment of his own. He objected to the speech, because it conveyed no adequate idea of the distress of the country, of the nature of the disease, and none whatever of the proper cure. They had heard in the speech the tenth time-told-tale of "temporary distress;" but he wanted to know why, after fifteen years' peace, the country experienced a recurrence of what was constantly called "temporary distress." There had been a variety of reasons assigned at various times for the distress. At one time there was a superabundance of food; at another, a superabundance of goods; at a third, they were labouring under a load of paper; and at a fourth, under a load of money. All these foolish reasons were assigned for the sinking and going down which every one experienced. The cause of the evil would be found in the monopolies which met them at every turn. They had a monopoly of beer, a monopoly of corn, a monopoly of sugar, and a monopoly of tea; and the effect of all these fell upon the consumer. He verily believed, that the relief which might be afforded by the repeal of the monopolies would amount to at least one-half of the national debt. He was confident that the nation would be a gainer to that amount: the relief would produce a

saving at least equal to fifteen million pounds per annum. The amendment which he had to move, when that already offered should be disposed of, and which he proposed should be inserted in the thirteenth paragraph of the address, set forth, that after fifteen years of peace, great distress existed; that it was the duty of parliament to examine into the cause of the distress; that the necessities of life were rendered dear by taxation and regulation, too much being taken from the industrious classes, too much given to the privileged classes; that it was a grievous aggravation of the taxation, that further enormous sums were permitted to be extorted from the people by the intolerable monopoly of corn, beer, sugar, tea, and other articles, for the private benefit of powerful and favoured classes. The amendment enumerated the partial and exorbitant duties of excise; the monopoly conferred on the cultivators of sugar in the British West India islands; the exclusive trade and navigation to China conferred on the East India Company; and, in conclusion, it set forth that permanent relief could only be expected from the strictest economy in every branch of the public expenditure; from the abolition of all exclusive privileges and monopolies; from an unrestricted supply of the first necessities of life and of the materials of manufacture, and from a really free trade, by which the whole community, as consumers of goods, would be greatly benefited, the labouring classes enabled to procure a fair reward, while the capitalist augmented those funds by which all labour was supported.

The earl of Darnley and the marquis of Lansdowne spoke in opposition to the amendment. On a division, the original address was carried by a large majority; the numbers being—contents, seventy-one; non-contents, nine.

The address was moved in the house of commons by the earl of Darlington, eldest son of the marquis of Cleveland. It was seconded by Mr. Ward. The same objection which had been taken to the speech in the lords, was made to it in the lower house. Sir Edward Knatchbull complained that the speech stated distress to exist in some places. He marvelled how such language could find its way into the speech. He knew that the distress was not so great in some places as in others; but the question was—was not distress universal? "We are asked," said he, "on this important day—perhaps the

most important we have ever witnessed—to approach his majesty with a declaration very like a falsehood." He proposed, as an amendment, to add to the address, after the words "any former year"—"But that we lament the distress which his majesty informs us exists in some places: we are, however, in the faithful discharge of our duty, constrained to declare to his majesty our opinion, that the distress is not confined, as his majesty has been advised, to some particular places, but that it is general among all the productive interests of the country, which are severely suffering from increased pressure: we beg to assure his majesty, that we will adopt the caution his majesty has recommended in the consideration of such measures as may be proposed to us, and that our earnest endeavours shall be directed to relieve the country from its present difficulties."

A sharp debate ensued, and another amendment was read by Mr. Protheroe, which he proposed to move when the one already before the house should be disposed of. In that which he desired to carry it was declared, that the measures which had been recommended by ministers and adopted by parliament, had failed to mitigate the calamities under which the country was sinking. That the tendency of the present political, financial, and ecclesiastical system was to accumulate in few hands enormous masses of property, leaving the middle classes struggling to support a precarious credit, and the lower in a degraded dependence for daily food. It further set forth, that neither the landowner nor the farmer had been enriched by the corn-laws; while the bread of the poor was made dear, and the labourer was stinted in his hire; that the merchant, the shipowner, the manufacturer, and trader, were proceeding with hopeless efforts of industry; that the peasants and operative mechanics were hastening to a state of universal pauperism; that the pleasures of the rich were purchased at the expense of the poor, under the administration of the game-laws; that the nation was bowed down by taxation and by a wasteful, blundering, and jobbing expenditure of public money in the erection of palaces and public buildings in the metropolis, alike devoid of taste and utility; that the tithe system was peculiarly galling at such a season of distress, while the unequal distribution of the revenue of the church of England and Ireland, and the inadequate

provision made for those who performed its most active duties were viewed with serious concern by the friends of the establishment, and afforded just cause of scandal to its enemies; that the colonial interests of the country were plunged in a state of equal depression; and finally, the amendment closed with these words:—"We cannot but feel how uncertain must be all dependence upon the acts of a legislature which does not, and cannot as now constituted, adequately represent the talents, the sentiments, and the wishes of the country; yet we will not fail, while maintaining the integrity of our admired constitution, to consult in all our deliberations the spirit of an enlightened age, and the just petitions of the people, by a decided retrenchment of expenditure, a large reduction of taxation, and by a needful reform, commencing with our own 'house.'"

The question of parliamentary reform, during the last half century, had been frequently debated. Brought forward year after year, the subject seemed to have been worn out; and the public, which had often eagerly joined in "the call," wearied with the repetition, had almost abandoned the hope of seeing that organic change effected which, through a series of years, had been demanded in vain. The time had now arrived at which the flame (which had burned so fiercely twenty years before, when its great champion, sir Francis Burdett, was sent to the Tower) was to be rekindled. The proposed amendment, praying for many reforms, and recommending that the first step should be to effect a reform of the house of commons, called forth the warm applause of Mr. Alderman Waithman, who declared he had never been better pleased with any speech than with that by which the subject had now been introduced. The worthy alderman spoke to the gloomy aspect of things generally, and reported the distress of the traders in the city of London to be great in the extreme. Their stocks, he said, had suffered a depression of forty per cent. from the circumstances of the times. He added—their interests were not so fully represented in that house as were those of other classes; but at present, the fact was, that the distress was not confined to any particular class—the great body of the people were all equally distressed. Things had come to that pass, that something must be done. They must either bring up prices to a level with the taxation, or bring down the taxation to a

level with the prices. If parliament did not adopt one or other of these plans, he was as certain as that he stood there that he should live to witness—and, at his time of life, he could not expect to see many years—a scene of dreadful confusion in the country.

This view of the then situation of things was supported by Mr. Davenport. He said, the boast made on the subject of the exports had been shown to be a fallacy, as it was notorious the master-manufacturer was obliged to sell his goods for less than prime-cost. Of the duke of Wellington he said, his grace entertained very singular ideas as to the actual situation of the country. The duke had said that the extravagant habits which had prevailed during the war must be abandoned, and moderate and sober habits introduced. Sober habits, he admitted, were good; but why not extend them to all—to ministers, to sinecurists—to all who lived on the taxes. If

"Order and sobriety

were

The rules of his society,"

why not make them general?—He went on to assure the house that, in many parts of the country, the people were sober enough to satisfy anybody, as they were reduced to live on potatoes and water. The duke of Wellington, he said, "ought to recollect that each of those sober people had contributed his mite to present him with the most splendid reward that ever soldier had received. He doubted if they would have granted his grace seven hundred thousand pounds, if they had thought he would have favoured laws which had a tendency to double that large sum. He considered that, with respect to national credit, there were two debts owing by the nation,—one, that which the government borrowed, and that which, by Mr. Peel's bill, was doubled. The first would be paid; but the other never would be, never could be, and never ought to be paid."

Many who were disposed to support the government, concurred with their opponents in describing the distress of the period to be severe in the extreme. Mr. Alderman Thompson, while avowing his belief that the measures which ministers were about to suggest, would be those best calculated to relieve the overwhelming calamity which spread itself over every part of the community, cautioned them against relying too confidently on the exports of the country, as indicating a revival of prosperity. Of late, British manufactures

had found no market at the price they could command a few years ago; but the merchants were compelled to send their goods abroad on the chance of sale anywhere, and at almost any price. The capitalist of London had changed his mode of dealing, and had lately assumed the character of a pawnbroker. British goods were sent in this way, not to the continental markets merely, but to the whole world. There were goods then lying in the custom-house, which had been offered for sale in vain, and could be sold by no house at all in the city. Since 1826, British manufactures had decreased from forty to fifty per cent. in price. He had been assured that both masters and workmen were fast coming down to despair; and he knew that labourers went through most painful toil, and after fourteen hours of hard and constant labour could only earn a few shillings, which were utterly insufficient to procure for them the common comforts of life. He did not support the amendment, as he thought it better to wait till government had developed their scheme for abating the evil: should that prove insufficient, he said he should then give his immediate support to the gentlemen opposite, who, however, he satirically added, were quite as anxious for a change of men, as they were for a change of measures.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in replying to those who had supported the amendment, assured the house that, much as those gentlemen might feel for the distresses of the people, none could participate more largely in the regret which they awakened, than those who were responsible for advising his majesty on the subject. They had judged it their duty to counsel him not to present an exaggerated picture to parliament, but one that they, from the best information they could gain, believed to be correct. It was not to be denied that there was a great and severe pressure on the manufacturing and agricultural portions of the community in some parts of the United Kingdom; but he believed that there were parts, which, so far from being visited with such an affliction, were enjoying comparative ease and comfort. If the state of agricultural produce in Ireland were examined, it would be found that great prosperity and comfort were existing in that part of the empire; and it would also be found that there were parts of England in which much of the pressure which existed had arisen from the free introduction of Irish produce; so that, in proportion as one part of the United Kingdom was depressed,

at least another was benefited and advanced. The object of the speeches made in support of the amendment was to make an alteration in the standard of value, or at least in the currency of the country, so as to change those laws which parliament had sanctioned, after the most mature and anxious deliberation. He now declared that, to entertain the proposition of altering the standard of value which was laid down in 1819 as the basis of the circulation of the country, or to concur in the restoration of the circulating medium of one-pound notes, were concessions which the government would never be prepared to make. The government, pursuing the course which he had indicated, might not be providing for their popularity at that moment, but he believed they were pursuing the true course to benefit the country—a course which would ensure its future acquiescence in the soundness of their policy.

The speech from the throne was attacked by Mr. O'Connell as meagre and unsatisfactory; but, in reference to what had been stated of the improved state of Ireland, he said, the chancellor of the exchequer considered he had found "one oasis" in the desert—a country where no distress at all existed. Who would have thought that that country was Ireland? Was it, then, not true, that there were seven thousand registered persons, in Dublin alone, actually living on three-halfpence a-day; and that even that miserable pittance was nearly exhausted? The first subscription, with the lord-lieutenant at its head, amounted to three thousand five hundred pounds; the second, to no more than three hundred pounds. If what had been stated were true, what very cruel landlords, what very stingy agriculturists Ireland must contain, that they should be in such a state of prosperity, and not even contribute a farthing to such miserable objects of pity. He described great distress to exist in many parts of the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. There had been various instances in which the rents had been obtained only by the sale even of the very blankets with which the unfortunate tenants had been covered. In the production of that distress many causes concurred, but unquestionably the state of the currency was one of them. He was convinced that ministers could not make good the pledge which had been given by the chancellor of the exchequer, without diminishing the taxation of the country, and reducing it, not by

candle-ends and cheese-parings, but by millions upon millions. Instead of keeping up a taxation of sixty million pounds, if a gold currency were persevered in, it must be cut down to fifteen or twenty millions. He would support the amendment then before the house; and if that were lost, he could wish to propose a resolution, to the effect—that the existence of distress being admitted, and that distress not being caused by any fault of the people, it was the first duty of the house to inquire into its causes, with a view to afford radical and satisfactory relief to all parties; and supposing his resolution to be adopted, he would then move that the house should sit from day to day until it had ascertained the causes of the general distress.

Mr. Huskisson took part in the debate, and declared that the statement made in the amendment on the subject of the distress which prevailed, was more correct than the statement on the same subject contained in the address of the noble lord. Entertaining that opinion, he could not support the address. He was not one of those who thought the difficulties of the country so great as they had been represented in many quarters: he did not despair of seeing the country restored to a state of prosperity; but, from all the information he possessed, he felt satisfied that there now existed that degree of pressure on the productive classes generally, which, were it to be permanent or long-continued, would be incompatible with their continuous existence. Some gentlemen, he remarked, attributed the distress to a supposed deficiency in the currency. That was a proposition which he thought they would find it difficult to maintain; for money was more abundant in London than it had been at any former period—as exchequer-bills, paying two-and-a-quarter interest, were selling at a premium of seventy-five shillings; and it was seen every day, that money was borrowed at a very low rate. The fact was, there was a stagnation, in several parts, of the productive industry of the country, and an overflow of capital in others. In almost all branches of productive industry the profits were so small, as not to compensate for the amount of capital employed, or afford sufficient support to the individuals whose labour was required. In conclusion, he repeated—that he felt bound to support the amendment, because it expressed the facts of the case with more justice to the feelings of the

house, and to the duty which the throne and the country had a right to expect from them, than the original motion.

It was from dread of the horrors of a civil war, that the duke of Wellington had consented to introduce the catholic emancipation bill. If he expected it would give him popularity, or his government stability, his disappointment must have been great. The whig party had become his allies and the eulogists of his policy while that important measure was under consideration; but when it was carried, the good feeling between the ministerialists and them was soon perceived to be on the decline. They could not cordially act together. The duke of Wellington, it was believed, now that the immediate cause of difference was removed, would gladly have brought about a reconciliation with his old political friends; but this could not be suddenly effected; while the imputed disposition to favour it, tended to alienate altogether his whig supporters, who, however, were still disposed to afford him just so much aid as might keep him separated from the old tory or conservative body. Such being the state of things, the powerful voice of Mr. Huskisson, raised in favour of the amendment before the house, was a serious blow to the administration.—Mr. Peel followed that right honourable gentleman, and expressed surprise at the course which he had thought it right to take. Hitherto, he remarked, he had always been anxious to guard against raising false hopes, which might in the end cause severe disappointment. His advice had constantly been, to trust to time, and to those resources which had on former occasions exhibited that elasticity which had enabled this great nation to rise superior to difficulties of greater magnitude than those they had now to meet. Notwithstanding the gloomy statements which they had heard, the internal state of the country was less disheartening than many were disposed to believe. While some interests were depressed, others were in an improving state; and the distress which was the subject of complaint, he could not be persuaded grew out of the present state of the currency. If he and his colleagues could be convinced of the contrary, they would as readily abandon the opinions they had held on that subject, as they had those which were known to have been theirs on another important question. For himself, he could see no shame in public men giving up opinions

they had formed in their earlier days, when circumstances proved that they were erroneous. Every hour he lived convinced him more and more of the folly and presumption of binding themselves irrevocably to opinions once avowed. On mature deliberation he was satisfied that more serious evils would arise from unsettling the currency, than any which were to be apprehended from adopting an opposite course. He denied that there was any want of sympathy, on the part of ministers, for the existing distress; but they could not consent to the amendment, as they felt that it would be dangerous to excite vain hopes. Rash experiments would tend to introduce permanent evils, instead of affording the sufferers (whose case was now pressed on their attention) immediate relief. He remarked, with satisfaction, on the language which had been held respecting England in the American president's recent message to congress, and showed that Dom Miguel had been recognised by the government of the United States. He was prepared to show, from documents in his possession, that there had not been the falling off which had been stated in the national consumption of the country. He had been furnished with complete statements of the amount of tonnage carried, and of the amount of tonnage duties received upon the principal canals. The returns commenced with the year 1820—that year when the bill which he (Mr. Peel) would never disclaim (though so much obloquy had been thrown upon it—he meant the bill for regulating the metallic standard, and restoring the currency) took effect. He had expressly desired that they should be made out that year; for he well remembered, that when that bill came into operation, prophecies without number were propounded, that the commercial transactions and concerns of this country were so complicated and so multiplied, that any attempt to carry such a measure into effect, would tend to cramp and depress the energies of the nation. He was ready to take his stand by what had occurred in our foreign trade; but he would fortify himself by proofs of an increase also in our home consumption. The returns which he had procured were from the Forth and Clyde canals, from the duke of Bridgewater's canal, from the Grand Junction canal, from the Kennet and Avon, and from the Berkeley and Gloucester canals. In the year 1820, the amount of tonnage on the Forth and Clyde canal was three thousand two

hundred and ninety; in the following year, four thousand and twenty-eight; four thousand four hundred and sixty in 1822; four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four in 1823; four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four in 1824; five thousand eight hundred and four in 1825; five thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight in 1826; five thousand eight hundred and eighteen in 1827; and in 1828 (the last year to which the accounts were made up), five thousand nine hundred and seventy. Thus, in the year 1828, the amount of tonnage was five thousand nine hundred and seventy; while the average of the eight preceding years was four thousand eight hundred and forty-three; giving an increase, in the year 1828, to the amount of one thousand tons upon this canal. Upon all the other canals a similar progressive increase had taken place in their business from the year 1819 to the year 1828. On the duke of Bridgewater's canal, in the year ending the 1st of January, 1830, the average amount of tonnage was one thousand five hundred and eighty-six; while, in the year 1829, the average was one thousand one hundred and fourteen; so that it appeared that the average amount of tonnage on that canal, for the last year, exceeded that of the former year by nearly five hundred tons. It might be said, that though the tonnage had increased, the tonnage-duties had not. Now, he had expressly inquired as to the amount of duties received, and this was the result:—Upon the Grand Junction canal, the average amount of the tonnage-duties received for the eight preceding years was eight thousand six hundred and six pounds; last year, the average had risen to nine thousand pounds. On the Grand Trunk canal, the average of the eight preceding years was eight thousand and one pounds; but last year it had risen to fourteen thousand and forty-nine pounds. Upon the Kennet and Avon, the average for the same period was one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine pounds; last year, it amounted to two thousand one hundred and ninety pounds; the average amount of tonnage-duties on the river Avon, for the same period, was one thousand five hundred and forty-seven pounds; last year, it amounted to one thousand seven hundred and six pounds. The average amount upon the Gloucester and Berkeley canal, for the seven years preceding 1828, was one thousand and sixty-nine pounds. It had increased in 1828, to two thousand two hundred and thirty-five

pounds; and, last year, to two thousand three hundred and sixty pounds. Here, on this canal, the average was more than doubled in the course of two years. These facts should induce the house to pause before it sanctioned the statement that universal, irremediable distress prevailed throughout the country.

In reply to what had been said on the subject of the distressed state of Ireland, Mr. Peel said—"No doubt distress prevailed in the country, and God grant that some measure might be devised to remedy it. But was there any proof before the house that the agricultural interests of Ireland were suffering under universal distress and depression? Could it be said that universal distress existed among the agriculturists of Scotland?" He doubted if such was the fact, and called on the house to use due precaution before it expressed such an opinion. He maintained that the address in answer to the speech, gave a truer description of the state of the country than the amendment proposed by the honourable baronet. It was perfectly consistent on the part of his majesty's ministers, while they felt sincere sympathy for the distress which did exist, to be extremely cautious as to the adoption of rash experiments, with a view to its alleviation. The distress which did exist had originated in causes over which government had no control; and it should be borne in mind, that it was not exclusively confined to the dominions of his majesty. The agricultural interests had also experienced similar depression in America, and in other countries. In France, for instance, the distress had been, in many places, as severe as in any part of this country. In parts of the United States, the distress had been equally great. In Russia, at that moment, a proclamation had been issued for lowering the rate of interest, with a view to remedy the agricultural distress prevailing there; therefore the causes (whatever they might be) which had operated to produce distress, were not confined to this country. Great weight was certainly due to the effects produced by unfavourable seasons. He believed that the expense incurred by the agricultural interest, both in cultivating the soil and collecting the harvest, had never been so great as in the last two years, owing to the extreme wetness of the season. That was sufficient to account, in some degree, for the depression experienced by the agricultural interest; and besides, he did not think that due weight

had been assigned to the effect of the importations from Ireland. That was a cause beyond remedy or control. Ireland was fairly entitled to a free access to the markets of Great Britain; and no man would be mad enough to propose to restrict the importations from that country. He held in his hand an account of the importations from Ireland into the port of Liverpool during the last year. During that period there had been imported into Liverpool, from Ireland, forty-nine thousand oxen, thirteen thousand calves, eighteen thousand pigs, one hundred and eleven thousand sheep, one thousand three hundred lambs; and the total value of agricultural produce thus imported, amounted to one million two hundred and seventy thousand pounds, exclusive of corn. It was impossible to deny that such immense importations from Ireland, had the effect of depressing the agricultural interests of this country. The same argument applied to Scotland; and he submitted to the house, that the crown was quite justified in calling upon them to use extreme caution before it should attempt to remedy, by legislative interference, the distress which existed. It was because ministers believed that any rash experiment with the currency would (though it might possibly afford some immediate benefit) only be productive of more permanent evils than those from which the country was relieved, that they had come to the determination of maintaining the present system, and exposing themselves to whatever obloquy might attach to their pursuing that line of conduct.

The result of the debate was a majority of fifty-three in favour of ministers; the numbers being—for the amendment, one hundred and five; against it, one hundred and fifty-eight.

The address ordered by the house being prepared by a committee, their report was brought up on the following day, when another lengthened debate took place, in the course of which some explanations were offered by lord Palmerston, modifying the support he had given in the amendment on the preceding day. An amendment was moved by the marquis of Blandford, which, in strong language, called for a parliamentary reform. It declared that "in the awful and unusual distress into which the landed, commercial, and all the great productive interests of the country were at that moment plunged, that house felt itself called upon to take care that his

majesty should not be the only person in his dominions that remained ignorant of such an astounding fact, as well as of the consequent impending danger to the throne, and other great national institutions. The house," it went on to say, "was at no loss to indicate the cause of this most unnatural state of things; and, in justice to his majesty and the nation, could no longer hesitate to proclaim that cause to the world. That cause," it added, "was a fact already too notorious, that the house of commons, which was intended by the ancient and admirable constitution of the country, to be the guardian of the nation's purse, had been nominated for the greater part by the proprietors of close and decayed boroughs, and by a few individuals who, by the power of money, employed in means absolutely and positively forbidden by the laws, had obtained a domination over certain cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom. The result was, that in a period much shorter than the life of man, taxation had increased from nine million pounds to nearly sixty million pounds a-year; while the poor-rates had been raised from one million five hundred thousand pounds, to eight millions annually. To render such a mass of taxation supportable, recourse had been had to tampering with the currency, which had plunged one class of the com-

munity after another into poverty, misery, and ruin; and the house therefore declared its solemn conviction, that no effectual measures of salvation would or could be adopted, till the people should be restored to their rightful share in the legislation of the country—to their undoubted right of choosing the members of that house."

The amendment was seconded by Mr. O'Connell. Sir Francis Burdett approved of the sentiments it expressed, but remarked, the question was of such magnitude—of such paramount importance, that, in order that justice might be done to it, it would be well to postpone the consideration of it to a future (not distant) day, when, if his were the only vote in its favour, such a motion should have his support. The noble marquis, notwithstanding this, determined on pressing his amendment to a division, though left almost without a supporter. It was resisted by Mr. Peel, who considered, that whatever the merits of the question, it could not then be properly discussed. Several other members, though favourable to a parliamentary reform, were of opinion that the subject was indiscreetly brought forward by the noble marquis; and in consequence, when the division took place, there were but eleven ayes to eighty-five noes. The original motion was then carried.

CHAPTER XXI.

MR. O'CONNELL CONTINUES TO AGITATE; THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION IS REVIVED; RIOT AT LIMERICK; GREEK AND TURKISH AFFAIRS; SIR JAMES GRAHAM CALLS FOR A REDUCTION OF SALARIES; RETRENCHMENT; ANGRY DEBATE ON THE ESTIMATES.

It has been seen that Mr. O'Connell lost no time in manifesting his hostility to the government, both in and out of parliament. From common observers it called forth satirical comments on the texture of Irish gratitude; but with all his popularity among a certain class, he had no just claim to be considered the representative of Irish feeling.

It can hardly be supposed that politicians so experienced as the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, were greatly taken by surprise at finding the attacks of O'Connell continued with unabated rancour. They

had not to learn that he did not consider it his mission to teach his countrymen obedience to the laws, and good-will to England; and must have been aware that whatever was granted, he was desirous of seeing used but as a means to an end—as a stepping-stone to gain something more. That much had been granted, but emboldened him to demand that nothing should be withheld. The wish would have been wise and patriotic, had it prompted him to recall those who had wandered from the right path to a sense of duty, and to teach abstinence from outrage; that it might be seen English

good-will confirmed Irish loyalty. But such was not the lesson which he taught—such was not the course which he deemed it his mission to prescribe. The cry was still, “agitate! agitate! agitate!” and the speeches addressed to the crowds that followed him, were, in effect, exhortations to riot and disaffection. He, at this time, personally, found it necessary greatly to exert himself to preserve that popularity, which he had so long enjoyed, and which had been so productive of rent, or tribute. It was, from certain recent occurrences, seriously endangered. Those who once listened to him with profound admiration, and almost worshipped him as a sublimely disinterested patriot, began to suspect that his love for his country was somewhat alloyed by the common-place anxieties of a professed man of the world. His impetuosity was continually the cause of his being involved in serious quarrels with those who had been his confidential friends: angry disclosures followed; and many irregularities were from time to time imputed to him. At an early period of his political career he killed a man in a duel, and subsequently declared that he would never take part in another mortal combat. No one blamed this declaration, till, regardless of it, he grossly insulted parties, who felt aggrieved that by his vow, or resolution, they were precluded from taking a course which would otherwise have been open to them. Towards the close of the last year, an imputation was thrown on him of having been in negotiation with the Beresford family, on the subject of acting as their counsel in the Waterford election. He put forth an account of the affair in a letter to the electors of Waterford, in which he made it appear that he had refused a very large fee, the accuracy of which statement was denied by Mr. Mahony, an eminent solicitor, who had acted for O’Connell in the first Clare election. The consequence of this, was a scene which ended very little to the credit of the great agitator. It was thus given to the public in *Saunders’s News Letter*:—“On the day after the publication of Mr. O’Connell’s address to the electors of Waterford, Mr. Mahony was conversing with some gentlemen in the hall of the Four Courts, when Mr. O’Connell joined the group.—‘Well,’ said he, addressing Mr. Mahony, ‘have you seen my letter; and what do you think of it?’—‘I have seen it,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘and I am sorry, for your own sake,

that you ever wrote it.’—‘Why?’ demanded the counsellor.—‘Because,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘it is untrue.’—‘Untrue! in what respect?’—‘Why, with respect to the amount of the fee. You never were offered the sum you state; and, therefore, you never could have refused it.’—‘The sum,’ said Mr. O’Connell, ‘was mentioned in your letter.’—‘Positively not,’ responded Mr. Mahony; ‘I have perused my letter on the subject since I read that published by you; and I positively assert that you have stated that which is not true.’—‘Well, then,’ said Mr. O’Connell, ‘you mentioned the sum to me in conversation.’—‘That,’ replied Mr. Mahony, coolly, ‘was impossible, for I was in England.’ Driven from one falsehood to another, the counsellor lost his temper, and exclaimed, with great warmth and some vehemence, ‘Well, no matter. This I can say, that I will not be bullied nor put down by the Beresfords, or by their panderers or agents.’—‘Mr. O’Connell,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘you well know that you are the only man who dare use such expressions in my presence with impunity. You have earned an infamous protection for yourself, and no gentleman can take notice of what comes from your lips.’”

Notwithstanding this attack, which must have awakened bitter resentment, and many affronts of a character equally offensive, he did not abate his pretensions. He might feel that this could not be done with safety. The course he took was to affect a laugh at all that could be said to disparage him, and gaily to proclaim that he was “the best abused man in the kingdom.”

It must astonish every one, that with the duke’s known views of the importance of maintaining strict discipline in the army, and even in the cabinet, that he could have allowed such proceedings to continue as were witnessed in Ireland during his administration. The truth is, if there were anything on earth that he could be said to fear, it was civil war. He had marked its horrors on the continent, and shuddered at the bare idea of looking on them again in the country which gave him birth. Hence it was, that under the name of constitutional agitation, he suffered the demagogues of the day to preach rebellion, and almost to practise it. Early in the year, an association was formed in Dublin, under the soothing comprehensive name of: “The friends of Ireland of all religious persuasions.” This body, under O’Connell’s instructions, called

for a series of legislative measures, which they declared were indispensably necessary to the welfare and tranquillity of the country; and they proceeded insolently to declare, that it was their determination to agitate till all their demands were conceded. One of the measures called for was the repeal of the subletting act, a law which was generally considered to have operated most beneficially. They further called for a radical reform in parliament, and a repeal of the union. The new society, as it was called, was, in truth, no other than the catholic association with a different appellation. All the efforts formerly made, in the name of catholic emancipation, to exasperate the lower orders against England and the duke of Wellington's government, were again resorted to; and the distress of the peasantry and others, which it must be admitted was dreadful to contemplate (as the tenants of Mr. O'Connell, under their patriotic landlord, knew right well), they were taught to believe was all owing to the legislative union with England, and the want of a separate parliament for Ireland.

At a meeting called to raise a subscription to relieve the starving poor, over which the lord mayor of Dublin presided, Mr. O'Connell cautioned those present not to let their anxiety to abate the misery pressed on their attention, make them overlook the cause from which it sprung. He told them, "it could not be attributed to the badness of their soil; and why, then, was pauperism so prevalent among them? It is," he said, "because seven million pounds annually are taken out of the country by absentees. If the duke of Leinster, who has been named, had a house in Dublin, would not his grace and his family employ our starving artisans? He has not even a lodging in Dublin, but he gave fifty thousand pounds for a house in London." His own patriotism he exemplified by stating, that when he went to England, he took care to wear clothes made in Ireland. It was remarked by a gallant admiral present, that such language was likely to do harm rather than good. If the English, in a spirit of retaliation, should refuse Irish beef, butter, and linen, it would greatly injure the industrious classes in Ireland. Than that, nothing could be more reasonable. It would be a strange system of political economy that could regard the loss of so large a customer as England, to a poor productive country as other than an awful calamity; though this was not admitted by the O'Connell party.

The lord-lieutenant now found it neces-

sary to avail himself of the power given to him to suppress the catholic association; and a proclamation issued, forbidding the society called "the friends of Ireland" to meet. As a matter of course, this was described to be a tyrannical or Algerine mandate; but it was not openly disobeyed. O'Connell next advised that, in order to prove to the government how dangerous it was to resist the demand of what he chose to call the Irish people, that a run should be simultaneously made on all the banks, in order to shake credit and create confusion. This mischievous counsel was not acted upon to any considerable extent—a proof that the misled followers of the so-called liberator had no banks to run upon; and that the Irish people generally—the intelligence and property of the country—were not favourable to the extreme measures which he was prepared to advocate. He directed attention to the revolutionary triumphs which had been won in other countries, expressing a fervent hope that the actors in them would see others were ready to follow "their bright example." Among the changes which were called for, was the total severance of the protestant church from the state; and, till that were effected, he declared perfect liberty never could be known.

The assembling of "the friends of Ireland" being prohibited, a new confederacy was set on foot, named the "anti-union association." This barefaced attempt to set the viceroy at defiance, was met by a proclamation, on the day named for the meeting, which compelled the members to desist from their purpose in appearance, but in appearance only, as a meeting was immediately called with the same object in view, the name only being changed to "the association of Irish volunteers for the repeal of the union." O'Connell insisted that the repeal of the union was absolutely necessary for the well-being of the people, and therefore enjoined them to prepare petitions in every county, city, town, parish, village, and hamlet, to which every male person should affix his name or his mark; as, that done, the unanimous voice of the people of Ireland would convince England that the union must be repealed. Another proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant, prohibiting the meeting of the Irish volunteers; and they did not venture to assemble. Volumes of abuse were poured on the government for the determination thus evinced; but the necessity of setting some bound to rampant

disaffection, calling itself "agitation," was established to the satisfaction of every thinking man; and meetings were held, which were attended by noblemen and men of property, at which resolutions were passed in favour of the connexion with England, and declaring the readiness of those who subscribed them to uphold the union by all the means in their power.

The distress which prevailed, and the excitement thus evoked, kept the country in a very unsettled state, and serious disorders occasionally broke out. Later in the year, in the middle of June, a riot occurred at Limerick, which caused some alarm to be felt. A mob, comprehending several thousands of persons, attacked the Blackwater-mill stores, on St. George's-quay, and they next seized four or five cart-loads of oatmeal on Thomond-bridge. To Arthur's-quay they next went, where they seized more than four tons of meal; and other places were visited by the still increasing multitude, and seizures were made of pork, bacon, lard, and even (in the hungry spirit of plunder) of a quantity of bay-salt. A party of dragoons at length stayed the violence of the rioters, and compelled them to disperse; but they ventured to reappear in the vicinity of the Linen-hall, and their operations being directed against the butter-house, a great quantity of butter was carried off; but the greater part of it was subsequently recaptured. During these tumultuous movements property was attacked valued at ten thousand pounds, and two or three of the plunderers lost their lives.

The affairs of Greece were much remarked upon at this time, both in and out of parliament, and the conduct of ministers with regard to them seriously questioned. Turkish despotism had become extremely odious. Much tyranny towards the Greeks, and many imputed enormities, had caused a strong feeling in the minds of many English politicians, that the power of Turkey in Europe ought no longer to exist.—Lord Holland, on various occasions, turned his attention to this subject; and on the 11th of February, he brought forward a motion respecting the settlement of Greece, in doing which, he said, "though he was no lover of the Turk, yet, being a lover of good faith, he could not think it consistent with the honour of Great Britain to behave to Turkey as she had done, her conduct having been that of a deceitful and hollow friend, and

eventually of base and pusillanimous desertion, though the Turks on that memorable day, when the duke of Wellington took his seat in that house as first lord of the treasury, had been called 'our ancient ally,' and one, the integrity of whose empire and dominion this country was bound by the ties of interest, and the faith of treaties, to maintain." The resolution with which he concluded, declared no pacification or settlement of Greece would appear to that house permanently advantageous to the interests of Europe, or honourable to his majesty's crown, which did not give to that country a sufficient territory for national defence both by land and sea, and which did not establish therein a government with full powers to adapt its laws and institutions to the wishes of the people, and to protect its subjects from all foreign interference in their domestic concerns.

Explanations of great interest of the policy of England were offered by the earl of Aberdeen, to show that the course pursued by ministers had for its object to carry into effect the treaty of London, which did not profess to have in view the independence of Greece to any extent. If they had deviated from the strict letter of the treaty, this had been uniformly in favour of the Greeks; and in this they had gone beyond the most sanguine expectations of their friends. "The noble baron," lord Aberdeen said, "appears to have some notion that the new state should be of certain dimensions, and that to make them so, the island of Candia must be taken from Turkey. Upon that part of the subject, as well as all the rest, the noble baron seems to be very imperfectly informed. The existence of any war at all in Candia is to be attributed to ourselves and to our allies: at the date of the treaty of London that island was tranquil. A mountainous district in that part of the world, indeed, was always in that state of insubordination which is too frequent in Turkish provinces; but Candia, at the date of the treaty of London, was as tranquil as it had ever been under the Turks. In the execution of the operations directed, it was found necessary to establish the blockade of Candia; and what was the effect of it? The Greek pirates were driven to take refuge with their brethren in the mountains; and this was the signal for excesses, and the commencement of a civil war. By means of assistance of money and men from the provisional government of

Greece, a war was kept up, which is not yet entirely at an end. The noble baron has also alluded to a report, if possible more inaccurate than most of those on which he has founded his motion: he has supposed that there is some intention to interfere with the establishment of the form of government most desired by the Greeks, and this design he has gratuitously attributed to that demon which seems to haunt his lordship's thoughts whenever he talks of foreign politics, and which he imagines has influenced us to adopt a course which he holds in abhorrence. If he alludes to Austria, I can assure him, that Austria had about as much to do with the settlement of Greece as the noble baron has had, or not so much, indeed. I deprecate any interference with the internal government of the new state: for God's sake let the prince and the people settle their institutions for themselves. We must not force our institutions upon them, but give them full liberty to act as they please, and to found a constitution adapted to their wants and wishes. The noble baron has not omitted to renew his charges, in consequence of the opinions expressed by my noble friend near me (the duke of Wellington) and myself, upon the importance of preserving the Turkish empire. These opinions I have no objection to repeat; and I therefore regret the change recently effected in the relative position of that power, as compared with its neighbours. I do not regret it from any love of the Turks or of the Turkish government—God forbid! I have seen and know the effect of the barbarous rule existing there; and nobody can be more alive to the horrors with which it abounds. But give me leave to say, that the improvement of Turkey may be purchased at too dear a rate; and I still think that the conquest of that country would be paying dear indeed for the amelioration of its condition. The power of Turkey has been considerably weakened; and it remains to be seen how it may be affected by the change, and whether the apprehensions entertained are warranted. The noble baron treats these opinions with ineffable contempt—as notions not to be tolerated in a member of this house; but surely he must have forgotten that they are not only not new, but that they have been always entertained by this government. By no man have they been more strongly felt than by a right honourable gentleman for whom the noble

baron naturally feels the greatest regard and the highest veneration—the late Mr. Fox, who declared that he was not only most anxious for the independence of the Turkish empire, but that he was ready to guarantee its integrity. With this authority on our side, I do not think that the noble baron is again likely to treat us with such supreme scorn because we profess the same opinions, not for the sake of the Turks, but for the sake of the peace of Europe.”

In his reply, lord Holland urged that the charge he had preferred against the duke of Wellington was, that his observations, which had buoyed up the sultan with an expectation that England would throw herself between the combatants as a shield to our “ancient ally,” and had then left her to her fate, had not been answered. The noble earl stated it to have been the wish of Mr. Fox that the Turks should be driven out of Europe. He believed he knew what had been the views of Mr. Fox as well as any man living, and doubted if he had expressed, with respect to Turkey, the opinions said to have been his. This produced a very remarkable statement from the earl of Aberdeen. The opinion of Mr. Fox, to which he had referred, was taken from no speech or report of Mr. Fox's opinions, but from his own letters, written with the deliberation due to an official document—for such it was. A letter had been addressed to Mr. Fox by M. Talleyrand, dated April 1st, 1806, in which the French minister, among other matters, said, “The integrity and complete independence of the Ottoman empire, form not only the sincerest desire, but constitute also the undeviating object of his policy.” To this Mr. Fox replied, in a letter dated April 8th, 1806, “As to what has been stated relative to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, no difficulty can present itself, those objects being equally dear to all the parties interested in the present discussion.” The motion of lord Holland was negatived without a division.

Though little sympathy was felt for the Turks, the aggressive movements of Russia, and the great extension of her empire, friendly as she was to England, were watched with suspicion and viewed with displeasure; but various circumstances conspired to call attention from the foreign policy of ministers to matters of more immediate concern at home.

That great distress existed in many parts of the country was beyond all doubt; and in such cases, whatever the true causes of the evil, those who are not well affected to the government of the day, blame the minister for all the people have to endure. Relief from taxation was loudly demanded, and retrenchment was fiercely called for. Ministers declared themselves willing and anxious to effect every retrenchment that could be safely adopted; but with anything they thought it right to propose, their opponents, and, indeed, the people generally were not satisfied. A motion was brought forward by sir James Graham, in the house of commons, on the 12th of February, for a reduction of all official salaries. He showed that subsequent to the passing of the bank restriction act, all salaries had been increased in consideration of the additional expense of living, and that restriction having ceased, he contended salaries ought to be diminished, now that a return to cash-payments had been effected. The bank restriction act had produced a depreciation of the currency and a rise in prices, which was the ground for an increase of salaries. Calling for an increase of the civil list, in 1802, lord Sidmouth had said—"When gentlemen refer to their experience in the increased value of every article in the course of the last two or three years, I am sure the excess of the civil list, which renders an addition to it necessary, will be readily accounted for." Like reasons, he showed, had been urged by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Perceval, while calling on parliament to make up a deficiency, and to increase the salaries of the judges. The value of money having been restored, operated in a two-fold manner,—adding to the weight of all fixed payments, while it lowered wages and the prices of provisions. Hence the miserable state to which the people were reduced, and hence arose the necessity for rigid, unsparing economy; and one great source of reduction must be the abating the salaries of those who had their hands in the public purse; excluding, however, from their consideration, the privy purse and the royal establishment. The measure of 1819 had produced great changes. Sir James Graham said, he being then a young member, and overborne by authority, had voted for it. Mr. Ricardo, on whose faith he had pinned his own, had told him the return to cash payments would only make a difference of three per cent.; the earl of Liverpool had since frankly acknowledged that the

difference, instead of three, was not less than twenty-five per cent. When government increased the value of money, and did not reduce taxation, they encroached on the comforts of the labouring classes. Taxation prevented the fall of prices. He had heard something of luxuries, he said (alluding to a remark made by the duke of Wellington, that in certain cases the luxurious habits of parties, which had been acquired during high prices and the war, must be abated.) Sir James said, he knew not whence the notions of luxury were derived: were they drawn from the gorgeous palaces of kings, or from the rival palaces of ministers, or from those of East India directors, rich with the monopoly of the China trade, or from those of Jew loan-contractors, who supplied to foreign states the gold from the coffers of the bank of England? He added—

"Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand,
Between a splendid and a happy land."

"What," he asked, "was now the boast of this happy country? Where was the furniture that adorned the poor man's cottage? All was gone—pinching hunger and despair now held their place in the labourer's habitation. The weaver in the county which he represented (Cumberland), earned but 4s. 2d. a-week, out of which he had to support his family. Oatmeal, water, and peas were his sole food, and for these he had to work fourteen or fifteen hours a-day."

On the subject of the revenue, he said, he thought the time was come when the gross amount of the assessed taxes and customs should be carried to the public account. These returns now amounted to nineteen millions, and there was a per centage of nearly six pounds: in 1810, the per centage was only £4 9s. The salaries of public officers, too, had been raised in an extraordinary manner since 1821. There was one to which, as a sample, he would call the attention of the house. He did not wish to be hard upon the humble clerk, but he thought the extravagant salaries of the higher officers might be advantageously diminished. Now, the case to which he alluded was, that when the father of his honourable friend, the member for Northamptonshire (lord Althorp) was first lord of the admiralty, he was content with a salary of three thousand pounds a-year; and this was at a time when we sent Nelson to annihilate our enemies at the Nile, and

Duncan to conquer at Camperdown, and at a time when we had fleets on every sea in the civilised world; and yet now, in a year of profound peace, my lord Melville received five thousand pounds a-year. Thus it was that now, sixty per cent. more was paid than had been granted to lord Spencer. He would next refer to a paper for which he had moved in 1828. It related to the number of persons employed, and the comparative amount of their salaries, in the years 1797 and 1827. In 1797, there were sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-seven persons employed in the civil service connected with the revenue, and their salaries amounted to one million three hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds. The average salary, therefore, of each man amounted, in 1797, to eighty-four pounds. In 1827, there were twenty-two thousand nine hundred and twelve persons employed, whose gross salary amounted to two million seven hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds, while the average salary of each was one hundred and twenty-one pounds. Thus it appeared, there was an increase of one-third in the number of persons, and that fifty per cent. was added to the amount of salary. But it was, at the same time, curious to observe the difference in the price of wheat now, and at a more remote period. And here he would observe with Mr. Horner, that although it was usual to take the precious metals as the standard, yet that bread-corn was the real standard; and in this he was borne out by Mr. Locke, who had declared that wheat was, in fact, the standard by which all things must be ultimately determined. Now, in 1810, wheat was one hundred and five shillings a quarter; it was at present fifty-five shillings a quarter: five hundred thousand quarters, therefore, in 1810, were equivalent to one million quarters at present. It was, consequently, obvious, that there was great unfairness in our having salaries doubled, while we have our standard at but half its former value. "I am not," continued the honourable baronet, "one of those who viewed, without the utmost jealousy, in 1828, the elevation of the duke of Wellington to the highest office in the state. I had observed, with deep regret, his opposition to the government of Mr. Canning, stated to proceed from an irreconcilable difference with respect to the catholic question; and differing from the honourable member for the county of Hertford (sir J. Sebright), I did not

think that a military education was the best preparation for a statesman seeking to administer the affairs of a free people. I remembered what the historian had said, that he who had been trained amidst arms, and had obtained a consummate knowledge of his art, might be disposed to transfer to the cabinet the doctrines of the camp, and recognise no submission but implicit obedience. A little reflection, however, led me to hope that he who had acquired a knowledge of the people in every clime and circumstance of danger—who had never failed to lead them on to victory—must, more than any other, respect that nation whom he had proved to be the lords of human kind. I was not altogether disappointed in these expectations. In the first session, the noble duke supported a bill for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, which had been introduced by a noble friend of mine (lord J. Russell), who thereby added another to the many obligations which the people of this country are under to his family. He also conferred the merited honours of his profession upon a distinguished barrister, (Mr. Denman)—an ornament to this house, whom I should again wish to see amongst us. In the last session he carried a measure which Mr. Pitt declared to be the keystone of the union; which Fox, though he ably advocated it, never ventured to bring forward; which hurled from power Grey and Grenville, because they attempted to bring it forward; which Grattan, the warm-hearted champion of the Irish, would have died to accomplish; which, because Mr. Canning could not accomplish, he died from chagrin and despair—so deeply did he feel the effects of bitter calumny and gnawing care. This bolder minister, however (nothing daunted by the fall of his predecessors), effected a religious peace on the solid base of equality of civil rights. All these are great obligations; but political gratitude is short-lived. Events press upon events—day by day we are called upon for decision—we cannot, we must not, lag behind. If the fundholder, the political economist, the lawyer, whig and tory, are to rally under the banners of the Wellington government, the time is come, when, on the part of the tax-payer, it is necessary to form another party to reduce the burthens of the country."

The secretary to the treasury (Mr. Dawson) undertook to oppose the motion; and, doing this, to vindicate the government, and especially to show what, in respect to patronage,

the conduct of the duke of Wellington had been. He brought before the house what had been done since the year 1797, when all practical retrenchment, and the abolition of sinecures and reversions had been recommended by a committee. Those recommendations had been acted upon, as far as it was possible. If the wardenship of the Cinque Ports had been allowed to exist, the salary formerly attached to it had ceased. The office of governor of the Isle of Wight, and of the two chief-justices in Eyre, and the clerkships of the rolls in Ireland and in England, had been abolished. The office of auditor of the exchequer, in the former country, had also ceased. The same place in England would be abolished as soon as a vacancy occurred, and the salary (four thousand pounds a-year) would be saved to the country. Twenty-three other offices had been abolished since 1807: making, in all, thirty-two sinecure and reversionary places that had ceased, since the recommendation of the committee. The office of comptroller-of-barracks had been transferred to the ordnance department; that of the commissioner of the transport board, to the navy victualling board; and that of commissary-in-chief, to the treasury. The office of store-keeper-general had been abolished; the board of customs in Scotland and Ireland, the boards of excise in Scotland and Ireland, and the boards of stamps in both those countries, had been abolished. Of all these different boards, the number of commissioners had been fifty-nine: they were now reduced to twenty-eight. This had been done with no other desire than to diminish the public expenditure: for that purpose, thirty-one commissionerships, with salaries of from one thousand to one thousand four hundred pounds a-year had been abolished. But the motion now before the house, it was said, concerned the rate at which the public servants still retained should be paid; not the number of them which might be necessary for the public service. Even in this point of view, however, it was nothing new; and government had already made considerable progress in the very course to which sir James Graham pointed. In 1821, an address had been moved for reductions in the public expenditure, founded on the increase of salaries since 1797. That proposition had embraced, with a very few exceptions, everything which was now sought to be attained. In consequence of it, government had been desirous to adopt the scale of 1797; and

though that object had not been fully accomplished, yet, looking at the difference in the extent of public business now, and in 1797, he thought the house would see, that salaries had been brought, as nearly as possible, to the rate of the latter year. The rules laid down by the treasury, with respect to all future offices, were to the following effect; viz.—“That every office should be restored, with respect to numbers and emoluments, to the standard of 1797, unless in cases where there should be some adequate cause for departing from this rule: that where, from increase of business, or the necessity of greater dispatch, it should be necessary to enlarge the numbers, and increase the emoluments of officers, the increase thus made should be assimilated to the salaries of those officers who held similar situations in 1797: that if any office, existing in 1797, should cease to be necessary, or cease to become capable of being reduced, such office should be abolished or reduced.” Such were the orders made by the treasury in 1821: they extended over the whole range of public offices; and a glance at any one department would show how much had been done, and how little the resolution before the house was called for. Under the old establishment, the minimum expense of the treasury was forty-six thousand pounds a-year; and the maximum, sixty-four thousand pounds a-year. Under the new regulation, the minimum was forty-one thousand pounds a-year; and the maximum forty-eight thousand pounds a-year. The reduction, therefore, under the new regulation, was as forty-eight thousand to sixty-four thousand pounds; or, in other words, thirty per cent. The effect of it on the salaries of the junior clerks was a reduction of twenty-six per cent.; on the salaries of the assistant-clerks, forty per cent.; on the salaries of the chief clerks, twenty per cent. What, however, had been the effect of this regulation on the salaries of the superior officers? Why, by a comparison between their salaries in 1797 and 1821, it would be found that they were greater in the former than in the latter year; and, consequently, that, if the present proposition were adopted, it would cut off from the salaries of those who could not afford to part from anything, while it would increase the salaries of the very persons whose emoluments it was wished to reduce. In 1797, the salary of the first lord of the treasury was, as now, five thousand pounds per annum; and that of each of the junior lords of the treasury, as

now, one thousand two hundred and twenty pounds; the salary of the secretary of the treasury, in 1769, 1770, and 1771, was three thousand seven hundred pounds; in 1797, the salary amounted to five thousand pounds, including emoluments. It was reduced to four thousand pounds in 1800; and, by the operation of the treasury regulations of 1821, it was further reduced three thousand five hundred pounds—the amount at which it now stood. Then compare the labour of that department in 1797 and 1821. In 1797 there were registered at the treasury four thousand six hundred papers; and in 1821, there were registered no fewer than twenty-seven thousand papers. Now, when it was recollected that this was done by individuals who received only the same salaries as in 1797, and by subordinate officers, whose salaries were less, but whose labour was ten times greater than the labour was in 1797, he did think he had made out a case which would induce the house to deliberate long, before they came to the resolution of depriving an industrious and valuable body of men of any part of their fair remuneration. The same regulations had been followed in the offices of the secretaries of state. In 1797, the salary of a secretary of state was six thousand pounds. It was now the same; but in 1782 it had been eight thousand pounds. The salary of an under-secretary, in 1797, was two thousand pounds. It was afterwards reduced to one thousand five hundred pounds: again it was raised to two thousand pounds; then to two thousand five hundred pounds; and, by the treasury minute of 1821, it was once more reduced to two thousand pounds—the amount at which it now stood, and above which it could not be increased. A similar reduction had taken place in the office of the secretary-at-war. The number of persons employed in that office had been increased since 1797, while the total amount of salaries had been diminished. In 1797, the number of persons employed in that office was fifty-eight, and the amount of salaries thirty-six thousand pounds. In 1829, the number of persons was ninety-nine; and the amount of salaries, thirty-three thousand pounds. The deputy-secretary, in 1797, had a salary of two thousand five hundred pounds, and perquisites, which amounted to fourteen thousand nine hundred pounds. The three chief clerks had salaries of three thousand pounds a-year each. The salaries of three clerks had been reduced to one thousand two hundred

pounds, to one thousand pounds, and to nine hundred pounds a-year; and the salary of the deputy had been reduced to three thousand pounds. Similar reductions had been made in the customs and excise. In the former, since 1818, two thousand five hundred and eleven officers had been reduced, and the amount of reduction of salaries was two hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-eight pounds. Many of the officers, of course, retired on superannuation allowances; and it was but justice to the noble duke at the head of the government to state how he dealt with them, because his conduct, in this respect (though without parade and often unknown), showed how little he valued patronage, when placed against the public good. When the board of customs was abolished in Scotland, a gentleman connected with that establishment retired on a superannuation pension of seven hundred and fifty pounds a-year. It happened that the comptrollership of the customs in Quebec became vacant; and as soon as the duke of Wellington understood that the gentleman in question was capable of filling it, he waived his claim to the patronage, and appointed him to the office, the salary of which being one thousand five hundred pounds a-year, the superannuation pension was saved to the country. Very soon after, by a similar appointment, the noble duke saved the country one thousand pounds a-year. A certain office falling vacant, the duke of Wellington again waived his claim to the patronage, and appointed to the situation a gentleman whose pension was a charge on the country to the amount of from seven hundred to eight hundred pounds a-year. Since, therefore, parliament had already directed its attention to the very object which the proposition now before the house has in view, since government had been successfully employed in accomplishing that object, and had shown no disposition to relax in their exertions, he trusted that the house would negative the motion; in which case, to show that he had no disposition to get rid of the question, he would himself move the following resolution:—"That whereas his majesty was graciously pleased, in answer to an address of that house, to assure the house on the 27th of June, 1821, that his majesty would cause an inquiry to be made into all the departments of the civil government, with a view of reducing the number of persons employed in the various offices, and the amount of salaries paid.

Resolved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty might be graciously pleased to lay before the house an account of the progress which had been made in such inquiry, and of the measures that had been taken in consequence. Also, that it was the opinion of that house, that in every establishment of the state, every saving ought to be made consistently with the due performance of the public service, and without the violation of existing engagements."

Mr. Croker remarked, the honourable baronet had stated the salaries of the officers of the admiralty to have been, in 1797, only fourteen thousand one hundred and forty pounds; and that in 1827, their amount was twenty-five thousand six hundred pounds. This was a great apparent increase; but it would be seen from the report of the finance committee, in 1797, that gratuities and other emoluments brought up the fourteen thousand one hundred and forty-six pounds to twenty-seven thousand pounds; giving an excess over the present charge of between one and two thousand pounds.

Mr. Peel was among the opponents of the motion; and in the course of his speech expressed great satisfaction at the effects produced by catholic emancipation, which at a subsequent period he could not feel. He said, that measure had been imposed upon the government by a positive and overwhelming necessity; and he proceeded with great emphasis,—“I solemnly declare that subsequently everything has convinced me, that by taking that course we averted great calamities, the pressure of which would now be felt in aggravation of the distress, which is described as universal and severe. Had parliament refused to grant the long-agitated question of catholic emancipation, owing to our perseverance or obstinacy, or whatever name may be given to it, at this moment, Ireland and England would be in a very different situation from what they are now. I firmly believe, that from the settlement of the question, greater benefit will result than I contemplated, and greater dangers have been averted than any one could have foreseen. There have certainly been individual acts of atrocity, which were a disgrace to those concerned in them; but it is not from individual acts that we are to judge of the conduct or character of a nation. I see in the condition of that country the elements of future religious

peace and national prosperity. The upper classes are falling into an oblivion of past animosities, as rapidly as can be expected in so short a time; and the example of those classes is fast extending through the great body of society. Deeply as I regret the loss of the confidence which a portion of the members of this house has withdrawn from his majesty's government, and clearly as I foresee the possible consequences to which the combination of parties may lead, I yet cannot purchase their confidence by expressing regret for what has occurred. I say this with no feeling of hostility or asperity. I had, at the outset, a perfect knowledge of the painful consequences which might arise to me individually, and in my public capacity, from proposing the measure of catholic emancipation; but if the same juncture were again to occur—if the business were to be transacted over again—with still greater deliberation and determination, and with increased preparation to make any personal sacrifice that might be necessary, I would this very night give notice of a motion for the introduction of such a measure. Sir," Mr. Peel said, in conclusion, "we made the concession and the sacrifice for the public good, and for the public good alone; but we have not made, and we will make no concession and no sacrifice for the purpose of maintaining ourselves in office. We will uphold the established institutions of the country, with such salutary and well-considered reforms as circumstances may render necessary, and so far as shall be consistent with the preservation of the permanent interests of the country." The resolutions of sir James Graham were withdrawn, and those of Mr. Dawson adopted by the house.

Ministers were anxious to meet the view of the nation by effecting great retrenchments; and sir Henry Hardinge, when moving the army estimates, was enabled to state that though a reduction had been effected last year in the medical staff of nineteen thousand pounds, a further one had been made in the present year of seven thousand and eighty-eight pounds. The office of adjutant-general had been abolished. The clerks employed in the war-office had numbered one hundred and seventy, but were now reduced to seventy-three. A saving appeared, under the head of general officers, of ten thousand pounds; and the expense of the full amount of force for the current year was fixed at six million one hundred

and twenty-three thousand one hundred and twelve pounds, being the lowest estimate submitted to parliament during the last twenty-five years.

The reductions thus effected by ministers, were treated as anything but what the country had a right to expect by the opposition in parliament.—Colonel Davies protested against the extravagance of the estimates, and said it was disgraceful to go on voting away millions in the way proposed, when the country was in such a distressed state.—Sir Henry Parnell objected to the estimates; and the marquis of Blandford, on behalf of an oppressed and insulted people, protested against ministers laying their sacrilegious hands on the public money as they were inclined to do. If they persisted in their present course, he added, they would urge on the existing distress, till the foundations of society were shaken to the very centre.

A still more angry onslaught was made on the government by Mr. Hume. The amount of the estimates appeared to him so enormous, that speaking on that subject, he lost sight of that calmness and moderation in language which is exacted by, and generally conceded to the rules of the house. He said, many of his friends had pressed him to offer no further opposition to the votes called for, but the distress of the country urged him on. It was now certain that eighty-eight thousand soldiers, and thirty thousand seamen, would be forced on the country. Such was the case. Every man to whom he had spoken had said—"This is very bad—the estimates ought to be reduced." Then he said, "Why don't you vote with us?" "No," they replied, "we can't vote with you, but we will do anything else." Out of the house, therefore, where they could do nothing, gentlemen would express their real wishes, and say what the people wanted; but in the house, where they could do something, they were silent. Now, was not this a proof that gentlemen came there to serve themselves, and not to serve the country? If they should continue in the same course of indifference to the wishes of the people, what remedy was there but force? He would repeat it,—that was the only remedy. Out of the six hundred and fifty-eight members of whom the house was composed, and who pretended to be the representatives of the people, there were but ninety-three individuals who gave it as their opinion that the

amount of force in Great Britain ought to be reduced. The whole country was crying out for reduction, and the house refused to grant it. Ministers went on despising the wishes—contradicting the prayer of the people; and contemning everything that was valuable, while they felt secure of the support of a few grandees. Parliament was now of no use, save in so far as men might state there what, with the present attorney-general, they dared not speak out of it. People were dying every hour from the sad effects of poverty: distress was driving them to commit acts of depredation. The time would come when the patience of the people would be exhausted. Should he be sorry for that? Not at all; he should be rejoiced: it was a time to be sought for—to be desired, when he saw ministers, deaf to the voice of the country, adding to their burdens, and the house of commons supporting them in such acts. The attorney-general might perhaps say that he was bringing the house into disrespect. It ought to be brought into disrespect. A crisis had now come, when, if ever there was a reason for the people of England rousing themselves from their lethargy, it was at this moment. When a fair trial had not been had, what he might call an unfair trial ought to be made. He should not be responsible, happen what might; for he had warned them over and over again. His only hope was, if no reductions were granted, that the people would take the matter into their own hands. It was the right of the people to do so.

Mr. Peel felt it to be his duty to enter his most earnest and most decided protest against the doctrine involved in the speech of Mr. Hume. "I cannot," he said, "help thinking that the honourable gentleman opposite, to-night, stands in the character of a disappointed prophet. His declaration on a former night was, that he did not think it possible for ministers to make any reduction: that they promised much, but he expected nothing. He now finds, to his grievous disappointment, that the extent of reduction is so great as almost to have spoiled his trade. The honourable gentleman asked, why not reduce the estimates to those of 1822? Does he not know that this very estimate is actually below that of 1822, by more than one hundred thousand pounds? He had made an attack on the majority that voted in favour of government, and he has imputed base corruption and personal motives to those who voted

against the side which he wished to prevail. Let me inform him, that many honourable gentlemen voted on that occasion in our behalf, who are averse to our general policy. I will venture to say that those gentlemen who voted in favour of the present amount of the army estimates were gentlemen as honourable, and to the full as free from personal corruption as the honourable gentleman himself. So much as to the members of this house; but the honourable gentleman made also an appeal to the physical force of the country; and what says the honourable gentleman? He says, 'I, the instigator of rebellion (for it is nothing less than that at which he aims), am not only safe myself from the penalties of treason, but I take care to make my appearance in a place in which even the attorney-general dare not touch me.' The honourable baronet, the member for Westminster, took a very different course—one becoming the manliness of his character: by the avowed publication of what he said, he laid himself open to the visitation due to those who are guilty of libel; but the honourable member for Montrose shrinks behind his parliamentary privilege. He addresses those who are suffering affliction (with which we all sympathise), and he tells them, 'Do not be pacified; do not be moderate; do not be temperate: it is your duty to resist the decisions of the legislature by force, and I myself will do'—what? Does he say, 'I will head you in your revolt?' No. Did he intend to participate in the storm he so eagerly invoked? No: far from it. His exhortation might rather be paraphrased in such language as this: 'I who instigate you to rebellion—I who invite you to take up arms, am myself safe. I will stand aloof. I will take care of my valuable life for the sake of the public; but I shall be glad to see you resist as long as I am safe from peril and prosecution.' Here the right honourable gentleman was interrupted by loud cheering, but with some cries of dissent. Thereupon, he asked, if he had not repeated the honourable gentleman's very words? The cheering was renewed, but cries of "No," were heard. He went on—"O! the honourable gentleman I suppose would be glad, in his cooler moments, to recall what he has said."

Mr. Hume declared that he did not retract one single word of what he had uttered; and Mr. Peel proceeded—"The honourable member distinctly asserted that

the majority of the house was corrupt—that government was supported by corruption—that the expenditure was extravagant—and that the people had no remedy but a resort to physical force; and that he should rejoice in seeing that physical force displayed. Suppose the people listened to this sage advice, what must be the inevitable result? Could the government have any other resource but to meet force by force, and to make a decisive, unqualified, and successful resistance? I cannot deprecate too strongly the appeal, nor could I lament too bitterly the consequences of its success. Surely, no honourable man, of any party or of any opinion, can be found to second that opinion: and the honourable member will be left to the enjoyment of the solitary distinction, of having sheltered himself behind his privilege to express it. If, unfortunately, any portion of the community suffering from distress, should lend an ear to this appeal, what, let me ask, is the responsibility resting on the head of the man who, safe himself from the penalties of the law, has excited them to such a fruitless, hopeless, and wicked resistance?"

The spirited rejoinder of Mr. Peel was approved by the house. It was loudly cheered in its progress. Mr. Hume retorted, by sternly asking—"Is it I, or the government, who stimulate resistance?—I, who warn them of the impending danger, or they who precipitate themselves into it, by pressing an iron hand upon a suffering people? If a starving population address a government, and say, 'we cannot bear your pressure of taxation;'—'O, you are mistaken,' replies the right honourable gentleman, 'I know better, for you can bear it well:' who is the person, I ask, who promotes rebellion? The right honourable gentleman mistakes the effect for the cause. I wish to ward off uproar by timely concessions; and he to promote it by withholding just economy. I stand here (thank God it is here I stand) when I say these things; for I see the attorney-general just entering the house; and I know that if I repeated my words out-of-doors, he would have me in his fangs in another place, where I could expect no justice from him. But I will take care of myself out-of-doors. I am not to be caught by the law officers. A little prudence (they say) is worth a good deal of valour; and is it for practising it, that I am to be stigmatised as a cowardly rebel? It is not I, but the minister, whose acts tend to

arouse the people to the exercise of physical force: and I have no hesitation in saying, I shall be ready to repeat every word which has drawn down upon me the animadversions of the honourable gentleman opposite." The estimates were eventually carried.

Still, the depression of the industrious classes continued; and with the cry of distress the demand for a reform in the representation of the people was constantly heard, and was thought to have become louder than ever. The popular discontent on the subject was manifested in every possible way. A waiter employed at Bel-lemey's tavern (a tavern connected with the houses of parliament, for the refreshment of members), charged, at Queen-square office, a man and woman with begging of the members on their way to the house of commons. The woman had stationed herself on one side of the entrance, and the man on the other; and when their applications were unsuccessful, the woman "cursed the bellies" of the honourable and right honourable gentlemen, and said, "for all they were so big, they contained no bowels for the poor." Before the magistrate, she insisted that she had a right to petition the representatives of the people. This did not save the unfortunate pair from being sent to the house of correction for eight days; but their impudence was not seriously disapproved by the public.

On the subject of parliamentary reform, the marquis of Blandford had promised, on the first night of the session, when his amendment was rejected, that he would shortly bring forward a motion in due form. That promise he redeemed on the 18th of February, but with no better success. His lordship had been opposed to catholic emancipation, and the carrying of that bill had led him to think a parliamentary reform necessary. The plan which he opened to the house was so little approved by the opposition, that on the ministerial side very few speeches were made against it, resistance on their part being uncalled-for. An amendment was moved by lord Althorp, which simply declared a reform in the representation of the people to be necessary. Both the motion and the amendment failed. The numbers, when a division took place on the amendment, were one hundred and sixty to fifty-seven. The original motion was then negatived without resistance or defence.

There were anomalies in the representation which could not be satisfactorily ex-

plained—which could only be tolerated because the consequences of them were less disastrous than they might have been. That great towns should remain unrepresented was thought a crying evil; and on this subject a motion was submitted to the house of commons, on the 23rd of February, by lord John Russell, which had for its object to transfer the elective franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption, to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester. For this purpose his lordship proposed to introduce a bill. He said the representatives so brought into the house, he intended should only be a temporary addition to their numbers. He would prepare a clause to provide, that when hereafter the legislature should find it necessary to disfranchise any borough for corrupt practices, the franchise should not be transferred, but let drop altogether. So that when those boroughs should have been thus dealt with, the number of members would be reduced to what it was at the present moment. He should also propose that the qualification for voting should be a pretty high one. The right of voting should be confined to resident voters, which would tend to shorten the time of election, and would also tend materially to prevent bribery. His lordship then enforced, at great length, the claims of these towns to a share in the representation. As to the measure being an encroachment on the constitution—why, the constitution, he said, had often been encroached on; and the question, he apprehended, ought always to be,—will the encroachment in question be for the general good?

The motion was lost by one hundred and forty to one hundred and eighty-eight. In resisting it, Mr. Peel, for the first time, stated his view of the general question of parliamentary reform, which may be considered that of the government at this period. He said, having maturely weighed those powerful arguments which were first brought forward by Mr. Burke, and afterwards no less ably by his late right honourable friend, Mr. Canning, he confessed that they had established, to his mind, conclusive proof of the great danger there was in tampering, on slight grounds, with the constitution. He thought that the argument of those two great men,—that we were not to seek the principles of the representation of the house of commons, either on any fine-spun theories of democracy, or on any of the institutions of the free republics of an-

cient times, and that we could not find, in any portion of the history of England, any trace of any principle of democratic representation, to serve as a model for a reconstruction of the representative system,—he thought, he said, that those arguments were decisive upon the points for which they were advanced. His late right honourable friend, Mr. Canning, had argued that the constitution of the house of commons was founded on prescription—that we lived under a limited monarchy—that we had a house of lords and a king—that the house of commons was only one branch of the legislature—and that if we admitted a democratic principle of reform, we should give to the house of commons that overwhelming power, which would render it inconsistent with the existence of the house of lords, or of a limited monarchy. As to the effects produced by the house of commons, and the operation of that assembly on the country, he must say that he saw nothing in either which led him to think that an alteration in the mode of its construction was necessary. For his own part, he completely distrusted the prophecies which had been uttered respecting the beneficial results of such an alteration. It had been said, that the adoption of a scheme of reform would, by the infusion of a greater portion of the popular voice into that assembly, discourage the expenditure of public money, and the embarkation of the country into improvident votes for war. He believed that the doctrine of universal suffrage would find but few advocates in that place; but if honourable members were to be rendered infinitely more subservient to the will of the people than they were at present, he doubted much whether the house would be a whit less inclined to war than it had hitherto shown itself. The examples of the ancient republics of Rome and Athens, and also those of the republics of more modern times—he meant Genoa and France—which all for a time, had possessed popular governments, would not by any means favour the inference, that because the government was popular, there was a disinclination in the people to involve their country in war and its concomitant expenditure.

A motion was introduced, on the 25th of February, by earl Stanhope, “on the state of the nation.” His lordship described, at great length, the distress which had come over the nation; urged the importance of instituting a searching inquiry into the

present causes of it; and therefore moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the internal state of the country. The resolution was opposed by viscount Goderich, but favoured by the duke of Richmond and the earl of Eldon.

The duke of Wellington, in replying to arguments urged in favour of the motion, declared he had already stated that he had no doubt of the extent of the distress; but he could not see that the inquiry called for was likely to abate that distress. The usual course, when such a motion was made, was to state what substantial measure it was intended to propose. Did the noble earl mean to propose a repeal or an alteration of the corn-laws? If he did, he would at once tell him that he would oppose him. The corn-laws could not be repealed without injury to the country. They had worked as they were intended to work—by preventing the price of corn rising so high as to injure the country at large, while they enabled the agriculturist to receive a beneficial reward, in some degree, for his labour. In the second year of the existence of that corn-law, there had been a greater importation of corn than had ever been known before, to the extent of three million quarters, of which two million five hundred thousand came from Ireland; and the price had not been lowered in this country beyond what was deemed a remunerating price. Other interests, he showed, were not so depressed as had been assumed. He called the recollection of the house to the state in which the world was at the end of the war—in the years 1814 and 1815. Europe was then absolutely overrun with armies, and had been so for thirty years. There was nothing but armies in the world, and nothing was thought of but the means of sustaining them. Except in France and this country, there were few manufacturers in Europe; but when peace took place, all the world became manufacturers, and a great fall in prices necessarily ensued. He would read, from a paper he held in his hand, a few extracts of the prices of several commodities in different places since the peace of 1814. Cotton in England—the raw article, in 1814, had sold at 2s. 2d., or, with duty included, 2s. 4d. the lb. In 1815 and 1817, it had sold at 1s. 8½d., and in 1829 at 6d. the lb. This was a fall in price equal to what had taken place in any other article. Silk, in 1814, had sold for £1 4s., or, with

duty included, for £1 9s. the lb.; whilst in 1829 it sold for 8s. 10d., or, with the duty, at 8s. 11d. the lb. Sheeps' wool, in 1814, had sold for 8s. 2d., or, with the duty, at 8s. 3d. the lb.; whilst, in 1829, it sold for only 2s. 3d., or, with the duty, at 2s. 4d. the lb. These were circumstances beyond the control of parliament, and which could not be remedied; and yet they must affect the situation of the country. Another article he would quote was fir timber, which had fallen equally. Profits had fallen equally with the fall of the raw material. Cotton yarn, which, in 1814, had sold for 4s. 4½d. in 1830 sold for 1s. 5½d. the lb.; and cotton manufactured goods had fallen in price, within the same period, from 1s. 5d., 1s. 8d., and 2s. 0½d., to 6¼d., 8¾d., and 8½d. Irish linens had fallen from 1s. 7d. to 1s. 0¾d. Woollen cloths from £1 8s. 11d. to £1 5s. 5d. Other articles had been reduced enormously in price by the competition with foreigners. In those articles in which there was no competition with foreigners, prices had been reduced very much; such, for instance, as in the iron and pottery trades. Here were causes evidently beyond the control of parliament. Parliament could not, by any act of theirs, raise the price of the manufactured goods. He pointed out various errors into which he considered the noble earl had fallen, and said, in conclusion—"The noble earl had thought proper to arraign him, because, on the first day of the session, he had stated certain things which had induced him to believe that the distresses of the country were not so extensive as had been stated. If the noble earl thought that he did not feel fully the distresses of the country, he was very much mistaken; but he must tell the noble earl, that although he was ready to acknowledge the distress to its utmost extent, it was not for him to exaggerate the amount, or to suffer the house to be led away with inflated statements and distorted views. Was it possible that the revenue could continue to be so productive, if the distress of the country was so extreme as it had been represented to be? Did an increased produce, from reduced taxes, show the existence of that general extremity of distress? Let their lordships look at the produce of the malt-tax, in 1828 and in 1829, notwithstanding the bad harvest in the former year. Let them look at the produce of all the other taxes. He was justified, also, in referring to the increase of buildings, not

only in London, but throughout the kingdom. That must surely be the consequence of a progress making by the people towards prosperity. Other circumstances bore him out in his opinion. For instance, the condition of the savings' banks. It was true that, at one period, large sums had been drawn out of those banks, but they had since come back. Whence did they come? Was not that a circumstance which showed there was some progress towards a better state of things? Then there was an increasing traffic on roads, canals, railways, &c. That traffic had been increasing for ten years, and was now nearly double what it was ten years ago. A noble marquis, in remarking on the state of the currency, a few nights before, had observed, that the amount of currency at present in circulation, might not be enough for the wants of the people. Did not that show an increase of trade? All these circumstances, notwithstanding the distress which did exist—which he did not deny, which no man could deny—still impressed his mind with the conviction that the country was in progress to an improved state of things. He begged their lordships to consider well the circumstances to which he had requested their attention. Let them call for what documents they thought proper: let them inquire, carefully and extensively, into the subject; but let them not agree to the present motion, for no purpose but to make an attack on the existing administration."

The marquis of Lansdowne would have supported the call for an inquiry, could he have seen that it was likely that inquiry could be successfully carried out; but as this was not apparent to him, he should be obliged to vote against it. An amendment was moved by lord King, which called for the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the depressed state of the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any and what relief could be afforded by an extension of foreign trade. This amendment was not more acceptable to their lordships than the motion of earl Stanhope, and it was withdrawn by lord King. A division then took place on the original motion, when it was lost by a majority of ninety-three; the numbers being twenty-five to one hundred and eighteen.

A petition was presented to the house of commons, on the 1st of March, from the borough of Newark, the prayer of which

forcibly directed public attention to that which was now the subject of daily discussion—parliamentary reform. In bringing it forward, Mr. Poulett Thomson said, the borough of Newark consisted of about two thousand houses and ten thousand inhabitants. The duke of Newcastle was owner of about two hundred houses; but the property held by the duke in this town was not of itself sufficient to give him a commanding influence there: his principal influence was derived from his being the lessee of a portion of land (about nine hundred and sixty acres), which formed a sort of belt, inclosing about three-fourths of the circumference of the town. It was held by the duke as a lessee of the crown, and he used all the influence it bestowed to convert Newark into a close borough. Mr. Thomson asked, was this to be endured by a free people? Would they suffer this immense power, obtained from the crown—or, more properly speaking, from the people—to be turned against themselves? Assuredly they would not. He called upon the house to reflect how the duke of Newcastle lorded it over their fellow-subjects, the inhabitants of Newark. That town carried on a flourishing trade in malt, which rendered large premises indispensable. This being the case, did a farmer want a barn for his husbandry—did a mechanic require a workshop for his labour—did a cottager apply for a shelter for his family—he must have recourse to the underlings of the crown lessee. He must pay the highest monopoly-price for the tenement he sought to obtain, and sell soul and body beside, in consideration of his purchase. He must, from that hour, abjure all his rights as a citizen and a subject; he must thenceforward abjure all political power—all moral volition as a sentient rational being.

The facts, as related in the petition which has been mentioned, he stated to be these:—In September, in the last year, the individual who had been member for Newark, lost his seat for not voting according to the wishes of his patron. A vacancy occurred in the representation of this borough. The individual who had lost his seat for honourably asserting his independence, was also deprived of a situation which he held under government. The gentleman sent to fill the seat vacated (Mr. Michael Sadler), was duly returned. He had appeared among the inhabitants as the duke's nominee; but the inhabitants, claiming a right to consult their own inclinations, had selected another gen-

tleman to take charge of their interests—Mr. sergeant Wilde. Their attempt to get that gentleman returned was unsuccessful, and those who favoured him were soon visited with the duke's displeasure. The election over, and the time gone by within which that house could interfere with the return, every person who had presumed to vote for Mr. sergeant Wilde, and possessed land under the duke, was served with a notice to quit. One elector, however, who had received notice, went to the office of the crown lessee, and stated that he had voted for the obnoxious candidate by mistake. "Then," replied the official dignitary, "your notice to quit was a mistake also." No merit, no respectability could plead successfully, for the tenants who had so offended the duke. "They," Mr. Thomson said, "were guilty of that most unpardonable sin—the assertion of the right belonging to every freeman in this free state; they had refused to prostitute their votes at the good pleasure of their landlord." A meeting was called for the purpose of considering of a remedy, and offering the combined representations and remonstrances of those who suffered, and those who witnessed the proceedings by which they were aggrieved, and a letter respectfully worded had been sent to his grace, and also to the present member for Newark (Mr. Sadler), requesting them to attend the meeting. They had not done so; but the duke of Newcastle sent an answer justifying his conduct, unequivocally declaring that he considered the franchises of his tenants his property, and boldly asserting that he "had a right to do what he pleased with his own."

Mr. Thomson said, he wished the allegations contained in the petition to be thoroughly examined, with a view to found an address on it to the crown, praying that the lease which had been so wrongfully used, might not hereafter be renewed, as it involved a serious loss to the country, while it affected the constitutional character of the representation. "The first lease of this great property was granted, in 1760, to the earl of Lincoln, by the duke of Newcastle, the then prime minister, the earl having married the duke's sister; and for what rent? It was not one thousand pounds—not the half of that sum; nor yet one hundred pounds; but literally, thirty-six pounds a-year! The lease was renewed in 1806, nine years after it had expired, and the fine exacted was no more than the rent for the nine years which had

not been paid. The rent, since 1806, had been two thousand and sixty pounds, which attested the advantages the duke's predecessors had enjoyed, when thirty-six pounds was all that was claimed. The duke was said to receive three thousand five hundred pounds, or, at least, three thousand pounds annually for the property, and thus the pecuniary loss was worthy of attention, and the property was yearly increasing in value. Not long since, four acres of land, the property of lord Middleton, in the neighbourhood of Newark, were sold for four thousand pounds—for one thousand pounds an acre. Why was not the crown lands to be sold to the highest bidder? He might be answered, that the lease had not yet expired; but was not the reversion available for sale? Instead of renewing the crown lease, how much more eligible would it be to sell the lands altogether?"

The petitions presented on this subject set forth the facts stated by Mr. Thomson, and showed that Mr. Sadler had been returned as the duke's nominee, "by means of the prevailing belief, founded on the experiences of former elections, that such of the duke's tenants as should vote against his grace's nominee, would be expelled from their tenancies; and many of the voters who polled for Mr. Sadler, avowed, that but for the fear of such a result, they would have polled for the other candidate."

Lord Ingestre and Mr. F. Clinton, declared the petition to contain, if not gross misstatements, at least many perversions of fact.—Sir F. Burdett wished it to be understood that he had not applied any opprobrious terms to his grace personally, when describing him as he had done on a former day, to be a boroughmonger. In early life, he (sir Francis Burdett), having acquiesced in the wishes of his friends, was told one day, that he had been returned for Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. The duke, then an infant in law, was innocent of the transaction; he (sir Francis) himself, was equally uncontaminated. The matters were arranged, as such matters usually were, by other parties. A sum of money was received on the part of the duke, and paid on his (sir Francis Burdett's) part, and he became the independent member for Boroughbridge. "He was bound to say, the sum which procured him his seat was not unusually large, all things considered—it amounted to four thousand pounds for six years: no matter if a dissolution took place in the meantime."—

Mr. Sadler described some of the allegations in the petition to be erroneous—to be false. The duke of Newcastle, he said, proved himself a kind landlord, or he would have dispossessed poor widows who held his tenements at Newark, to make way for voters; but he had never done this in a single instance. As to any influence exerted on himself, he declared to God he had been exposed to none. He had been left by his grace as a representative of the people, to promote and secure their interests according to his own judgment. The influence of that noble person, he added, was not that of property alone,—it was that of a kind master, and of a man estimable for all the domestic virtues, which, even more than his elevated rank, had secured for him universal respect.

A motion made by Mr. Thomson, to refer the petition to a committee, was lost; the numbers being sixty-one to one hundred and ninety-four.

When the budget was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 15th of March, he stated the revenue to have fallen short by fifty-six thousand pounds of the amount which, in the last year, he had expected it to reach. He explained how this arose, and showed that it was to be accounted for from various circumstances, not indicating a diminished consumption; and that four hundred thousand pounds was, in point of fact, the extent to which his expectations had been disappointed. The income of the year, as compared with that of 1828, fell short by one million one hundred thousand pounds. In the course of the year, however, there had been applied to the purpose of reducing the debt, no less a sum than a surplus of revenue to the amount of two million four hundred thousand pounds: not an imaginary surplus, but a surplus actually and really applicable to the reduction of the debt, after making every payment for the year to which the country was justly liable. The house, in 1828, gave its sanction to a measure, which had for its object the conversion of permanent annuities into annuities terminating with the lives of the holders. While the surplus revenue had paid off two million four hundred thousand pounds, permanent annuities, to the extent of two million seven hundred thousand pounds, had been converted into terminable annuities, which would, in the course of thirty years, relieve the country from a portion of its debt to that amount. Look-

ing at the distress which prevailed, in preparing their measures for the year, ministers had considered it desirable to lighten the pressure on the labouring classes; and it had been matter of deliberation, whether this object might be best attained by shifting the load to the wealthier ranks, by means of a property tax, or by making the relief absolute by repealing a portion of the taxes. The latter plan had seemed the more eligible; and, therefore, he proposed to repeal the beer-duty, the cider-duty, and the duty on leather. It had been deemed more advisable to repeal the beer-duty than the duty on malt, because it pressed more severely on the labouring classes, and because the malt trade would be stimulated by the increased sale of beer. The duty on beer amounted to three million pounds, but there were other taxes to which beer was subjected; and though government relinquished but three million pounds, the country might calculate on relief to the extent of four million and-a-half. By reducing the whole of the beer-duties, instead of part of the beer and part of the malt-duties, government was enabled to reduce the establishments. Along with the remission of the duties, however, it would be absolutely necessary to make the trade in beer free. The repeal of the tax must be delayed till October, because the licenses were renewed then, and because duty had been paid, till then, upon stocks by the persons engaged in that trade. To repay such duties would be an expensive process: for without meaning to insinuate anything against the dealers in beer, he must observe, that government had always been called on, in such cases, to repay more than they had received. The duty on leather amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. It was an extremely vexatious tax, and pressed severely on the poor. To reduce it partially, would give no relief, and the same establishment must be maintained for collecting the half as for collecting the whole. He had, therefore, determined to repeal it altogether from the 21st of July. The duty on cider, while it amounted to but twenty-five thousand pounds, or thirty thousand pounds, had given rise to many frauds: its total abolition had been deemed expedient. From all these reductions government anticipated a diminution of revenue, to the amount of nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds. The estimate for the present year was fifty million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds. The total

amount of the public charges for the present year would be forty-seven million eight hundred and twelve thousand pounds, leaving a clear surplus of two million six hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds. From a projected consolidation of the stamp-laws, an increase of revenue was expected to the amount of one hundred and ten thousand pounds. It was intended, at the same time, to increase the duty upon spirits, in Ireland and Scotland, to the extent of twopence per gallon; in England, to the extent of one shilling. From this measure the increase of revenue was expected to be three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Little doubt, moreover, could be entertained of the possibility of reducing the interest of a part of the national debt; and government was resolved, in future, to look for a part of their resources in a diminution of the rate of interest on four per cent. stock. It was proposed further, to institute inquiries into every branch of the public service; and it was the intention of government to empower a commission to deal with the whole of the colonial expenditure. The house had to look to the effect of the proposed reductions on the revenue. To meet it there were many resources: one of them was the reduction of the interest on the national debt. Looking to the state of the exchanges with foreign countries, to the great occupation of capital, and to the diminished rate of interest in the public market, for all public and private securities, he could not doubt that the house had the power effectually and conveniently to reduce the interest of that part of the national debt, which bore an interest of four per cent., and it was his intention shortly to propose fixing a time to give notice, on some early day, of the terms which government could offer to the holders of the four per cents. with a less rate of interest. He enlarged on the circumstances which, in his opinion, justified him in taking so much from the income of the country as the revenue would lose from the measures he had announced. He estimated the expenditure of the ensuing year, including the interest and management of the debt, as already stated, at forty-seven million eight hundred and twelve thousand pounds; while the income of the country he expected to reach fifty million four hundred and seventy thousand pounds, leaving a probable balance of two million five hundred thousand pounds applicable to the reduction of debt. Last year there had been

a deficiency of more than five hundred thousand pounds; but notwithstanding, four million pounds had been appropriated to that object. The loss the revenue would sustain from the abatement of the beer and leather duties would be, to some extent, covered by the small additions made to those on ardent spirits, while, by the conversion of the four per cents., he looked to realise a saving of seven hundred and seventy-eight thousand pounds.

It was objected to the plan, that the chancellor of the exchequer was undoing all that had been done by his predecessors, and had, in effect, declared that all hope of a surplus applicable to the reduction of the public debt must be derived from the sanguine, though distant expectation, of a future improvement in the revenue. "Ought they to go on for ever, without making an effort to get rid of the load which weighed down the energies of the country?" Mr. Baring asked; and reminded the chancellor of the exchequer, that when Mr. Pitt proposed the establishment of the sinking-fund, he expressed a conviction that no minister would ever dare to come down to the house, and call for the repeal of a measure, the tendency of which was to relieve the people of their burthens. He further declared, that to suffer the fund, at any time, or on any pretence, to be diverted from its proposed object, would be to ruin, defeat, and overturn the whole of his plan. He hoped, therefore, when the bill should pass into a law, the house would hold itself solemnly pledged not to listen to a proposition for its repeal on any pretence whatever. Mr. Fox had re-echoed the words of his rival, as he felt it was necessary to give increased stability to the principle of security on which the public creditor relied. That conviction stifled any eager spirit of party feeling which, at that time, existed in the house; thus exhibiting a shining contrast to the degeneracy of the present time, when, within and without the house, no repugnance was shown to a total departure from those just and inflexible principles, upon which Mr. Pitt mainly relied to conquer impending difficulties.

The brewers and publicans complained, that the capital embarked in their trades would be lost, if every man who paid two guineas for a license might open a public-house. They threw great blame on the government for entertaining a project which, they contended, would be fatal to the morals

of the people, as it could not fail to convert England into one immense tippling-house. Their anxiety on this subject was not treated with great respect. The feeling of the public generally was in favour of breaking up a monopoly prejudicial to them, which, it was considered, had existed too long. The fears expressed on the subject of the temptation which would be thrown in the way of the lower classes, by the opening of new public-houses, which would lead them to habits of intoxication, were laughed at. These arguments proved of no avail. The resolutions brought forward on the part of ministers were voted, and the bills founded on them were passed. A clause was proposed to be added to the beer-duty bill, to enforce the statute of James I. against "the odious crime of drunkenness." This was rejected. Mr. Brougham said he was one of those who thought the general interests of morality were more consulted by permitting such clauses to slumber in the cells of the statute-book, than by having them enforced. "What was the real meaning of the statute of James I.? Why, that a penalty should be inflicted on any person who committed the odious and ungodly crime of drunkenness, from any liquor except claret or champagne. If morality was to be enforced by act of parliament, let the law be impartial; and not punish the poor and illiterate for a crime less pardonable in the rich and educated, whom it was intended to spare."

On the following day, earl Darnley called the attention of ministers to the importance of adopting a system of poor-laws for Ireland. He did not advocate the introduction of the same system which prevailed in England, but some plan of affording compulsory relief to the aged, the sick, and the helpless, ought to be brought forward. He wished to know whether the head of the government had had time to turn his attention to this most important subject. To this question the duke of Wellington replied, by stating that ministers had it not in contemplation to introduce anything like a general system of poor-laws into Ireland. He, however, had to state, that the condition of Ireland had engaged the particular attention of his majesty's government; and several measures were preparing, which (either directly or indirectly) had for their object—and would, he trusted, have the effect of affording relief to the aged and infirm, and the sick, and of giving work to the able-bodied poor. In the first place,

there was a measure for the relief of the labouring poor, by having them employed by the grand juries. Then there was a measure for the care of natural children; but that was one which would demand much revision before it passed into a law. Another measure was under consideration, which went to provide the city of Dublin with the means of erecting an hospital for the distressed, in the same manner as means were provided for that object in the counties in Ireland by the 58th of the late king.

The introduction of poor-laws into Ireland was deemed very objectionable by Irish peers. English peers remarked on the great expense created in several parts of England by passing Irish labourers to the coast. To this it was replied, that if the rich Irish came to England as buyers, the poor Irish ought to be allowed to come as sellers of labour. Their coming, however, was described to be a great grievance, as they worked at very low wages; took the bread out of the mouths of the English labourers; and thus compelled the latter to seek parochial relief.

The distress admitted by ministers to exist at the opening of the session, had but little abated; and the day following that which presented the budget to the house, brought a motion for referring the petitions, which had been presented on the state of the nation, to a committee. Mr. Davenport, who was the mover, complained that the sufferings of the people had not been duly attended to. He, however, admitted that the petitioners were now treated somewhat better than they had been; but more, he thought, might be conceded, and ministers ought, therefore, to grant the committee for which he had thought it his duty to call. Why were the sufferings of a whole people not to be attended to? If their prayers were now resisted, the doors of that house might be considered as locked against them; and, as had been said on a former occasion,—in that case, if its members were thrown into the Thames, that would be their proper fate. The noble duke at the head of the government seemed indisposed to believe in the distresses of the people. On that point he was impregnable—inaccessible as when behind the lines of Torres Vedras. He had said, the retail dealers were exempted from the prevailing distress; but he (Mr. Davenport) had that night presented a petition from Manchester, signed by hundreds of persons, which declared the distress to be great beyond all precedent.

In the debate to which this motion led, while distress was universally admitted and deplored, a great diversity of opinions were expressed as to its causes; and, as might be expected, an equal variety of suggestions were offered, as to the steps proper to be taken in quest of a remedy. While some pointed to a return to small bank-notes, others wished for the abandonment of the free-trade system. The advocates of the latter course of proceeding, Mr. Huskisson considered, were holding language which was calculated to mock or mislead a suffering people. Free-trade, he maintained, promoted the best interests of the country; it had led to a beneficial settlement of the customs, exports, and navigation laws. But it had been said that the exports, as then carried on, were ruinous to the country. To that he had only to reply, "if you export, you must meet the prices of the foreign markets. When this cannot be effected without loss, you must not export at all." The debate was continued with great spirit through several nights. The idea of tampering with the currency met with the most determined opposition from Mr. Peel; and the state of things which was then the subject of complaint, he insisted were not produced by a return to cash payments. Of the eight hundred million pounds of public debt, a vast proportion had passed into the hands of persons who did not pay for it in a depreciated, but in an improved currency, the standard of value being nearly the same as it was at that moment. If a change were then to be made, what was to be done with all the parties who did not advance their money in the depreciated currency of 1813, but had since purchased into the funds at the full price? It was only fair that the claims of those should be deducted who had advanced their money at the present rate of currency; and that done, it would be found that the eight hundred million pounds, which it was common to say had been borrowed in a depreciated currency, would dwindle down to a very small sum. The return to a metallic standard was no error. It was contended that there had been a depreciation of twenty-five or thirty per cent., and that the panics which had occurred were caused by the act of 1819. In reply to this, he begged to ask, were there no panics before the passing of that measure? Was there no panic in 1797? Did the distress complained of in 1810, when a commission was appointed to inquire into its causes and

their remedy, grow on a metallic currency. In the report of that commission, it was stated that all confidence was destroyed; that trade was in a dreadful state of stagnation; that masters were unable to offer workmen employment; and that contracts were suspended. These grievances were then deplored, notwithstanding the country had a paper currency; which currency was then stated to be the cause of the distress. Every symptom of the country was worse then than it was at the present time, yet there was then no appearance of a return to payments in gold. Towards the conclusion of his speech, the right honourable gentleman felt justified in announcing to the house, that certain indications of a return to prosperity were beginning to exhibit themselves; and letters received that very morning from Manchester and Leeds, induced him to believe that the lowest point of depression had been reached.

In the course of the debate, statements were made which justified the favourable view Mr. Peel was led to take of the prospects of the nation at that moment. On the fourth night a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight appeared against the inquiry called for by the motion. The numbers were two hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and sixty-eight.

Pensions enjoyed by the honourable R. Dundas and the honourable W. L. Bathurst, became the subject of a debate, the result of which was to leave ministers in a minority. A grant being moved of one hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and eighty-four pounds, to defray superannuations, granted to commissioners and clerks formerly employed in the civil departments of the navy, Sir Richard Heron pointed to the names of the parties above-mentioned: to the former, a pension of five hundred pounds had been granted; to the latter, one of four hundred pounds. In the returns before the house, the columns in which the time of service was usually marked, was, in the case of those gentlemen, left blank, and sir Richard said, he concluded that that gave a very proper and significant description of the services those gentlemen had rendered. He proceeded to say, they had heard much of the assiduity which ministers showed in considering what places and pensions could be abolished without detriment to the public service, and he was astonished to find the amount of saving effected by all this anxiety was little

more than one million pounds a-year. If they were to rely only on the assiduity of ministers to curtail the expenditure, he must say he thought the case desperate, when he saw these pensions granted in the last year. To those gentlemen whose names he had mentioned, he imputed no blame: the blame must fall on ministers, and on two of them especially—he meant the fathers of the individuals in question. They were noblemen who, for a great number of years, occupied, with little intermission, some of the most important and lucrative situations in the government. Viscount Melville, at that moment, presided as first lord of the admiralty, and earl Bathurst was lord president of the council, one of the tellers of the exchequer, and joint clerk of the crown. Their grandfathers were also men of high consideration: one of them for many years filled the situation of lord high chancellor of England, and the other was a sort of viceroy of Scotland, holding places which produced great emolument, and performing services which were rather equivocal. That such miserable pensions should be accepted by gentlemen whose families had been so gorged with the public money, and that they should continue to receive them at such a time of distress, appeared to him very paltry. He finished by moving, that the grant under consideration should be reduced by the amount of the two pensions—nine hundred pounds.

The chancellor of the exchequer told the house, the treasury had dealt with these cases, by a reference to considerations which would have applied equally to the highest or the lowest persons in the kingdom. It was rather unfortunate that the length of the services of the gentlemen had not been stated. He believed it was about four years; the appointments having taken place in 1825. The treasury had felt bound to adhere to the principle on which, upon the reduction of boards at former times, officers had received allowances; and offices of this description (though, technically speaking, held during pleasure) had always been considered as granted for life, or during the good behaviour of the party. Persons embarking in such offices frequently abandoned some profession which they had previously embraced, and lost opportunities which they would otherwise have had in their several professions. These gentlemen were precisely in that situation. Mr. Bathurst had been a considerable time at the bar.

A laugh here interrupted the right honourable gentleman. He remarked, he did not see anything to excite laughter in the statement that a gentleman had been pursuing an honourable profession. Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Dundas both embarked in professions,—had given them up on being made commissioners of the navy; and the principle of compensation and allowances, when reduced, applied perfectly to them. If gentlemen had the fortune or the misfortune to be born of distinguished families, he could not see, in the circumstances of their families, or in the services of their ancestors, anything to disentitle them to the fair consideration which the house would be prepared to afford in another case.

Ministers were sharply blamed for sanctioning the vote, which was described to involve a most extraordinary principle of superannuation and allowances. Mr. Hobhouse said it might be unfortunate, that the period of these gentlemen's services was omitted; it might be unfortunate that they were the sons of cabinet ministers; it might be unfortunate that they held other places; but of this he was sure, that all these unfortunate circumstances made it very unfortunate that these pensions should have been granted. The chancellor of the exchequer had said they laughed because they saw the scion of a noble house taking up an honourable profession. The house had not laughed at that; nor had they laughed at the scion of a noble house abandoning that profession: what they laughed at (but what the country would be indignant at, if these votes were passed), was, to find that noble scions, if they could not get briefs at the bar, managed to get themselves pensioned by the public. He intimated that the government must lose the independent support they had received, if the pension-list were thus filled.

The official correspondence on the subject of the appointment was read by sir Robert Peel. He remarked:—"The estimate before them, the house could reject if they thought fit: but what he had read, he hoped, had proved that ministers had not been influenced by any corrupt motive in the transaction." The amendment was carried against the government by one hundred and thirty-nine to one hundred and twenty-one.

The state of the labouring classes occupied the house of lords, in consequence of a motion brought forward by the duke of Richmond, on the 20th of March, for a select committee to "take into consideration

the internal state of the country; more particularly with respect to the working classes, and the effect of taxation upon productive industry." He showed the distress then existing in the country to be very great, and thence drew the inference that the inquiry he called for ought to be granted. The debate to which it gave rise was long.—The motion was objected to by the earl of Eldon, because no specific measure was mentioned as that which it was intended to found on the proceeding; and under such circumstances, to appoint a committee would be a mischievous delusion.—The marquis of Lansdowne supported the motion, being impressed with the utility of parliamentary committees, and hoping the committee called for, would suggest measures that would effect a considerable improvement in the condition of the working classes.

The duke of Wellington approved of making inquiries by committees, but was of opinion, their lordships ought to adhere to the usual practice of parliament, and not grant a committee, till it was stated what object was expected to be gained by means of such committee. He thought the house had reason to doubt whether there was not some object, in the present motion beyond that which appeared on the face of it. The noble duke, in bringing forward the subject, stated, that it was a motion to inquire into the internal state of the country, with a view to the condition of the labouring poor, and in order particularly to ascertain the manner in which taxation affected productive industry. As the noble president of the council had truly stated, there was not a single branch of the government, or of the internal policy of the country, which might not, and would not, come under discussion before a committee appointed according to the terms of this motion. Each of the noble lords who supported the motion, stated a different object for the committee: he had taken the trouble to write these objects down as they were mentioned, and he declared, he believed there were not less than twenty important subjects proposed for consideration, including even a measure relative to the management of private property; and three or four questions concerning currency and coinage, some requiring the adoption of a silver coinage on one system, and others on another. When he found a motion thus proposed and supported—when he found that the words of it might be made to

include everything—he concluded that the purpose of noble lords was to go into what inquiries they liked, or if not, that there was some ulterior party object in view directed against the existing government.—One noble baron had misunderstood his friend, the noble earl, who opposed the motion. The noble baron was mistaken when he assimilated the committee moved for by the noble duke, to a committee lately appointed on the motion of an honourable gentleman in another place. That was a committee appointed to investigate the expediency of establishing poor-laws in Ireland; and the gentleman who moved its appointment, stated specifically—at least so it appeared, as far as the report of what he said upon that occasion went—what object he had in view in his motion, and to what points he intended to direct the inquiry which he proposed to the house of commons to institute. The conduct of the noble duke (Richmond) was very different. A noble friend of his, it was true, had complained, on a former night, that the same ministers who now consented to that inquiry in another place, had objected to a similar motion of his two years ago. This was perfectly true; the ground of objection which he had stated to the noble lord's motion at the time was, that the noble lord intended to propose the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland, and as he (in common with their lordships) was not prepared to consent to the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland, he had opposed the motion, and the house agreed with him in rejecting the noble lord's proposition. A noble lord, in alluding to the recent reductions of taxation, stated, that he felt full confidence in the intentions of his majesty's servants, to make further reductions if they found it possible to do so. The noble lord thought proper to state his confidence in ministers—a confidence which he (the duke of Wellington) trusted they would appear to merit; and the noble lord refused his assent to the motion now before the house, on the ground that it implied a want of confidence in his majesty's servants, which was not warranted by their acts. The motion was neither more nor less, in point of fact, than a demand upon their lordships, within eight-and-forty hours after the minister had come down and proposed a large reduction of taxation, to agree to a declaration of a want of confidence in the intention of government, to carry on the public service as economically as pos-

sible, and to do everything in their power to relieve the country. The noble marquis misunderstood what had been stated by his friend, the noble baron. He described the number of subjects proposed by different noble lords for inquiry; and he went further, and said, that no doubt each of these noble lords thought he should be a member of the committee, if appointed, and he stated the inevitable consequences of such a committee being established, and the manner in which the business would, in all probability, be done under such circumstances. The noble marquis must have seen in the conduct of his noble friend upon different committees, that it was that which became a minister of the crown performing his public duty, and endeavouring, by every means in his power, to elucidate the subjects under consideration upon such occasions. The noble marquis forgot a material feature in the committee appointed, a few years ago, to inquire into the whole state of Ireland: he was a member of that committee, as well as a noble earl who had taken part in this discussion, and begged leave to remind the noble earl, that there was one subject which, on account of the difference of opinion existing on it, was wholly excluded from consideration. [The marquis of Lansdowne—"It was excluded one year, and included the next."] The duke of Wellington thought the noble marquis would find that his statement was correct, and that the matter in question was excluded from the inquiry, because it was considered impossible, at the time, to come to an agreement upon it; and besides, it was thought a subject too important to be taken into consideration by the committee. The same might be said, to a certain extent, with respect to the great and important question of taxation. He must here observe, with respect to this committee, upon the appointment of which so many noble lords had spoken, and to the motion for forming which so many noble lords had given their support, that, in point of fact, many of those who had said that they intended to vote for the noble duke's proposition, had declared their opinion, that it would never produce any result. The noble lord who sat on the cross-bench, had stated that it was probable there would be no result from the appointment of a committee. The noble lord appeared to dissent from this; but he begged his lordship's pardon: he had taken down his very words, and they

were—"It cannot be expected that relief should be given." But it was to afford relief that it was proposed to appoint the committee; and if "relief cannot be expected," for what good object move for its appointment? It was not, surely, in order that the discussion of questions before the committee might excite in the people hopes of some favourable result, which expectations, according to the noble lord, must necessarily be disappointed! Surely their lordships would not appoint a committee, in order merely to give noble lords an opportunity of discussing a variety of subjects in the committee, without the prospects of any solid advantages arising from their discussions. Nor could it be well believed, that the last effort of the noble and learned lord, was made with a view to annoy and derange the king's government. Supposing that no result could be expected from the labours of a committee, was a committee to be appointed to try this question? Did government, or did it not, put the truth into the king's speech with regard to the state of the country? On former occasions, he had stated various reasons for believing that the truth was told on the subject in his majesty's speech, and he had not since altered his opinion. He was fully convinced that there was great distress in the country; but he did not believe that the distress was general; and he did believe that it was gradually subsiding: such was his belief at the present moment. But a noble lord, who formerly attacked ministers for stating that the relief of many of the evils complained of, was beyond the power of parliament, had said to-night, that a committee might not be able to afford relief. Ministers stated, in the king's speech, that his majesty was convinced no pressure of temporary difficulty would induce parliament to relax the determination it had invariably manifested, to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and permanent welfare of the country. The king's servants had thought it their duty to propose a large reduction of taxation, in order to lighten the pressure of the public burthens,—a measure, that he was happy to say, had given great satisfaction to many, and which had been handsomely mentioned by his friend, the noble duke at the table, and by a noble marquis and baron who took part in the debate. In executing this project, ministers had done no more than what they thought to be their duty on this oc-

casione with reference to the public advantage; and if, instead of a remission of taxation, they had been under the necessity of maintaining the revenue, and keeping up the taxes, of which they had been enabled to propose the repeal, they would have endeavoured to prevail on parliament to maintain these taxes, as readily and manfully as they had proposed their repeal. It afforded him great gratification to believe, as he conscientiously did, that this measure would give relief to the country, without impairing the necessary efficiency of the public establishments. He thought ministers had chosen the best mode of affording relief that was in their power: they had repealed precisely those taxes that, as compared with others, would take the smallest sum out of the treasury, and put the largest amount into the pockets of the people. He was satisfied that the repeal would be a great relief to the country. The noble marquis and other noble lords, stated their expectation that the repeal of taxes would not be carried further. He would not, at that hour of the night, go into calculations which induced him to believe that (certainly, at the present moment) reduction of taxation could not be carried further, consistently with a due regard to the security of the country. As government had proceeded hitherto on the principle of reducing every establishment and office, as far as possible, which was not necessary to the public service, it would continue the same practice, and endeavour to curtail every branch of expenditure, not absolutely necessary for the attainment of that object, hoping thereby to produce such a saving as might place other resources of economy, and the means of a further reduction of taxation at their disposal. If ministers succeeded in this object, so much the better; but if not—if the public service prevented it—they would throw themselves with confidence upon parliament, and in the discharge of their duty, trust to their aid for support. If the motion of the noble lord had been a motion to inquire into the state and administration of the poor-laws, it might have been worth while to consider whether or not it ought to be adopted; but at the same time, he begged to remind the house, that the subject of the poor-laws had been already repeatedly under consideration; that there were now upon the table of the house of commons, and he believed upon that of their lordships' house, reports of two or three committees, some of them detailing the very

facts contained in the letter which the noble marquis had read to the house: consequently, parliament, government, and the public were in complete possession of the facts; and the end of the inquiry, as far as the attainment of information was concerned, had been accomplished. It should be recollected that some of the greatest statesmen that ever lived in England—that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wyndham had attempted to deal with the difficult subject of the poor-laws, without success. It was a subject equally important, difficult, and complicated: the system, as far as local practice and arrangements went, varied almost in every parish in England, more or less; and, he repeated, it was almost impossible to deal with it successfully. He appealed to the noble earl whether it were not a subject which parliament should approach with the utmost caution, and meddle with only after a most deliberate inquiry. They ought not to enter into it hastily, or at an inopportune period, like the present: it would be better to wait till the country was restored to a complete state of prosperity, and then investigate the subject with a proper degree of attention. The motion was lost; the numbers being, on a division, sixty-one to one hundred and forty-one.

On the 29th of March, a series of resolutions were moved by lord King, on the subject of the corn-laws, wishing to place upon their lordships' journals a statement of his views on that important subject. The resolutions declared all regulations, duties, and prohibitions which prevented the importation of corn, to be impolitic and unjust; and strongly condemned the restrictions which had been imposed, and which were described "to have checked the prosperity of the country, impoverished all the productive classes, and, by the most perverse policy, compelled our natural customers to become our competitors, our rivals, and almost our enemies."

The resolutions were negatived, after a short debate, in the course of which the duke of Wellington stated his view of the important question thus raised. His grace said, he agreed entirely with the noble baron in wishing to have plenty of cheap corn; because he thought it would be highly beneficial to the country, and would tend to improve the condition of every class of society. But he was anxious to see that effect produced in a manner different from that pointed out by the noble baron. He wished

to see plenty of provisions created in a way that would confer benefit and advantage on the native agriculturist: he wished to see that plenty derived from the improvement of Ireland, and from the increase of her productions. If cheap provisions were produced by these means, great national good must be the result. And he would say farther, that a plentiful and steady supply of provisions could not be produced by any other means. In reply to the observations of the noble baron, he would call on their lordships to look at the returns which had been laid before that and the other house of parliament. Let them advert to the long period from 1791 to 1815, during the whole of which times the ports were open, at a duty of twenty-four shillings per quarter, when the price was beyond fifty shillings, which duty was maintained up to 1815; let them advert to that very long period, and they would find that there was not one single cheap year of corn. It never was below the price at which importation was prohibited. If their lordships would refer to the last year, they would perceive that corn had been, in the course of that year, as high as seventy-four shillings; and his noble friend had stated what the amount of grain imported was—namely, eight million of quarters of grain of different kinds, of which three million five hundred thousand quarters were wheat. Now, he begged to ask, did the price of corn come down in consequence? It did not, although there was an importation, in one week, to the amount of four hundred thousand quarters. The price, however, still remained the same: it experienced no fall. The noble baron had made a set-off attack on him with reference to the measure connected with this subject, which he had the honour to introduce, some time since, into that house. The noble baron affirmed that the measure had not worked well. Now, he would assert, that the measure thus noticed had worked well. It protected the agriculturist; by its operation the produce of the country was rendered sufficient for its consumption; and it prevented the price from rising to an exorbitant rate. Such was the fact; while it was equally true, that the introduction of foreign corn to this country, did not bring down the high price of from seventy shillings to seventy-four shillings a-quarter. Their lordships might look at the subject in another point of view. Let them look at the price of wheat at Dantzic, from 1791 to

1815, and let them also consider the price at which it was sold in recent years, when it was required in this country. In January, 1826, the price of wheat at Dantzic was 18s. 11d., in June it was 19s. 5d.; in December it was 27s. 3d.; in January, 1827, 25s. 7d.; in June it was 22s. 4d.; in December, 22s. 9d.; and in December, 1828, it was 57s. 8d. Was it owing to any deficiency of the harvest in Poland that this rise took place? No such thing: it was caused by the demand in this country. Was that the mode of procuring cheap corn? It was the very reverse; for our demand had the effect of raising the price. In January, 1829, the price was 58s. 8d., and in June it was 45s. 8d., an alteration which arose from the circumstance of the harvest in this country not turning out so badly as was expected. In December, 1829, the price was 30s. 8d., being a fall of nearly one-half between January and December. Why, he would ask their lordships, had such a fall taken place in the price of wheat at Dantzic? Simply, because the demand for it in this country had ceased. This clearly substantiated his argument, that the high price was occasioned on the continent by the demand of this country. Then, he would say, if we are to pay a high price for corn, let us give it to the English or Irish agriculturist, and not to the foreigner. That was exactly the principle of the existing corn-law; and he would assert that it had worked well. It had one great advantage which preceding corn-laws could not boast: it had been carried into execution without interruption, while the previous law and the amended law had been infringed on by the government every year, or every second year, by the introduction of corn without any duty, to the advantage of certain individuals, but without any advantage to the agriculturist. Another effect of the present corn-law was, to give protection to the agricultural interest of this country; and, in his mind, it was a most important point to effect that object. It was a great political object, not only when viewed with reference to the duties which the nobility and gentry, throughout the empire, were called on to perform; but it was also an object of the first importance, so far as the interests of the people of this country were concerned, in order to ensure them a certain supply of corn of home growth, whether the year happened to be unproductive or otherwise. The noble baron ridiculed the idea of a duty

being levied abroad on foreign corn about to be shipped to this country. But there was nothing ridiculous in the matter; for the noble baron would find that a duty of twenty shillings per quarter had been levied on corn about to be exported to this country; and, therefore, it was not wise that we should place ourselves so much in the power of foreigners. Bonaparte had levied a duty on corn, the growth of France, as well as of Austria and of Prussia, when he was in possession of the capitals of those countries, which was intended for exportation to England. If Bonaparte did so, what was to prevent the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, or Russia from taking the same step? In fact, the king of Prussia did lay on such a duty in 1801. And it ought not to be overlooked, that a great portion of the corn intended for this market must come through the territory of Prussia. Were they, then, to rely on the forbearance of these foreign sovereigns, to obtain the necessary supply of corn to England? He said, certainly not; and, therefore, he would contend that this country could not wisely do otherwise than secure the interest of the agriculturist, who ought to be encouraged to raise a sufficient supply of corn to meet the wants of the country, either in time of war or at any other period of distress. The noble baron had taken up much of their lordships' time, in discussing the amount of profit which the manufacturer derived from exporting his goods to foreign countries; and he argued, that if we allowed foreign corn to be imported at a small nominal duty, that profit would be vastly increased. But the noble baron had forgotten one great cause of the small profits that were realised on our goods when sent to foreign parts—namely, the great increase of manufactures abroad. The greatest difficulty was experienced in exporting our manufactures. In some countries there was a total prohibition of them; in others, there was an extremely high duty; and in all, there was much competition and jealousy. The government, in every one of those foreign countries, did everything in its power to prevent the sale of British manufactures. He was convinced, that if the people of this country went to the continent, and purchased all the corn in Poland, not an additional article would they be enabled to force into France, Germany, Prussia, or Russia. If the merchants of this country were allowed freely to purchase grain, foreigners would get as much for

their corn as they possibly could; but their rulers would not allow a single article of our manufactures to be imported, in consequence of our being obliged to buy the grain of those countries. There was, undoubtedly, a certain quantity of manufactures in this country, more than the population itself could consume, which it would be very desirable to get rid of. But was it exactly true, that taking foreign corn, would have the effect of enabling other countries to purchase our manufactures? And, even if such were the case, what were we to do with our own corn? If those countries wished for our manufactures, why, when Russia and Prussia disposed of their corn to other states, did they not come and purchase goods from us?

The prospect of Dom Miguel's recognition by the government of England, found favour with no party. There was something offensive to English taste, from the first, in the conditions on which he was to become king of Portugal, involving, as they did, the marriage of an uncle with his own niece. Miguel's deceitful and cruel conduct, after he was installed as regent, had caused his name to be so hated, that any movement to favour him or his cause failed not to call forth the strongest demonstrations of anger and disgust. The interference which ministers had thought necessary with the partisans of the queen at Terceira, was generally viewed with displeasure; and on the 28th of April, a series of resolutions, declaring that proceeding "to have been neither justified by the necessity of the case, nor by the general law of nations," were moved by Mr. Grant, in the house of commons. The debate produced many able expositions of public law, which of course can only be mentioned here. The principal facts of the case, and the grounds on which ministers had acted, were thus stated by Mr. Peel:—

"The port of Terceira is a strong position, within the limits of which, on a memorable occasion, the Spanish and Portuguese vessels found refuge: it was equally known that soon after Dom Miguel ascended the throne of Portugal, his authority was recognised in every part of the Portuguese dominions, except that island; and there, also, his authority would have been recognised, but for the presence of five regiments, who were in the interest of Donna Maria, and held the fortress in her name. There was a despatch on the table from general Caffiera, dated October 3rd, 1828; and he could not con-

ceive how it was possible for any person to read the despatch, and doubt for one moment that civil dissensions had existed at Terceira, antecedently to that time, and that, but for these regiments, the whole island would have acknowledged Dom Miguel. He had, he thought, fully justified his majesty's government from the accusation of seeking a pretext, in subsequent disturbances, for its own antecedent conduct. The disturbances existed long prior to that part of the conduct of the government which the motion went to censure. The next question for consideration was the character of the expedition; and his right honourable friend contended that, going unarmed from our shores, the refugees were not to be considered as a military body, and that their conduct was no breach of our neutrality. Was it, then, to be contended that no expedition was a military expedition, except the troops had their arms on board the same vessels with them? If they were on board one vessel, and their arms in another, did that make any difference? Was such a pretence to be tolerated by that common sense to which the honourable baronet had appealed? During the whole time the refugees were in this country, the marquis Barbacena spoke of them as troops; and general Stubbs addressed them as such in a military order of the day. Would it do, then, for this country to tell all Europe, that it had no knowledge of their character, and no cognizance of their departure? Arms were already provided for them at Terceira; the men were proceeding thither for the purpose of using the arms; and no person could, for one moment, doubt what was the real nature and character of the expedition. Some time before, the marquis Barbacena requested permission to send some arms and ammunition out of the country; and he then distinctly declared, in answer to the foreign secretary, that they were intended for the Brazils. It was on that declaration that permission was given. The emperor Dom Pedro, it was said, was not desirous of being the Brutus of Portugal; and he was aware of the danger of committing the Brazils with the civil dissensions of her ancient European dominions. Dom Pedro left the defence of the principles of liberty in Europe to the members of the English parliament. After the assurance to which he had alluded had been given—after the declaration thus made—the arms and ammunition were taken, not to the Brazils, but to Terceira, and deposited in the fort at

Angra. The arms were sent previously to sending the troops; and would any man say that this did not make the expedition as completely a military expedition as ever left the shores of any country? The marquis Palmella admitted that the arms had been sent to Angra; and he stated unequivocally that he was preparing a further supply, if the quantity already sent should be insufficient for the troops. The troops were embarked on board eleven transports; and it was not possible for the government of this country, knowing all the facts of the case, to shut its eyes to the real objects of the expedition. The question had been argued as if it were a strictly legal question; and gentlemen seemed to suppose that they could settle a question of national policy by their law-books. The opinion of jurists had been referred to, and the judgments of lord Stowell had been cited with a triumphant but useless display of learning. Surely the honourable and learned member, who had referred to that noble lord's opinion, ought to have recollected that in one of the very cases mentioned, that noble lord had distinctly declared, that any persons who made use of a neutral country for the purpose of fitting out a warlike armament, to be directed against a country with which that neutral was at peace, were guilty of a breach of its neutrality. He would not, however, dwell longer on that point: he would rather take up the same ground as the honourable baronet. He would leave the law of the case to the professional gentlemen, and look at the question with a plain understanding. Would any person, then, say that it made any difference, that this expedition was going to defend, not attack a fortress? Was not defence the act of a belligerent as well as attack, and did not the neutral who assisted the defence, as much commit a breach of neutrality as if he aided an attack? Suppose Gibraltar were invested, and two or three of our battalions, in order to assist their brethren, should repair to a neutral state, and say to its government, 'We are veterans; we are the subjects of one of the belligerents: we desire to assist the besieged; but in order to elude the other party, we have pulled off our red coats; we are, therefore, now peaceful citizens—private, innocent persons: we go only as individuals; we shall find arms and ammunition there, do you only allow us to indulge the *amor patriæ* which we feel: allow us to refresh and recruit ourselves here, and then to proceed from you

to the fortress of our own sovereign.' That might be a very good *ruse*; but if such practices were to be the doctrines and principles of states, he did not see how they could preserve amicable relations with each other; or how any one of them could long remain neutral in any quarrel between two other states. Suppose the case reversed, and that Dom Miguel were substituted for Donna Maria: that he had assembled troops at Plymouth, and had proceeded to attack some part of the queen's dominions; and suppose that ministers had stood up to defend the conduct of government, in allowing him to collect a force at Plymouth; would not such a paltry distinction, as that, urged to justify the sailing of this expedition, be scouted with indignant derision by every patriotic member who should hear it employed, to justify the government for not interfering with the expedition of Dom Miguel? It was not necessary, he believed, further to discuss the question, whether the expedition were or not a breach of our neutrality; and conceiving that it was, the next question which required to be settled was, whether or not we were justified, after the expedition had left our ports, in preventing it from reaching the place of its destination. On that point, he thought a complete answer to the statement of his right honourable friend who opened the debate, had been given by his right honourable friend who sat near him. The Portuguese refugees and their leaders had, throughout, been guilty of the grossest deception towards the British government. It had been such as justly to subject them to the treatment they had received. They had made representations that were untrue—they had entered into engagements which they had not kept; and, in short, they had attempted to practise a fraud on the government of the country where they had received the rites of hospitality. On their heads, therefore, and not on the head of any one of his majesty's ministers, ought the consequences of these transactions to be visited. Were the government of this country to allow itself to be deceived in the way these refugees had deceived it, the ports of England would be selected by all the discontented people of Europe, to fit out and prepare expeditions against their governments, or even expeditions to plunder and devastate other countries. It might be true, that we had no right to punish the Portuguese for their fraud; but we had a right to prevent their profiting by

their fraud, particularly when doing that which might have involved us in a contest with another power, on account of the breach of our neutrality committed by these people. In a speech made by the brother of his right honourable friend on the foreign enlistment bill, that gentleman adduced the following passage from Vattel, which, he presumed, was correctly quoted:—'Neutrals shall not suffer themselves or their possessions to be made instrumental in doing injury to other nations. There is no law of nature or of nations—no obligations of justice which condemn us to be the dupes of those who would lead us into such wrong.' That was the doctrine he would apply to the present case,—we were not to be made the dupes of these people, to commit wrong against another power. But the consequences, he believed, of such proceedings, did we permit them, would be fatal to ourselves. If we supported, or allowed fraud, we should have no remedy but to submit to it when our own rights were in question. If we allowed one hostile expedition to be prepared within our territory, ten years would not elapse—to use the remarkable words of Mr. Canning, in the debate on the alien bill—'before this country will be made the workshop of intrigue, and the arsenal of every malcontent faction in Europe. Placed, as this country is, on the confines of the old world and the new, possessing such facilities in her manufactures and in her natural advantages, and, above all, in her free institutions, it becomes her to watch, with the narrowest scrutiny, that the facilities she affords are not abused to her own injury.' With respect to free trade, he believed that the home market was our best resource,—that it took the greatest number of our manufactured articles. It had, and he thought with truth, been stated that two-thirds of the whole quantities of our manufactures were disposed of in this country. The greater part of the woollen and the whole of the silk manufactures were consumed here; and, he asked, would they take the corn trade from the hands of those who afforded them the best market? He thought that such a proposition was quite preposterous. He was sure that the interests of all classes in this country were nearly allied. They were not to look to the interest of the cotton manufacturer or of the iron manufacturer. That which they were all bound to consider was the benefit of all; and, in his opinion, the common good would be most effectually secured, by getting the

greatest quantity of provisions for the whole community,—by giving a proper remuneration to those who produced those provisions, and thus encouraging them to do what was most beneficial to the community at large."

A motion relative to the national debt and the revenue of the country, by viscount Goderich, was regarded with some interest by the money-market. The noble viscount went into the subject at great length, to show that erroneous opinions had been widely diffused, which declared that the country was so grievously burdened, that it was unreasonable and unjust to attempt to preserve faith with the public creditor. He moved for returns to elucidate various financial statements which he had made, and impressively remarked to their lordships, that the influence of England on the continent, was, to a great extent, founded on the confidence that foreign nations had in the honour, integrity, and good faith of this country; but that influence was essentially built on a conviction of our strength; and feeling that that strength was not yet impaired, he was convinced that nothing could be more disastrous, both to other nations and ourselves, than to invite attack by assuming an appearance of decay.

The duke of Wellington said, he considered that the government and the people were under the greatest obligation to his noble friend (viscount Goderich), for having introduced the subject to their notice, and for the manner in which he had treated it. He would not weaken the effect of the admirable speech of his noble friend, either by commenting upon its matter, or by repeating over again anything that he had said. In general, he agreed with all that had fallen from his noble friend; and he congratulated their lordships in having had laid before them so admirable a statement of the true condition of the national debt, and of the interest paid by the nation on that debt. There was only one part of the statement of his noble friend to which, he must confess, he could not give his entire concurrence: the part to which he alluded was that in which his noble friend had, with his customary candour, commented upon that topic which usually went by the name of the "equitable adjustment." His noble friend had admitted, that an increase of the debt was occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and had stated the amount of that at twenty per cent. It

was certainly true, that there was a large increase in the price of commodities during the depreciation of the currency; but the allowance that his noble friend had made, appeared to him a very large allowance indeed. His noble friend had admitted too much, he thought, in stating the annual increase of the charges, on account of the debt contracted in a depreciated currency, at three million five hundred thousand pounds. To calculate it, they ought to take the difference between the market-price of gold, and the mint-price in 1819, when the bank restriction act was repealed. The difference then was about four per cent.; and as the amount of charge for the debt at that period was thirty million pounds, the difference of four per cent. made one million two hundred thousand pounds. That was all which could have been saved by sacrificing the honour or credit of the country, by what was called an "equitable adjustment." By the measures that had since been introduced, there had been an actual saving of one hundred and fifty million to the country—a circumstance which ought to give them hopes that everything that was required by the country might be done with good faith and honour, instead of resorting to the national bankruptcy that was recommended by some. He begged to say, that in this, he was not alluding to his noble friend, earl Stanhope. His noble friend had concluded by some observations on the unfunded debt. It was true, that the amount of exchequer bills was twenty-five million; but of that sum, four million had been issued on account of public works, and would be repaid without causing any charge to the country. Of the remaining twenty-one million, six million were held by the bank of England; so that instead of twenty-five million, there were only fifteen million actually in circulation; and it did not appear to him that the amount was too large, considering the present state of the credit of the country. All these matters, however, would of course obtain the anxious consideration of the government; and he was sure that the advice of his noble friend would have weight with the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as with himself, when the subject came to be taken into consideration. He could not allow the excellent observations of his noble friend to pass without these few remarks; and he hoped that it would be found that the speech which he had made,

would have its due effect both with the parliament and the country. At least, he could assert, that it was the intention of the government to follow the example that had been set, and reduce both the national expenditure and the national debt to the utmost of its power.

Among the affairs which demanded the attention of the duke of Wellington and his colleagues, the question as to the future sovereignty of Greece was not the least embarrassing. It was understood that prince Leopold was to be placed over that classic realm; but when it was supposed that all had been arranged, new difficulties were said to have arisen, and fresh negotiations were necessary. It was, after this, reported that every obstacle was removed; when, on a sudden, it transpired that Leopold would not accept the proffered honour. The subject had occasionally been mentioned in parliament; and on the 22nd of May, the result being then ascertained, lord Aberdeen gave a statement of what had occurred. Ministers deemed it a question of great importance and delicacy, as to who should be selected to reign over independent Greece. His lordship proceeded: "It would evidently require the exercise of much prudence and discretion to organise a state composed of such materials as Greece necessarily was. It would require also great prudence and discretion, after Greece had so long been in a state of hostility with the Porte, to maintain friendly relations, in future, with that power. The allies thought that they had found a prince possessing such qualities, in the person of his royal highness, prince Leopold. It was a choice honourable to his royal highness,—and their lordships would give him leave to add, honourable to Great Britain; for proceeding, as it did, entirely from our allies, it gave evidence, on their part, of confidence and reliance in the upright and honourable policy of this country, which it might naturally be supposed would, more or less, influence the conduct of the new prince. The choice was the more fortunate, because it was well understood that its object had long been the ambition of his royal highness, and had been solicited by him; and also because the Greeks had shown themselves desirous to have his royal highness for their sovereign. The offer was made to his royal highness on the 3rd of February; and what might be called his royal highness's adhesion to the protocol, although taken on the 11th, was only finally

received on the 20th. From that day, up to a very recent period, the negotiations with his royal highness had turned exclusively on a single point, and that was this: by the provisions of the last protocol, the allies engaged, in consideration of the deplorable condition to which Greece was reduced, and the necessity of aid, as urged in the strongest manner by his royal highness, to furnish pecuniary succour to Greece, in order to enable his royal highness to raise and maintain troops for his safety. The succour was to be given in the form of a guarantee for a loan to be raised by the Greek government. In the execution of this engagement, it certainly was the opinion of his majesty's ministers that the demands of his royal highness were unreasonable. They thought it their duty to resist those demands, because they considered that they were not authorised to incur new obligations which were not justified by the wants of the state. They felt it their duty, at the present moment, not to expose the country to even the chance of incurring any burthen beyond what was indispensably necessary, to carry into effect the object of the treaty. But his royal highness maintained those demands with so much pertinacity, and, indeed, gave the government so plainly to understand that he was fully prepared to renounce the

situation which he had accepted, unless those demands were agreed to to the uttermost farthing, that the government, seeing also that the allies expressed their willingness to acquiesce in those demands, deemed that Great Britain would be incurring an odious responsibility by taking on herself the destruction of an arrangement made in favour of a British prince; and however reluctantly, acceded to his royal highness's demands. This was the situation in which affairs stood a short time ago. He had then stated, that nothing but minor points remained to be settled; these points being, not the amount of the loan, but the mode of effecting it, and the manner of repayment. Such was the state of affairs when fresh grounds of hesitation occurred to his royal highness. Late on Friday night, government received from his royal highness a notice, that he was determined to renounce the situation which he had accepted, and he abdicated the place which had hitherto been the object of his ambition.

The exposition thus made was complained of, as reflecting in some degree unfavourably on Leopold; but the noble earl desired that no such inference should be drawn from anything that had fallen from him; he had only offered a simple statement of facts.

CHAPTER XXII.

DESIGNS OF RUSSIA; LORD ABERDEEN'S COMMENTARY; CASE OF THE SHIPPING INTEREST; THE KING'S HEALTH DECLINES; A BILL TO AUTHORISE THE USE OF A STAMP FOR THE SIGN-MANUAL; BRUNSWICK CLUBS; DEATH OF GEORGE IV.

THERE was something in the proceedings of Russia which awoke strong suspicions in England as to the ultimate objects of her policy, which rendered everything affecting Greece a subject of great anxiety to the British government. The insincerity of the emperor was apparent. To this the duke did not shut his eyes; but to turn round on a valued ally of England—on the power which had acted so important a part in that great settlement of the affairs of Europe which had given it many years of peace—was a step which, on slight reflection, he could not think of taking. Friendly admo-

nition, it was hoped, as in some former cases, would induce the emperor to listen to better counsels; and, with this feeling, the following important despatch was addressed to Lord Heytesbury, who was then ambassador at the court of Russia, by the earl of Aberdeen, in the latter part of the last year, though it did not come before the public till a quarter of a century afterwards:—

“Foreign-office, October 31, 1829.

“My Lord,—I have received from his imperial majesty's ambassador at this court a copy of the definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, together with the manifesto of

the Russian cabinet, and a circular despatch from Count Nesselrode, dated the 4th of October. These papers have engaged the serious attention of his majesty's government. The consequences of the transaction to which they refer are so various and important, and influence so powerfully the future happiness and tranquillity of all nations, that it would be inconsistent with the station which his majesty fills among the sovereigns of Europe, as well as with that frankness and sincerity which he is desirous should characterise all his relations with the cabinet of St. Petersburg, if he were not at once to communicate to his imperial majesty the sentiments which have been produced in his mind by an examination of the treaty of Adrianople.

"The first desire of his majesty is to express the satisfaction which he has experienced from the restoration of peace. He sincerely rejoices that a state of warfare should at length have ceased, the existence of which he has constantly deplored, and the prolonged duration of which had only increased his majesty's apprehensions of the evils to which it must finally have led.

"Count Nesselrode, at the conclusion of his circular despatch, expresses an opinion that the treaty now concluded holds out to Europe a long prospect of tranquillity and repose. That this judgment may be fully confirmed is our most anxious desire. In the meantime, it will be an object worthy of the solicitude of his imperial majesty to strengthen the confidence of his allies, and to remove those causes of alarm to which, if not discovered in the treaty of peace itself, the present state of the Turkish empire cannot fail to give rise.

"When his imperial majesty announced his intention of declaring war against the Ottoman Porte, upon grounds affecting exclusively the interests of Russia, his majesty's government, without pronouncing any opinion respecting the justice of the war, expressed their conviction that the most complete success in the justest cause would not entitle the stronger party to demand from the weaker sacrifices which would affect its political existence, or would infringe upon that state of territorial possession upon which the general peace had rested. They also observed that demands of indemnity and compensation might be carried to such an extent as to render compliance scarcely practicable, without reducing the Ottoman power to a degree of weakness which would deprive it of the character of an independent state.

"His imperial majesty, in carrying into execution his threatened invasion of the Ottoman dominions, declared his adherence to that disinterested principle which had characterised the protocol of St. Petersburg and the treaty of London. He renounced all projects of conquest and ambition. His imperial majesty frequently repeated, that so far from desiring the destruction of the Turkish empire, he was most anxious

for its preservation. He promised that no amount of indemnity should be exacted which could affect its political existence; and he declared that this policy was not the result of romantic notions of generosity, or of the vain desire of glory, but that it originated in the true interests of the Russian empire, in which interests, well understood, and in his own solemn promises, would be found the best pledges of his moderation.

"His imperial majesty added that his thoughts would undergo no change, even if, contrary to his intentions and his endeavours, Divine Providence had decreed that we should now behold the termination of the Ottoman power. His imperial majesty was still determined not to extend the limits of his own dominions; and he only demanded from his allies the same absence of all selfish and ambitious views, of which he would himself give the first example.

"Does the treaty of Adrianople place the Porte in a situation corresponding with the expectations raised by these assurances? The answer must be left to the judgment of Europe: it might be left to the dispassionate judgment of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

"Undoubtedly, if we look only at the relative position of the two belligerents, the fortune of the war might have enabled the emperor to exact still harder terms. The sultan, threatened by a formidable insurrection in Constantinople, having lost his army, and having ordered the remaining Asiatic troops to retire to their homes, was unable to offer any effectual opposition, and threw himself under the mercy of the Russian commander. By the persuasion of the British and French ambassadors, and of the minister extraordinary of the king of Prussia, the defeated monarch was induced to place entire confidence in the moderation of his imperial majesty.

"It may not be easy to accuse of want of generosity the conqueror who checks the unresisted progress of success, and who spares the defenceless capital of his enemy. Nevertheless, the treaty in question, certainly not in conformity with the expectations held out by preceding declarations and assurances, appears vitally to affect the interests, the strength, the dignity, the present safety, and future independence of the Ottoman empire.

"The modes of domination may be various, although all equally irresistible. The independence of a state may be overthrown and its subjection effectually secured without the presence of a hostile force, or the permanent occupation of its soil. Under the present treaty the territorial acquisitions of Russia are small, it must be admitted, in extent, although most important in their character. They are commanding positions, far more valuable than the possession of barren provinces and depopulated towns, and better calculated to rivet the fetters by which the sultan is bound.

"The cession of the Asiatic fortresses, with their neighbouring districts, not only secures to Russia the uninterrupted occupation of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, but places her in a situation so commanding as to control at pleasure the destiny of Asia Minor.

"Prominently advanced into the centre of Armenia, in the midst of a Christian population, Russia holds the keys both of the Persian and the Turkish provinces; and, whether she may be disposed to extend her conquests to the east or to the west, to Teheran or to Constantinople, no serious obstacle can arrest her progress.

"In Europe the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are rendered virtually independent of the Porte. A tribute is, indeed, to be paid to the sultan, which he has no means of enforcing, except by the permission and even the assistance of Russia herself; and a prince, elected for life, is to demand investiture which cannot be withheld. The Mussulman inhabitants are to be forcibly expelled from the territory. The ancient right of pre-emption is abolished; and the supplies indispensable for Constantinople, for the Turkish arsenals, and for the fortresses are entirely cut off. The most important fortresses upon the Danube are to be razed, and the frontier left exposed and unprotected against incursions which at any future time may be attempted.

"It is sufficient to observe of the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube, that their effect must be to place the control of the navigation and commerce of that river exclusively in the hands of Russia.

"Servia, by the incorporation of the six districts referred to in the treaty, is erected into an independent and powerful state; and when the allied powers shall have finally decided upon the character of the government, and the limits to be assigned to Greece, the circle will be completed of territories nominally dependent or tributary, but which must be animated with the most hostile spirit; and the recognition of which by the powers of Europe is scarcely compatible with the security, perhaps not with the existence of the Turkish empire.

"The commercial privileges and personal immunities which are secured by the treaty to the subjects of Russia appear to be at variance with any notion we are able to form of the authority of a sovereign and independent prince. It is true that by capitulations with the Porte, in consequence of the defective administration of justice by the Turkish government, rights have been obtained by European nations of such a description as would not have been conceded by the states of Christendom. These rights have not only been still further extended by the present treaty, but the stipulations, so far from being drawn up in the spirit of peace, are to all appearance rather calculated to invite and justify the renewal of hostilities. What reason-

able prospect of 'eternal peace, friendship, and good understanding' can be afforded by an instrument which contains a special provision, making the calamities of war almost dependent upon the capricious extortion of a Turkish officer, or the unauthorised arrogance of a Russian trader?

"His majesty's government are persuaded that it will be impossible for his imperial majesty to reflect upon the terms of Article 7 of the treaty of Adrianople, without perceiving at once that they must be utterly subversive of the independence of the Ottoman power.

"This article stipulates that merchant vessels of all nations, without any restriction of size or tonnage, shall be admitted to pass freely through the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The right of visit on the part of the Turkish government is expressly excluded. This provision not only deprives the Porte of the exercise of a right in its own waters, inherent in the very nature of independent sovereignty; but it also destroys a necessary protection against the effects of foreign hostility or domestic treachery. The power of marching a Russian army, at any moment, through any part of the Turkish territory, without the permission of the government, could not be more degrading or more dangerous.

"Such stipulations are not only destructive of the territorial rights of sovereignty, and threatening to the safety of the Porte, but their obvious tendency is to affect the condition and the interests of all maritime states in the Mediterranean, and may demand from those states the most serious consideration.

"How is the true character of the vessel to be ascertained? In former treaties the bulk and the amount of tonnage to be admitted had been fixed by Russia herself, and was regulated by what had been found to be most usual and most advantageous in the navigation of those seas. The right of search, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and value of the cargo, with a view to fix the duties to be levied on importation, was very generally relinquished by the Porte in its practice towards the vessels of foreign powers; the ships manifest transmitted from the consul's office being admitted as sufficient evidence of the nature of the cargo, instead of proof derived from actual inspection. But the right of visit, in order to ascertain the character of the vessel, and the object of the voyage, has never been relinquished, and can never be relinquished by a state in any degree careful of its own independence and of its safety.

"The Porte is not only prohibited from exercising any interference with the free passage of the straits by Russian ships, but it is also divested of this indispensable attribute of sovereignty in its relations with all other powers, and that, too, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the emperor of Russia.

"If the Turkish government should detain

and visit a ship belonging to any foreign state, the injury would not be offered to that state, with which, perhaps, no treaty may exist, but to the emperor of Russia, who, according to the terms of the article in question, would at once be furnished with a justifiable cause of war against the Porte. But suppose any such state were fraudulently to send an armed vessel, or a vessel carrying armed men, into the waters of the Turkish dominion, and under the walls of the seraglio, with purposes the most hostile, would his imperial majesty, by the treaty of Adrianople, become responsible for such an act? In either case the sultan would be entirely dependent upon Russia in a matter in which the dignity and security of his government were vitally affected.

"Is it too much to say that such stipulations are inconsistent with the desire of his imperial majesty to preserve the independence of the Turkish empire.

"His majesty's government have always been persuaded that the power of imposing a pecuniary burden upon the Ottoman Porte, as a compensation and an indemnity for the expenses of the war, would be exercised in the promised spirit of equity and of moderation. His imperial majesty cannot fail to reflect that, in judging of the character of such a transaction, it is necessary to compare the sum exacted, not only with the expenses of the war, but with the means of the power upon which the payment is imposed. The cabinet of St. Petersburg will undoubtedly acquiesce in the principle that indemnities, whether pecuniary or territorial, ought not by their operation to crush the power by whom they are given, or to expose by their consequences the military security of neighbouring and allied states. The emperor is too wise not to desire, even in the midst of conquest and success, to maintain inviolate that system established for the general tranquillity of Europe, in which his imperial majesty's august predecessor took so prominent and so honourable a part. It is, therefore, with sincere satisfaction that his majesty's government have learnt from the declaration made by Count Nesselrode to your excellency, for the purpose of being transmitted to your government, 'that it was in contemplation not only to diminish the amount of the sum stipulated, but also to make a different arrangement with respect to its guarantee.' It is by such conduct that his imperial majesty will really manifest his generosity, and his regard for those principles of just and enlarged policy by which alone can be secured the confidence of his allies and the respect of Europe.

"Even if the emperor were not thus to yield at once to the impulse of his own disposition, the same determination would still be recommended by considerations of prudence, as being essential to the success of objects which he has professed to have much at heart. His imperial

majesty has declared, that a regard for the true interests of Russia induced him to feel more desirous than any other European power of maintaining the independent existence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. He has also repeatedly avowed, that the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte demanded his constant solicitude, and that the obligations both of his own conscience and of public treaties imposed upon him the special duty of consulting their welfare and providing for their protection. These objects, at all times difficult to reconcile, would, under the strict execution of the treaty, become altogether incompatible with each other. The real situation of the Turkish power is too obvious to escape the most common observation. The sultan is surrounded by independent states, formed out of his own territories, and with the great mass of the European population of his empire anxiously waiting for the moment when they may profit by this example, and shake off his dominion altogether. Defeated and reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation, he has retained his throne and political existence by the mercy of his conqueror. The disaffection of his Mohammedan subjects of all ranks, whether produced by repeated disgrace or the effect of a gradual change long since in operation, has become general. In this condition, with a broken authority and exhausted resources, he is called upon to provide for the indemnity which is exacted from him. In what manner is the sultan to relieve himself from this burden, and by whom must the sacrifices principally be made? If the Turkish government be still permitted to act at all as an independent power, it is clear that the necessary sums must be raised by fresh impositions upon the people, and by such means as are authorised by the law and customs of the empire. It is equally certain that the Christian subjects of the Porte must largely contribute to furnish these supplies. Compliance with the demands of the government will be difficult, but the urgency of the case will justify severity. Resistance may be attempted; if successful, leading to general confusion and revolt; if otherwise, spoliation and oppression will follow. At all events, new scenes of calamity will be opened calculated to frustrate the admitted objects of his imperial majesty, and fatally destructive both to the independence of the Porte and to the happiness and prosperity of the Christian subjects of the empire.

"There are other considerations which ought to have their due weight in the mind of his imperial majesty.

"It cannot be doubted that the result of the war has been such as to change entirely the relative position of the belligerents towards each other, as well as towards the neighbouring states and the rest of Europe. This change, it may be admitted, is to a certain extent the natural consequence of an unequal contest; for at the

termination of hostilities, characterised on one side by the most signal success, and on the other by continued disaster, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the parties could in every respect resume their former relations. It is, therefore, not exclusively to the conditions of the peace, but also to the events of the war, that we are to ascribe the change which has taken place. In whatever manner it may have been accomplished, the fact is sufficient to justify some anxiety on the part of those powers, who have always felt a deep interest in the preservation of the system of the European balance established by the treaty of Paris and at the congress of Vienna. This anxiety must be greatly increased when, in addition to the unavoidable weakness and prostration of the Turkish power, it is found that fresh causes are brought into action which are obviously calculated to hasten and ensure its utter dissolution. The evils attending upon uncertainty, expectation, and alarm must be universally felt throughout Europe. Encouragement will be afforded to projects the most adverse to the general tranquillity; and the different powers, so far from disarming, will probably augment their warlike preparations, already too extensive for a state of peace.

"It is only by a frank and cordial desire on the part of his imperial majesty to remove all reasonable grounds of suspicion and apprehension—it is only by a sincere endeavour, in conjunction with his allies, to confirm and perpetuate the repose which has hitherto been enjoyed, and by making this the main object of European policy, that we shall be enabled to avert the threatened dangers. In this salutary work his imperial majesty will assuredly call to mind the example of his illustrious predecessor; and he will recollect that, whatever may have been the glories of his reign, the last ten years of his life, devoted exclusively to the preservation of peace, eminently entitled him to the gratitude of Europe.

"I am to instruct your excellency to read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if desired, to give his excellency a copy. The sentiments of his majesty are expressed without reserve, but with cordial and friendly feelings. They are expressed, too, without previous concert or communication with any other power whatsoever.

"I am, &c.,

"ABERDEEN."

The shipping interest had suffered greatly at this period of general distress. On presenting a petition from the ship-owners of London, on the 13th of May, earl Stanhope called the attention of their lordships to their case. He said, it would be in the recollection of their lordships, that when the present new-fangled principles of commerce were first introduced by a minister of the

crown, who had since retired from office, but whose pernicious principles appeared still to sway his majesty's government, the ship-owners of London had protested against the measure then brought forward; and expressed their opinion—an opinion repeated in the present petition—that the change introduced by it would be followed by the most deplorable consequences to their interests, and to the interests of the country at large. Melancholy experience had justified the prediction. It was in vain to expect that British shipping, taxed as it was, could compete with foreign shipping. For building and wages, the British ship-owner had to pay nearly double the expenses which fell on the foreign owner. What, he asked, was the effect of altering the navigation laws, on which their ancestors had relied for the main strength of the country's marine? It tended evidently to lower the rates of British freightage; and the petitioners now prayed, that articles purchased by British subjects in foreign countries, should be imported in British ships, leaving foreigners to pursue such a course in employing their own capital as they pleased. Perhaps it might be said, that as the reciprocal treaties were fixed for a certain date, they could not be broken till the expiration of the time so stipulated; but still there might be hope for the sufferers, if the government would declare that acts so pregnant with evil should not be renewed. He had heard elsewhere, that evening, that the alteration to which he as well as the petitioners referred, had not produced the evil complained of; and that there had been an increase of tonnage. Were inquiry granted, he could prove that to be an error; for in some of these returns, the tonnage of a vessel was so multiplied, that if a ship of eight hundred tons made twenty voyages in a year, six thousand tons appeared in the returns, instead of three hundred! He hoped, at all events, an inquiry would be granted.

The duke of Wellington said, that he felt as acutely as any noble lord for the distress of any class of the community; but he could prove, from official details, that his noble friend was entirely in error respecting his view of the present condition of the shipping interest of Great Britain; and that our merchant-vessels had increased since the adoption of the new measures to which the noble earl (Stanhope) had ascribed an injurious operation. In the year 1814, the number of British ships entered in-

wards was eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five; in the next three years they averaged nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine; and then, from 1820 to 1823, they averaged eleven thousand and fifty-six: the same augmented average was observable in the years 1824, 1825, and 1826, when it was twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-four; and in 1827, 1828, and 1829, the number averaged thirteen thousand four hundred and nine; being nearly five thousand more ships in that year than in 1814, and one thousand two hundred more than the average number for the three years preceding the reciprocity treaties to which such injurious consequences had been ascribed. In the last year the entries were thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine; and the tonnage, two million one hundred and eighty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-five; being the greatest number ever known in the commercial history of this country. He begged their lordships to remark that the increase was gradual and progressive, occurring year after year. It was not therefore the result, as the noble earl might suppose, of the ancient laws, nor had it been impeded by the new laws. In conjunction with this gradual increase of British shipping, he would wish their lordships to observe what had been the progress of foreign shipping. In 1814, when the number of British ships entering inwards was eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five, the number of foreign ships was five thousand two hundred and eighty-six; in 1817, when the average number of British ships was nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, the number of foreign was three thousand nine hundred and seventy-four; showing a large decrease in the latter. In 1820, the number of foreign ships was four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine; in 1823, it was three thousand five hundred and seventy-three; in 1826, it was six thousand one hundred and sixteen; and in 1829, it was five thousand two hundred and eighteen; showing that the relative increase of shipping was altogether on the side of this country. In fact, there had been rather a decrease of foreign vessels, and a great increase of British ships engaged, as the noble earl would have it, in a sadly losing trade. All this, however, and everything of the same kind, went for nothing with the noble earl. It was perfectly true, that the increase of trade with those countries to which we were bound by

reciprocity treaties, had not been so great as their lordships might desire; but still there had been an increase. Again, to advert to another part of this losing concern of the noble earl,—the number of ships built within a certain period; he knew very well that if the trade were a losing one, and men had ships, it was better to employ them at a low freight than allow them to rot idle in the docks; but then, if nothing was to be made by the shipping trade, why build new ships? If the trade in the old were carried on at a loss, for what reason did they build new? Now, taking each year since the year 1814, he found the following statement on the subject of ship-building:—

In 1814, the number was seven hundred and thirty-three; 1815, nine hundred and forty-nine; 1816, eight hundred and sixty-six; 1817, seven hundred and sixty-six; 1818, seven hundred and sixty-one; 1819, seven hundred and ninety-seven; 1820, six hundred and thirty-five; 1821, five hundred and ninety-seven; 1822, five hundred and seventy-one; 1823, six hundred and four; 1824, eight hundred and thirty-seven; 1825, one thousand and three; 1826, one thousand and thirty-seven; 1827, nine hundred and eleven; 1828, eight hundred and fifty-seven; 1829, seven hundred and thirty-four. By this statement it would be seen, that the average of the three years before the adoption of the reciprocity system, was only five hundred and ninety-one; while the average number of ships built since that system came into operation, was eight hundred and thirty-four. With reference to the reciprocity treaties, he was quite free to admit that they were adopted with a view to decrease the price of freight in this country, so as to enable the British merchant to take his goods abroad, and bring back his returns on cheaper terms than before; and thereby to enable him to compete with the new state of things, which it was foreseen must arise in the new condition of the external relations of British commerce. It was well known that freights would be rendered cheaper; but when the trade, since 1814, had nearly doubled, the voyages were made quicker, and of course, though the sums paid were smaller, the advantages of more rapidly commercial intercourse would more than make up the difference. When the noble lord said that nothing had been done for the shipping interest, but that everything had been done against

it, he must appeal to facts against the assertion. Were there not great facilities now afforded in quarantine regulations? Had there not been a great reduction of colonial fees? The stamps on registers and shipping-bonds were reduced from thirty to five shillings; the stamps on ship-transfers and on mortgages had also been decreased. In all the stamps on shipping transactions, reductions had, in fact, been made: the tonnage duty had been repealed; lights and harbour dues greatly reduced; and a greater latitude allowed for repairing ships—(they could be repaired abroad, to break down combination at home); half the hemp-duty had been repealed: and all these regulations must surely be admitted to have been benefits conferred on the shipping interest, during the time which the noble lord said that nothing was done by the government to protect the interests of this class of the community. When these circumstances were all taken into consideration, recollecting that now voyages were much more rapidly made, and were more frequent than formerly, he thought they must refute the statements which the noble lord was so anxious to offer. He was at a loss to see what good could result from the proposed inquiry; for it could only make apparent the same details which he had already given from official records, the general tendency and result of which could not, he thought, be mistaken.

In questions turning on commercial affairs, as already stated, it surprised many of the duke's admirers, to find him apparently as familiar with the subject, as if all his early life had been passed in a city counting-house; and in his speeches, the tact of an experienced minister was remarked strongly to contest the argument advanced, but in language so moderate, as to produce no asperity in reply. On this occasion, earl Stanhope maintained that the inference drawn from the amount of tonnage returned was erroneous. The case of the ship-owners, he held to be one of great hardship; and he took a most gloomy view of the state of the country generally. He defied ministers to show that any class of the community was not suffering grievous, and in some cases intolerable distress. The disease, he thought, was spreading, and threatened the dissolution of society. He conscientiously believed, that to the minister who proposed the alteration in the commercial system, the country was indebted

for much of the distress under which it was suffering, and the danger to which it was exposed. If that minister had fairly and honourably avowed, at the time, that he wished to reduce the rate of freightage; and if he had said to the ship-owners, "I shall reduce the rate of freightage, and I care not what distress you suffer," such a decided and determined opposition would have been raised, that the measure would never have been carried.

Lord Ellenborough sarcastically remarked, it was very imprudent for the noble earl to enter into a general discussion on the subject, and to assume as facts matters which the papers he called for would disprove. After the explanation given by the duke of Wellington, it was unnecessary to offer any further elucidation of the subject: but he noticed some of the statements lord Stanhope had made, and pronounced them to be incorrect. Of the accuracy of what he had advanced, their lordships would be able to judge when the papers called for were produced. The returns moved for were granted.

The attention of parliament had been occupied with law reforms, the state of the poor in Ireland, Jewish disabilities, and various subjects of considerable importance, when ministers found themselves obliged to submit a measure of great immediate interest to the consideration of both houses. A startling event, involving many changes, was fast approaching. George IV., afflicted with premature infirmity, the consequence of youthful excesses, had long been in a declining state of health. Those who had access to his person, considered that his days were numbered, though, for a time, the state of the case was concealed from the public. It was easy to do that, as his majesty had of late lived in great seclusion. If the angry feelings which once broke out into affronting expressions when he went abroad had subsided, he was reluctant to show himself in that state of debility which no longer admitted of disguise. Towards the end of March, it was whispered that he was dangerously ill; but the report was contradicted in the papers which were supposed to have the best means of knowing the true state of things at court. They represented that he was only indisposed from a slight cold. His health, it was said, was so far from being in a bad state, that of the two physicians that had attended his majesty, one had returned to his own home,

and the other merely looked in on the royal patient once a-day. His condition was said to be still improving early in April; and on the 9th of that month, besides appearing at chapel to hear divine service, he resumed his airings in Windsor-park, driving his own poney-phæton; and in the following week he was reported to be equal to the task of transacting public business. But the favourable symptoms were of brief duration. It was announced on the 16th, that the king was suffering from a severe bilious attack, which had been accompanied by great difficulty of breathing, in consequence of which he was then in a very exhausted state; so much so, that it was thought necessary to postpone the celebration of his birthday, his levee, and his drawing-room for a fortnight. He was reluctant to permit bulletins to be issued on the subject of his health; but they were demanded by public anxiety, and now daily made their appearance. Some of them encouraged hopes that recovery might be expected. It was, however, soon understood, that of that there was little chance, and, in short, the nation was apprised that an early demise of the crown might be expected.

All that medical skill could suggest to relieve the patient was tried, but with little success; and his weakness became such, that the fatigue of signing public documents was more than he could endure. That made it necessary to bring the case before parliament. A message was sent to the two houses on the 24th of May, in which his majesty was described to be labouring under severe indisposition, which rendered it inconvenient and painful to him to sign with his own hand, such papers as required the sign-manual; and parliament was therefore called upon to authorise some person or persons to affix the sign-manual in the presence of his majesty, and with his consent. The houses were moved to turn their attention to the subject without delay, and to provide the means by which the king might be enabled to provide for the temporary discharge of the important function of the crown, without detriment to the public service.

The message having been read, the duke of Wellington said,—“My lords, I consider it will be the anxious wish of your lordships, to take the earliest opportunity of returning an answer to the message which I have just had the honour of communicating to your lordships by the king's command. I am

confident that your lordships will feel that sorrow which is common to all his majesty's subjects, on account of the lamentable indisposition with which, it grieves me to say, he has for some time past been afflicted. My lords, I propose to defer to a future opportunity the motion that his majesty's message be taken into consideration, with a view to deciding upon the mode in which the desired relief may be afforded to his majesty. I am, however, convinced it will be your lordships' wish not to allow a moment to pass, without expressing your lordships' sorrow for his majesty's indisposition, and your anxious hope that his health may be re-established at an early period. I am also satisfied that your lordships will be anxious to express to his majesty your earnest desire to relieve him from the pain and inconvenience he has informed you he labours under, in signing those public instruments and documents which require the sign-manual. I do not apologise to your lordships for bringing this matter before you; but rather take credit to myself for seizing the earliest opportunity of proposing to your lordships, to concur with me in an humble address to his majesty, in answer to the message he has intrusted. My lords, I will not take this opportunity of entering into a discussion as to the measure which his majesty's government may deem it advisable to propose, for the purpose of affording his majesty that relief which he requires. This will be done by the lord chancellor to-morrow; and I shall accordingly now content myself with moving, ‘that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty that this house deeply laments that his majesty is suffering under severe indisposition, and to assure his majesty that this house earnestly and anxiously hopes, that by the favour of Divine Providence, his majesty's health will be restored at an early period; that this house will proceed to consider, without delay, of the means by which his majesty may be relieved from the pain and inconvenience of signing, with his own hand, those public instruments which require the royal sign-manual; and may be enabled to provide for the temporary discharge of that important function of the crown without detriment to the public interests.’”

No opposition was made to the proposed address. Earl Grey said, he entirely concurred with the course which it was proposed to take. He felt the deepest and the most poignant regret for the illness of his majesty,

and entertained a sincere disposition to relieve him from everything that might render less painful the last moments of his life, or which might in the least tend to throw any impediment in the way of that recovery, to which all Englishmen anxiously looked. He, however, remarked, that in providing for the convenience and comfort of his majesty, with that affection and reverence which they must all feel for their sovereign, care must be taken not to establish a precedent which would be dangerous to the future interests of the country.

On the following day, the 25th of May, the message was taken into consideration by their lordships. The lord chancellor stated to the house, that there were two modes of providing for the case before them; one was to authorise some person or persons to affix the sign-manual in the presence of his majesty, and by his command; the other was, to stamp the instrument in his presence and by his authority. The latter course had been preferred in former instances, as could be proved by various public documents; and there was, in the British Museum, a patent of Henry VIII., which gave power to the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the lords of the privy council, or any six of them, to stamp with the impress of the royal signet, documents necessary to levy certain monies therein mentioned. The case, his lordship remarked, differed from the present, as the course pursued was then resorted to for convenience, and not from necessity. In the course of that reign, there were many instances of the royal signature being affixed, by means of a stamp, to public instruments, for the levying of troops, and for other purposes. This was not the only precedent; as, in other reigns, a similar course had been pursued. His lordship cited instances from the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary. When king William III. was nearly at his last hour, the royal signature was affixed by a stamp to a commission giving his majesty's assent to two most important bills—one of which was to secure the protestant succession to the throne, and the other the malt duty bill. This fact was stated by Kennett, a contemporary historian. Ministers, on fully considering the subject, had resolved to propose that the king should be empowered to issue, under his sign-manual, a commission to authorise one or more persons to affix, by means of a stamp to be prepared for the purpose, the sign-manual to instruments that

required it. That the authority thus to be given might not be abused, the lord chancellor said, he would propose that the person who might be authorised to affix the stamp, should be sworn never to use it but in the presence of the sovereign and with his consent; and moreover, not till the instrument had been endorsed with a description of its contents, signed by three of his majesty's ministers. The stamp, it was intended, should remain in the custody of three ministers of state, never to be used but in the presence of one of them, who should attest its application. These precautions being used, his lordship urged that forgery would be impossible. It was further provided, that notwithstanding this act, the sign-manual of his majesty should, in any case, have all its usual or former authority.

The bill being introduced, was read a first time, and ministers contemplated moving the second reading on the following day; but earl Grey thought it would not be improper to postpone that proceeding till the next day but one, to give time to consider what term of duration should be given to the bill.—The duke of Wellington consented to the postponement suggested, but on the express condition that the bill was to go through all its remaining stages on that day.

On the 27th, the second reading having been moved, the earl of Winchelsea, while he sincerely hoped that his majesty would be shortly restored to health, regretted that the bill had not been accompanied by some evidence signed by his majesty's medical attendants, stating that his painful sufferings were not of a description likely to impair the full powers of his mind. He would ask whether, if the powers of this bill were given to a minister who was disposed to abuse them not only to subvert the rights of the monarch himself, but also to prejudice the best interests of the country, they would not be sorry to have established such a precedent as this bill would afford such a minister, without some examination into the character and extent of the disorder of the sovereign? Before they passed this measure, he thought their lordships ought to pause.

The duke of Wellington confessed that he felt great astonishment at the objection which the noble earl (Winchelsea) had just taken to the measure submitted by his noble and learned friend on the woolsack. His majesty had now been afflicted by a

severe disorder for more than six weeks. During that time he had been attended by some of the most able, learned, and experienced persons in the medical profession, who, as far as their knowledge permitted, had stated the nature of his majesty's disorder; and there had not been the least hint given by or through them, of that additional misfortune to which the noble earl had just alluded. His majesty himself, under his royal sign-manual, had stated to their lordships, that he desired them to consider of the indisposition under which he laboured, and of the best mode of giving him relief, in order that he might still carry on the public service. The minister who, upon that occasion, had taken his majesty's pleasure and sign-manual—and he left it to the noble and learned lord opposite to say whether he was right or not—was responsible to the house and the country, that the indisposition to which the noble earl alluded, had no existence whatever at the time when he had the honour of taking his majesty's commands regarding the late royal communication. Under these circumstances, he was astonished that the noble earl should even hint such a subject to the house and to the country. His majesty had asked their lordships to grant him relief. "We, his majesty's servants," continued the noble duke, "propose to your lordships a measure, guarded in every way which man can suggest, and fenced round with such securities as render it, in our opinion, impossible to be abused; and the noble earl comes forward and says, that it may be abused in other times by other ministers in a mode in which, if it be possible, all concerned (his majesty's physicians, as well as his majesty's ministers) would be guilty of a most gross dereliction of duty. Under these circumstances, I trust that your lordships will excuse me, if, feeling warmly, I also speak warmly upon this subject. I do trust that the noble earl will withdraw his objection."

The earl of Winchelsea appealed to the house, whether he had used any such expressions as the noble duke had attributed to him. The noble duke had entirely misunderstood him: he never could have expressed, for he had never entertained, any doubt as to the vigour of the royal mind. All he meant to express was, that the present bill went to establish a precedent for putting great power into the hands of individuals, without any proof being given as to

the nature and extent of the indisposition of the sovereign. Such a proceeding, he thought, was fraught with danger.—The marquis of Lansdowne had not collected from the speech of the noble earl, that he meant to make, or had made, the allusion supposed by the noble duke. He was content to pass the bill, for a limited time, on the responsibility of ministers; and he was confident their lordships felt with him, that they were proceeding, in this case, to legislate on the responsibility of ministers alone.

The bill was then read a second time, and committed: some verbal alterations were made; and, on its coming out of committee, the house adjourned during pleasure, but soon resumed its sitting, when the bill was returned engrossed. It was read a third time and passed, and sent to the other house. There the first reading was moved by sir Robert Peel. He described the object of the measure, and the course which it was proposed to take, as they had been described in the lords, and the bill was read a first and second time that evening. On the following day, the 28th of May, it was committed, read a third time, passed, and sent back to the house of lords. The lords had proposed, that it should continue in force till the end of the present session: it was amended by the commons, so that it was not to expire till one month after the opening of another session of parliament.

The measure thus called for, proved to the public that the state of the king's health was in a very bad state; that the case was almost hopeless. A favourable change took place some days later. George felt considerably revived, and was able to receive members of the royal family and his official servants. The hope this awakened was soon extinguished: his chest became seriously affected; his lungs were decayed; blood mingled with his expectoration; and the fatal symptoms rapidly increased.

Great anxiety was felt while the king remained in this state; and it was more than suspected that some of the politicians of that day professed to think the duke of Clarence not of sound mind; that it would be dangerous to trust the king's power in such hands; and not less so, to raise to the throne a mere child like the princess Victoria, the daughter of the late duke of Kent. Brunswick clubs had been formed after the manner of the Orange clubs in Ireland, and the members of them looked up to the duke of Cumberland as their chief. He had con-

sented to be named their grand-master. This prince had long been very unpopular in England. His conduct had not been exemplary; but, on several occasions, awfully calumnious charges against him had been put in circulation. The Brunswick clubs, however, looked up to him with great apparent earnestness, as the true protestant champion who ought, on the death of the reigning king, to be called to the throne. Persons were admitted into the Brunswick clubs who had little respectability—who were more familiar with the Fleet prison than with courts or the ordinary abodes of royalty. Associations had been established at Manchester and other places in England, under the auspices of some Tories of rank, and transferred to London in 1821. Its members professed to feel unbounded reverence for the glorious memory of king William, and the most ardent attachment to the Brunswick dynasty. The club meetings were held at the house of lord Kenyon, who was deputy grand-master of the order or institution. As the excitement increased on the subject of the catholic claims, it was proposed that the duke of York should become grand-master; but his royal highness declined accepting that post on learning from the law-officers of the crown that, in their judgment, the association was illegal. The law directed against the catholic association, and which suppressed political societies in Ireland, was understood to have extinguished orangeism with them; but when that law, which was limited to three years, expired, the institution was revived, and the duke of Cumberland was announced to be its grand-master. It was long considered an affair of little or no importance,—as a mere Pitt club sort of demonstration; but after the death of the duke of York, and when the emancipation act had passed, the proceedings assumed a more serious character. A lieutenant-colonel Fairman, an ultra-loyalist, who seems to have been mistaken by the duke of Cumberland for a person of considerable importance, made himself very conspicuous in them. His royal highness was induced to communicate with this person. Fairman was a rash, needy schemer, accustomed to write letters in a very lofty style, and to be laughed at for his pains. A number of indigent schemers were ready to act under him. Some of them, who were not destitute of ability, gained his confidence, and betrayed it; and he, in consequence, became the subject of mysterious

whispers in the political circles. From documents which were brought before a parliamentary committee, it appeared that certain orangemen really extended their views, as they said, “in defence of a church whose doctrines cannot but be admired, and to increase its purity, wants *only* individual piety;” and of a constitution described to be “*just the thing*, the source from whence our blessings spring,” to altering the succession to the crown.* A letter, proved to be in colonel Fairman’s hand-writing, and addressed to the duke, informed his royal highness that, “should the indisposition of the king take a favourable turn, a divulgement he had been willing to furnish would be deprived of no small portion of its value.” The writer proceeded:—“Even in this case, an event, for the consummation of which, in common with all good subjects, I obtest the Deity, it might be as well your royal highness should be put in possession of the rash design in embryo, the better to devise measures for its frustration; at any rate, you would not then be taken by surprise, as the nation was last year, but might have an opportunity of rallying your forces, and of organising your plans, for the defeat of such machinations as might be hostile to your paramount claims. Hence, should the experiment be made, and its expediency be established, your royal highness would be in a situation to contend for the exercise, in your own person, of that office at which the wild ambition of another may prompt him to aspire.” Fairman thus seemed to intimate that he was in a situation to make astounding disclosures, which would render it the duty of the duke of Cumberland to claim the exercise of the sovereign power, which the duke of Wellington would be likely to attempt to secure for himself! Such was supposed to be the meaning of this letter. The duke of Wellington had formerly been suspected of aiming at the crown of Portugal; and now, with about equal reason, it was whispered that he aspired to be king of England! In another letter, Fairman spoke of “one of whom it would ill become him to speak but in terms of reverence, and, nevertheless, being weak enough to ape the coarseness of a Cromwell.” A letter, dated the 6th of April, 1830, written on this subject to the editor of the *Morning Herald*, ran as follows:—

“Dear Sir,—From those who may be

* The passages quoted appeared in an address of Lodge No. 38, Kidderminster.

supposed to have opportunities of knowing the 'secrets of the castle,' the king is stated to be in no manner in so alarming a state as many folks would have it imagined. His majesty is likewise said to dictate the bulletins of his own state of health. Some whisperings have also gone abroad, that in the event of the demise of the crown, a regency would probably be established, for reasons which occasioned the removal of the next in succession from the office of high admiral. That a maritime government might not prove consonant to the views of a military chieftain of the most unbounded ambition, may admit of easy belief; and as the second heir-presumptive is not alone a female, but a minor, in addition to the argument which might be applied to the present, that in the ordinary course of nature it was not to be expected that his reign could be of long duration, in these disjointed times it is by no means unlikely a vicarious form of government may be attempted. The effect would be a bold one; but after the measures we have seen, what new violations should surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as a pretext, while aggrandisement and usurpation might be the latent sole motive. It would only be necessary to make out a plausible case (which, from the facts on record, there could be no difficulty in doing) to the satisfaction of a pliant and obsequious set of ministers, as also to the success of such an experiment.

"Most truly yours, W. B. F."

To interfere with the succession to the crown, and to throw suspicion on the prime minister, seems to have been aimed at by the writer in this ambiguous communication. It was untrue that the duke of Clarence was removed from the admiralty on account of insanity. The truth was, his royal highness, at the admiralty, affected too much the jolly, thoughtless English sailor; and some of his movements in the Channel were found too expensive in the then financial situation of the country. This produced a hint from the minister which induced his royal highness to resign. The whole of the proceedings of the orangemen led to no important result. There appears, throughout, an air of burlesque about the heroic Fairman, which is almost too much for gravity. The man was a poor, shallow pretender, without property, station, or any means of making himself formidable; but when some

of his views transpired, it was for a moment suspected that he was but a tool in a more powerful hand, and that a conspiracy of some importance might be in progress. That a royal duke should have been in any way mixed up with such a party, was the most remarkable feature in the case.

Meanwhile, the malady of the suffering monarch pursued its fatal course. The king suffered much from his cough, which was sometimes so violent as to shake his whole frame, and to threaten instant dissolution. That, from time to time, interrupted his rest, and otherwise distressed him, while the accompanying expectoration tended greatly to exhaust the little remaining strength of a patient so much reduced by previous illness. In the midst of this pain, while struggling with disease and death, he was not wholly withdrawn from cares of state. He had interviews with several members of the administration; and on these occasions his calmness, fortitude, and resignation were the subject of great surprise. On the Wednesday before his death, (he died on the Saturday,) the duke of Wellington proceeded to Windsor-castle, when a list of treasury warrants and other public documents were submitted to the king, who signified his commands that all of them should receive the royal signature. The documents had previously had their intent inscribed at the back: to this indorsement were appended the signatures of three of the cabinet ministers named in the act. The duke of Wellington, sir A. Barnard, and sir William Keppel, being appointed by his majesty, then stamped the whole of the instruments which had received the king's approbation, attesting the application of the stamp in each instance. The duke of Wellington took his leave a few minutes before two o'clock on the same day.

That afternoon the king received a visit from the duke of Clarence. He was tranquil and collected. His strength continued to decline, and it was obvious that the final moment could not be delayed. On the Friday he found great difficulty in breathing; when his physicians, perceiving that the case was hopeless, declared that their patient must speedily breathe his last. They stated this to the bishop of Chichester, who, for several weeks, had been staying at the castle, and, in his presence, the like communication was made to the king. His mind was prepared for it, and he received it without any indications of surprise or dismay; but faintly ex-

claiming, "God's will be done!" The bishop prayed with his majesty, and then desired to know "if he felt himself sufficiently composed to take the sacrament;" to which the answer was—"Yes, O yes! I am quite prepared." It was administered, and the effect on the king was described to be soothing. The bishop withdrew; the respiration of the sufferer became difficult; and at three o'clock on the following morning, his majesty having been, by his own desire, removed from his couch, a blood-vessel broke. He exclaimed, "O God! I am dying," and whispering "this is death," ceased to live.

George IV. sunk to the grave little regretted by a large portion of his subjects, but honoured and beloved by many, who, considering that his reign had really commenced in 1811, found, between that year and the date of his decease, a series of the proudest triumphs recorded in the annals of England. Whatever his weaknesses—his selfishness as a man—the dispassionate observer cannot deny him praise as a king. Henry V. has been lauded through successive ages for having, when he ascended the throne, devoted himself to the duties of his exalted station, forgetful of the claims of his old associates in dissolute pleasure. George IV. seems to have resolved to tread (and that under circumstances of great difficulty) in the footsteps of his renowned predecessor. Of him it was truly said:—"He found the empire engaged in a death-struggle with a power in whose grasp the other states of Europe had expired, or being crushed and maimed into utter helplessness: he found a clamorous and most influential party in the state, urging, by day and by night, the folly of continuing what they called a hopeless contest: the leaders of that party had been the companions, the guides, the political teachers of his youth; and they

fondly hoped that their own policy would now become that of the executive, while power and place would be awaiting their acceptance. The prince-regent decided otherwise: he adopted the policy and the firmness of his sire; he determined, happily for Europe and his own fame, that the honour of Britain demanded bold and unflinching exertion: he cherished the rising flame of liberty in Spain, instead of allowing himself to be seduced into the unmanly belief that it was to be disregarded as a false and misleading illusion: he maintained the firm countenance and hopes of the country, till, after a series of triumphs, unparalleled in history, he enabled subjugated Europe to 'break her chains on the oppressor's head;' and brought his empire in triumph out of the most varied and tremendous contest, against the mightiest military despotism which the modern history of nations exhibits. Yet it was his adopting this very part that provoked, not merely the political opposition, but the virulence and malignant scurrility of those who found their party influence diminished, and their personal ambition disappointed, by the course on which he so fortunately entered. The mortal offence which he gave lay in this—that he refused to make the companions of his pleasures the ministers of his empire. That offence they never forgave. From that moment no action of his life, public or private, was treated by them or their organs with any approach to candour. Every weakness or failing was dragged forth with unceasing malignity; while they forgot that it was exclusively among the teachers and apostles of their own tribe that his character had been formed; and that nothing belonging to it which ought not to have belonged to it, had sprung up, except under their own tuition and example."

CHAPTER XXIII.

OPENING OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.; THE KING'S FIRST MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT; ADDRESSES ON HIS ACCESSION; DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE PROPOSED DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT; DEBATE IN THE COMMONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT; SERIOUS ALTERCATION.

GEORGE IV. had no sooner expired, than a messenger was dispatched to Bushy-park, the residence of the duke of Clarence, the heir to the crown, to announce the event. He forthwith left for St. James's-palace, which he reached about noon. A

number of peers, and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, tendered their allegiance to his majesty, who remained in council up to half-past three o'clock. He was proclaimed in the council-chamber as William IV., where he read a declaration, expressing his grief on account of the loss of the late king, under whose sway the country had maintained, during war, its ancient glory, and enjoyed, for a long period, happiness and internal peace. Besides losing a most beneficent and gracious king, he had to lament the death of a beloved and affectionate brother, with whom he had lived, from his earliest years, in terms of the most cordial and uninterrupted friendship. Adverting to his own position, on being called to administer the government of this great empire, he stated himself to be fully sensible of the difficulties which he had to encounter; but he added, "I possess the advantage of having witnessed the conduct of my revered father, and my lamented and beloved brother; and I rely with confidence upon the advice and assistance of parliament, and upon its zealous co-operation in my anxious endeavours, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain the reformed religion as established by law; to protect the rights and liberties, and to promote the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my people."

The forms usual at the opening of a new reign were duly observed; and one proceeding, almost peculiar to the present occasion, growing out of the weak state in which the late king had for some weeks found himself, followed. The lord chancellor, having administered to the king the usual oaths, his majesty ordered the two stamps, one bearing the royal signature, "George R.," and the other the initials, "G. R.," which had been, under the authority of an act of parliament, applied to official papers (in place of the sign-manual) to be destroyed: they were accordingly broken "in the presence." On the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning, the park-guns fired a salute; the bells of the neighbouring churches were merrily rung; and the new king was proclaimed in the palace by the king-at-arms. His majesty there presented himself at the window, accompanied by the dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Sussex, and the duke of Wellington. The proclamation was answered by shouts from the assembled crowd, and a grand procession then moved from

the palace up Pall-mall to Charing-cross, where the proclamation was repeated, which was also done at Temple-bar, at the end of Wood-street, Cheapside, and at the Royal-exchange.

On Sunday, June the 27th, a *London Gazette* extraordinary proclaimed that "prince William Henry, duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, and earl of Munster, had, by the death of the late sovereign, become William IV., king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." William was the third son of George III., and was born August the 21st, 1765. The king thought him peculiarly fitted for the navy. The prince of Wales and duke of York were well-formed, strong lads; but in strength and constitutional hardihood, there was a striking difference in favour of their younger brother. Though aware of the subordinate rank which would at first be assigned to him—as he was to serve, as midshipman, the full period required by the rules of the service—William felt eager to commence a professional career. He was present in one or two naval engagements, but no particular opportunity offered for distinguishing himself. Some irregularities occurred, which were severely noticed; and eventually the prince withdrew from the exercise of his profession, but, as a matter of routine, was advanced in rank. He was created duke of Clarence, with an allowance from parliament of twelve thousand pounds per annum. William did not marry in early life, but, during twenty years, lived with Mrs. Jordan, a much-admired comic actress, by whom he had a large family. That connexion terminated about the year 1810; and the princess Charlotte having died in 1817, several royal marriages took place, and the duke of Clarence became husband to the princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the duke of Saxe-Meiningen.

Without loss of time the judges and great officers of state were reappointed by William to the places which they had previously filled. To the members of the cabinet, the king signified his wish that they should retain their offices. The new reign being thus commenced, on the 29th of June the first message of William IV. was brought down to parliament. It was in these words:—"The king feels assured that the house, entertaining a just sense of the loss which his majesty and the country have sustained in the death of his majesty's lamented brother, the late king, and that

the house sympathises with his majesty in the deep affliction in which his majesty is plunged by this mournful event;—the king, taking into his serious consideration the advanced period of the session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter, which, by its postponement, would tend to the detriment of the public service. His majesty has adverted to the provisions of the law which decrees the determination of parliament within an early period after the demise of the crown; and being of opinion that it will be most conducive to the general convenience and to the public interests of the country, to call, with as little delay as possible, a new parliament, his majesty recommends the house to make such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service, in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present session and the meeting of another parliament."

In the house of lords an address, in answer to that part of the message which related to the death of the late king, was immediately moved by the duke of Wellington. He spoke as follows:—"My lords, I am convinced that your lordships will think that I do right in taking the earliest opportunity of calling on your lordships to express your grief and condolence to his majesty, upon the severe loss which his majesty, your lordships, and the country at large have sustained by the death of his late majesty. My lords, with respect to the latter part of the message which has been submitted to both houses of parliament by his majesty's command, I beg to postpone all consideration of it to another period—confining myself on this occasion to express our condolence for the loss his majesty has sustained, and our congratulation on his accession. My lords, the late sovereign having received the best education which this country could afford, had the singular advantage of having passed the early part of his life under the immediate superintendence of the king, his father, and the subsequent part in the society of the most eminent men that this or any other country ever produced, and in the society of the most eminent foreigners that ever resorted to this country. Accordingly, my lords, his majesty's manners received a polish, and his understanding a degree of cultivation which made him far surpass, in accomplishments, all his subjects; and made him one of the most remarkable

sovereigns of our time. He acquired a degree of knowledge upon the subjects which it was most important for a sovereign of this country to be acquainted with. Those advantages he carried with him into the government which he afterwards exercised in the name of his illustrious father, and as the sovereign upon the throne, up to the time of his lamented death. During all that period, my lords, and up to the last moment of his life, no man ever approached his majesty who did not feel instructed by his learning, and gratified by his condescension, affability, and kindness of disposition. These advantages were not confined, my lords, to external show of manners; but I appeal to every noble lord who has ever had the honour of transacting business under his majesty's direction, whether, on every occasion, his majesty did not manifest a degree of ability, of talent, and of knowledge in the most minute affairs of life, beyond what could be expected from a person in the exalted situation his majesty had always filled. This is not all, my lords: his majesty was the most distinguished and munificent patron of the arts in this country and the world; and he has left behind him the largest collection ever possessed by any individual of the most eminent works of the artists of his own country, as well as a collection of the works of art generally, such as few sovereigns, and such as no individual (for as an individual his majesty collected them) ever possessed. This being the case, I entreat your lordships to reflect on the state in which his majesty, in 1810, found Europe (and this country included in Europe), and the state in which he left it. Having taken that into consideration, together with the great political contests, and the great events which have occurred during his reign and under his auspices, I say that we have reason to be proud of his late majesty. I am convinced, therefore, that your lordships will join with me in an expression of condolence to his majesty upon the severe loss which we have suffered. The next point to which I wish to direct your lordships' attention, is an expression of congratulation to his majesty on his accession to the throne. His majesty, in his declaration from the throne, has stated to the country what may be expected under his government. His majesty has stated that he has passed his life in the service of his country; that he will follow the example of his father and his brother;

and he calls upon parliament for its support and confidence in his endeavours to promote the happiness and peace of the country, and to maintain the established religion and the laws of the land. I am certain that your lordships will be anxious to concur in the address, which holds out to his majesty hopes of your zealous co-operation and support in his endeavours; and I am convinced that your lordships will most cordially agree in the address which I am about to move." The noble duke then read the following address:—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty that we fully participate in the severe affliction his majesty is suffering, on account of the death of the late king, his majesty's brother, of blessed and glorious memory. That we shall ever remember, with affectionate gratitude, that our late sovereign, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, maintained the ancient glory of this country in the war; and, during a period of long duration, secured to his people the inestimable blessings of internal concord and external peace. To offer to his majesty our humble and heartfelt congratulations on his majesty's happy accession to the throne. To assure his majesty of our loyal devotion to his majesty's sacred person; and to express an entire confidence, founded on our experience of his majesty's beneficent character, that his majesty, animated by sincere love for the country which his majesty has served from his earliest years, will, under the favour of Divine Providence, direct all his efforts to the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law; to the protection of the rights and liberties, and to the advancement of the happiness and prosperity, of all classes of his majesty's faithful people."

Earl Grey entirely concurred in every part of the address, and was persuaded that not a single dissentient voice would be heard among their lordships. The declaration of his majesty from the throne gave him unqualified satisfaction. The duke of Buckingham and viscount Goderich expressed their concurrence with the address, which was unanimously voted, and ordered to be presented to the king by such of their lordships as held white staves.

In the house of commons, on the same day, a similar address, moved by sir Robert Peel, and seconded by Mr. Brougham, was unanimously voted.

The whole of the new king's message was not taken into consideration on that day, in order to avoid all topics on which a difference of opinion might exist. On the next day, the 3rd of June, the latter portion of it relating to the calling of a new parliament, and the making of a temporary provision for carrying on the public business, was debated. The duke of Wellington moved the order of the day, and said:—"My lords, it is now my duty to call your lordships' attention to the latter part of his majesty's message, which is this,—'The king, taking into his serious consideration the advanced period of the session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter which would admit of postponement without detriment to the public service.' According to the ancient principles of the constitution, your lordships know that the parliament would be naturally dissolved on the occasion of the demise of the crown; but, my lords, owing to an act of parliament which was passed in the reign of king William, and continued in the reign of queen Anne, this and the other house of parliament are now sitting, and are enabled to continue to sit for the dispatch of public business. Under these circumstances, his majesty's servants have advised his majesty to send a message to your lordships. His majesty informs your lordships, that notwithstanding the power to keep parliament assembled for six months longer, he is induced to declare his intention to dissolve it at as early a period as is convenient; and that he will not bring forward any of those measures which might, under other circumstances, be considered necessary. That, my lords, is the effect of the king's message; and I shall now state shortly what are the views and intentions of his majesty's government, and what are the motives for recommending the dissolution of parliament in such haste. My lords, we are now arrived at that period of the year at which it usually happens that the business of parliament is about to terminate; at least, my lords, it generally happens that the business is so far advanced about this time, that it is possible to close parliament. My lords, it is not necessary for me to draw your attention, in detail, to the present state of the business before parliament: it is sufficient for me to request your consideration of the state of the votes of the house of commons, and the state of the votes of this house; and your lordships will see that so much business

yet remains to be done, that were it all to be completed, and were any new business to be brought forward at this period of the session, it must necessarily postpone the dissolution to a distant day. Parliament could not be dissolved; at least, there would be no hope that it could be satisfactorily closed before a considerable time. Under these circumstances, my lords, and considering that the great calamity to which we have all been exposed, has been expected for a considerable time, and that all men have been looking forward to a dissolution of parliament within a limited period, and looking forward to a general election; considering, too, my lords, that these circumstances have, for the last few months, occasioned considerable excitement, and that all the country is preparing for a general election; that few members of parliament would be likely to remain in town, and that these few would be involved with considerations of their own personal interest, and be little disposed to attend to public business;—under all these circumstances, my lords, and considering that most of the measures now before parliament may be easily postponed, and that they may be brought forward with a probability of success at the beginning of another session, his majesty's ministers have advised his majesty to dissolve the present parliament as soon as possible. I will not enter into any details of the measures which, under these circumstances, will be necessary. I may state, generally, that all the accounts and estimates of what will be necessary for the public service shall be prepared. His majesty's ministers propose, that such sums as may be necessary for the public service, shall be placed at their disposal till a new parliament can be assembled. Measures to provide for the honour and dignity of the crown, including a temporary provision for the queen, will be proposed in the other house of parliament; and, in general, all other measures will be postponed until the meeting of the new parliament. Under these circumstances, my lords, I move an humble address to his majesty, 'To return to his majesty the dutiful acknowledgment of this house for the communication which his majesty has been graciously pleased to make to it; to express to his majesty the deep sense which this house entertains of his majesty's goodness, in being unwilling to recommend to the attention of parliament, at this advanced period of the session, and in the present state of public business,

any new matter which may admit of postponement without detriment to the public service; and to assure his majesty, that as his majesty is of opinion that it will be most conducive to the general convenience, and to the interests of the country, to call a new parliament with as little delay as may be practicable, this house will apply itself, without delay, to forward such measures, and concur in such temporary provision, as may be requisite for the conduct of the public service in the interval that must elapse between the close of the present session and the assembling of a new parliament.' "

Earl Grey was dissatisfied with the course which ministers proposed to pursue, and did not see that there was any necessity for an immediate dissolution. The conduct of the duke and his colleagues, he maintained, had proved them incompetent to conduct the public business of the country in a proper manner, and they were not entitled to the confidence of parliament. There was hazard of increasing the excitement which already existed by taking the step which ministers had recommended to them. "There is," his lordship proceeded, "a necessity for a dissolution, the noble duke says; but why is there this necessity? Apparently, it arises from the circumstance that during the long and afflicting period of uncertainty as to the issue of his majesty's illness, while the minds of men have been directed to that event, the ministers who have had the business of parliament to forward, of whatever nature it may have been, have shown themselves quite incapable of conducting it. The business of parliament—at a period of the session which, in ordinary circumstances, would be drawing to a termination after five months' consideration, and though recommended from the throne at the beginning of the session—the business of parliament has been, in fact, neglected. How has this happened? Look, the noble duke says, at the state of the votes. In ordinary circumstances the business of parliament would, at this time, be brought to a close, or at least in one month from this time; and, my lords, what proof have we that the business could not now be completed in a sufficient, and not an inconvenient, time? Is it not extraordinary, my lords, that after five months' discussion—when we have arrived at the 30th of June—when we should naturally look for the termination of the session;—is it not extraordinary that we should

be in such a state of difficulty, confusion, and embarrassment? Is it at the same time understood what will be the nature and effect of the proposition of the noble duke? It is, my lords, that all the measures which have had the advantage of being under the consideration of parliament for five months, must now be thrown aside and put an end to. At the same time, it is proposed to your lordships, in order to get rid of the increase of business, and to avoid the confusion that would be introduced into the public service if some provision were not made, to place in the hands of the ministers who have already shown themselves so incompetent to manage the business of the country, a temporary grant of public money. In what manner have they already deserved the confidence of parliament, so as to establish grounds for its future confidence? See, my lords, the extraordinary circumstances under which your lordships are called on to adopt this address. My lords, since the law was passed in the reign of king William, there has been occasion frequently to call it into practice. On the accession of queen Anne, on the accession of king George I., on the accession of George II., on the accession of George III., and on the accession of his late majesty, the parliament continued to sit under the authority of this law. At an earlier period of our history, it was frequently necessary that parliament should, after the demise of the crown, be reassembled to watch over the public interests. This has happened at all periods of the year. The accession of queen Anne took place in March; that of George I., in August; of George II., in June; of George III., in October; and that of his late majesty, George IV., in the month of January. An accession, therefore, has happened at different periods of the year, and under every possible combination of circumstances; and in all these circumstances parliament continued to sit and to act. The only exception was on the accession of his late majesty, when parliament was immediately dissolved—a precedent which, it seems, is now to be followed. In all other cases, parliament, whether actually sitting, or in recess and having to be assembled, and at all periods in former times, had not found it inconvenient to sit; and in almost all cases, the parliament had settled the civil-list, and provided for the support of the government and the dignity of the crown before it was dissolved. All the precedents

of these former periods were departed from in February, 1820. The parliament which was assembled at the demise of George III., had a measure recommended to it similar to that now recommended—a measure to make a temporary provision for the support of the government, with a view to an immediate dissolution. But that precedent was not a good precedent. There are more precedents the other way, and precedents more worthy to be followed. I will not pertinaciously insist on the necessity of settling the civil-list before the close of the parliament, as an argument why the precedents of former times should be followed, in preference to the precedent on the accession of his late majesty. I must, however, call on your lordships to consider under what circumstances the parliament was then placed. Parliament met in February, having previously sat for a short time. The session was just entered on: neither supplies were proposed nor estimates brought in; nor had there been any alterations of the laws proposed. All the business was to begin *de novo*; and the time required for the consideration of the estimates and all the measures of the session, and carrying them into laws, would have been so great, that the time, it was stated, would arrive at which the parliament must be dissolved before they could be completed, which would occasion, as was then represented, great difficulty, inconvenience, and danger. It was, therefore, recommended to parliament not to engage in any measures which would protract the period at which parliament might be dissolved, without any evil consequence or danger resulting from the dissolution. But how are the circumstances now? Are we at the beginning of a session of parliament? Have we not time to pass the measures not now to begin, but in progress? Must we begin the whole business of the session *de novo*? No, my lords. On February 4th parliament met, and some measures were then recommended in the speech from the throne. Those measures were subsequently introduced: they are now in progress—not in rapid progress perhaps; but so far towards completion as to make your lordships sensible of the inconvenience of the measure now proposed with respect to the business of parliament. Your lordships will see the consequences, the confusion, the bad effects which will follow from the want of experience of his majesty's ministers. Some of these measures are of an important character,

and essential to the public business; they are measures of necessity, and which urgently require parliament to complete them; and it will be most injurious to the public interests if they are not completed." The noble earl went on to say—there was another matter of great delicacy and importance on which he wished to touch; and doing so, he hoped he should not be thought to evince any disrespect to the crown, or any want of a feeling of confidence in the gracious prince who then filled the throne. "His majesty," he said, "will, I trust, enjoy many years of sound health: he has a vigorous constitution, strengthened by habits of temperance; and according to my humble hope, I look forward with an assurance that his majesty may enjoy a long life of prosperity and happiness. But, my lords, kings, as well as their subjects, are mortal. At the very moment that I am addressing your lordships, how many individuals are suddenly summoned to that last account which we shall all, one day or other, be called on to give. The stroke of sudden death, my lords, may fall on kings as well as on their subjects. Is this danger impossible, my lords? May this calamity not befall the country in the interval between the close of this and the assembling of another parliament? Consider, then, my lords, what would be the consequences to the country, did such an event happen, if no provision were made for it. My lords, by the law of the land, there is no minority of the king. Though the successor be an infant, he possesses all the rights of sovereignty. A minor being king, has all the rights and prerogatives which belong to the crown. I call on your lordships to consider what would be the consequences, should such a calamity as the death of the king fall on the country, when the parliament is not assembled, and no provision made for it. And should it not be provided for by anticipation? I hope that it is not probable that such an event will happen; but, while it is possible, it is necessary that it should be provided for, or the condition of the country might be most deplorable in the short period which might elapse between such an event and the assembling of a parliament. In what terms we should try and convey to the gracious prince on the throne, a knowledge of the anxiety we feel to enter on the deliberation, I am not fully aware. Feeling persuaded, however, of the necessity of the measure, I will never shrink from the performance of a duty merely because it is

painful; and in performing it, I may hope that your lordships will give me credit for honesty of intention, and for having no other motives than an anxiety to provide against a future danger. The subject ought properly to come under our consideration by a recommendation from his majesty's government; and I am sincerely persuaded that his majesty would not be averse to such a recommendation; for he is of too manly and considerate a disposition, to be able to hesitate from those motives which men of an ordinary description might feel, in making such a recommendation to parliament. I am not, therefore, without hope that such a recommendation may proceed from his majesty himself. Should the proposition emanate from your lordships, I should suggest nothing less respectful than an humble address to his majesty, praying him that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the adoption of some measure to provide against the great danger to which I have alluded." He moved, as an amendment, that the debate should be adjourned till the following day.

The king was sixty-five years of age. His years were felt to make the subject of a regency one of greater delicacy than it would have been under other circumstances; while they did not render it less desirable in the eyes of many of their lordships to secure an immediate provision for the event of a new demise of the crown. Plausible reasons were urged for dealing with this question forthwith—reasons which found favour in the eyes of many who had once been the political associates of the duke of Wellington. They had been alienated by the course he judged it right to adopt with regard to the catholic question; and it was generally understood they were now resolved to make him feel, that those who enabled him to overpower them, their object gained, would not be found the supporters of his government.

After the attack made by the whig leaders, though he could not agree with many of the observations which had fallen from the noble earl, the earl of Harrowby supported the amendment, considering it most desirable that the further consideration of the subject should be postponed till the next day. For the civil-list, many considerations made it desirable that it should be voted by a parliament fresh from its constituents. The noble earl had pressed the consideration of the important question of

a regency, because the next sovereign of the country might be a minor: but, in his opinion, there was a much more important ground on which the propriety of the measure ought to be urged. In case of an event which they must all hope would be far distant, but was yet possible, there might be a sovereign a minor; but the country might be in a situation not to know who was the sovereign, or whether there was any sovereign in the country. His lordship added:—"We might be in the situation not to know whether a king or a queen was to be the sovereign of the country. This was a matter which their lordships all well understood, and it was a difficulty for which no time should be lost in making some provision. The difficulties of a minor coming to the throne, without such provision, could easily be conceived. The law recognised no minority in the sovereign; and however young, if able to give his assent to a bill for the regulation of the government during his minority, he could do so. But how did the case stand under present circumstances? Their lordships should recollect that the illustrious person now on the throne was married, and his queen living, and there was a possibility that, at his demise, there might be a sovereign in a half-state of existence. In that case it would be necessary that some person should be appointed to superintend—to preside over the state, so as to keep the machine of the executive government going, until it should be ascertained whether there was a prospect of another heir to the throne beside the heir-presumptive. In making provision for such an event, there would probably be no very great difficulty. He thought that if her majesty were empowered, in case of such a fatal event as had been alluded to, to act as regent for five or six weeks, if parliament should be sitting at the time (or for a somewhat longer period, if it were not sitting), the difficulty might be obviated. If there were a possible chance of any heir to the throne other than the present heir-presumptive, the mother would be the best possible regent for the infant heir; but if the prospect of such heir should be lost—and the fact would be known within two months—then parliament, within the period he had named, would have sufficient time to make such provision as the case might require; and, by this means, parliament could guard against the difficulty and confusion of

having no recognised sovereign at the demise of the crown, should that event unhappily take place before an heir-apparent was born; for it was clear, that while there was a possibility of an heir-apparent being born, the young princess, the heir-presumptive, could not come to the throne. She could not be declared the sovereign of these realms while another might possibly be in existence, who would come to claim that station by a more direct inheritance in right of descent."

The earl of Winchelsea spoke in favour of the adjournment. The event to which allusion had been made was, he cordially joined with their lordships in hoping, still far distant; but it was possible. Life was short and uncertain. There were many individuals within his hearing who might never again visit that house; and the humble individual who then had the honour of addressing their lordships, might possibly be addressing them for the last time. In this state of uncertainty as to the duration of human life, which all felt and admitted, it surely would not be wise in their lordships to leave a possible event, involving in it so many important consequences, unprovided for—those consequences, too, being of the most vital interest to the country. Another opportunity, he was aware, would be given for the discussion of this question; but he would say that that minister must be a bold man, who would come there and advise his majesty to dissolve parliament, without making provision for an event which was so uncertain, and which, without such provision, *might* place the country in an extremely unpleasant and perplexing situation.

The question before their lordships was stated by the lord chancellor to be purely one of expediency. It was—whether they should go on with the immense mass of business then before parliament, until they brought it to a close; or whether, with the exception of the most pressing measures, they should postpone them to another parliament, when they might be discussed with that attention which their great importance demanded;—an attention which, he agreed with the noble earl (Harrowby) in thinking, could not well be expected while a prospect of speedy dissolution was before the members of the other house of parliament? He thought, if their lordships considered the advantages to be gained by either of these courses, they would find the predominance

to be decidedly in favour of postponing a great part of the business to a new parliament. Their lordships were aware, from the votes of the other house, that their business was greatly in arrear, and that, if the commons were to go on, with the view of bringing it to a close, many months must elapse before they would be able to get through it: and it was unnecessary for him to point out to their lordships the very great inconvenience which must arise to every member of both houses, from protracting their sittings to such a length of time at this period of the year. Further, he would beg to ask their lordships, whether the close of a parliament was the best time for entering upon the consideration of such subjects as were now standing for discussion in both houses? Many members would necessarily be absent; and many others so much occupied with the approaching elections, as to be unable to give that attention to the public business which they would be disposed to give in a new parliament. The noble earl (Grey) had alluded to the measures brought in by his majesty's ministers in terms of disapprobation. He was ready, at any time, to enter into a discussion as to the propriety of those measures; but he was unwilling to do so by a side-wind, in this manner. He was certain, that when each of them was examined on its own merits, they would all be found not to deserve the censure which the noble lord seemed disposed to attach to them. It was stated, that amongst other things the civil-list ought to be arranged by the present parliament. Undoubtedly, if parliament sat long enough to go into all the other business before it, it would not be respectful to the sovereign to pass over the civil-list, and postpone it to a future session: but then, let their lordships consider what would be the result of adding such an important subject of discussion to those which were already before parliament. What passed in 1820, when the subject of the civil-list was brought forward? That civil-list had been arranged, in almost every one of its details, four or five years before, and yet the discussion of it occupied parliament full five weeks. Let such a subject be added to the other measures already before parliament, and an accumulation of business would be the consequence, which it would be almost impossible for parliament to get through, unless its sittings were to be prolonged for several months. Now, with respect to the

other measure to which the noble earl adverted—in the event of a demise of the crown—he must say he was not one of those who indulged in such gloomy forebodings; but admitting (as all must) the possibility of such an event, the country would not be in a situation different from what it was on a former occasion, when no such provision as that now proposed was deemed necessary. On the accession of George III. no such provision was made, and none was thought necessary for three or four sessions afterwards. On the accession of an infant to the throne, the same course would be adopted as on that of a sovereign of mature years: a declaration similar to that which many of their lordships had witnessed a few days ago would be made. The infant would have the power of continuing or changing his ministers, and the same responsibility would exist as at present. Whatever difficulty might take place on such an occasion, there would be always the same whenever the next heir to the throne was not the son of the reigning monarch. Parliament was not, he considered, called upon, under present circumstances, to interfere.

Among the supporters of the amendment the aged lord Eldon was found. He thought what had fallen from the duke of Wellington, in the speech which he had addressed to their lordships on this occasion, made in favour of the amendment. What was the argument of the noble duke? That up to the time of William III., parliament was necessarily dissolved on the demise of the crown. But what was the result? The parliament itself had so strongly felt the inconvenience of that course from time to time, that at last a measure was introduced, in which it was declared that the evil should no longer exist. All this, if urged in favour of a dissolution of parliament, had, in fact, a tendency to show that a contrary course should be adopted. He had listened to the observations which had been made of an infant sovereign coming to the throne—a little king that one might play with. Now, for his own part, if he were a prime minister, there was nothing he should like more. It would, no doubt, be much more convenient than to have a sovereign who would not submit to dictation. The noble duke knew very well to what he alluded: but he would ask their lordships whether, if an infant sovereign were on the throne, some provision ought not to be made beforehand for the administration of the government

in a manner less objectionable than by the direct agency of a child of tender years? If an infant sovereign were to be on the throne, whose head could not be seen over the integument which covered the head of his noble and learned friend on the woolsack, he would (by what the Scotch called a fiction of law, and by what the English called presumption, in favour of a royal infant) be supposed to have as much sense, knowledge, and experience, as if he had reached the years of three-score and ten; but in admitting the truth of the supposition in a constitutional sense, was it unreasonable to ask that there should be some party acting for the sovereign, during what might be termed his natural, though not his political, minority? But there were other cases for which it was the duty of parliament to make some provision; and he admitted the prudence of considering that to which the noble earl (Harrowby) had adverted—the possibility of a successor to the throne, though not yet visible, being in existence at the demise of the crown. Cases in some respects analogous to this, as far as the question of hereditary succession to title, were of no uncommon occurrence. He would suppose, for instance, that another Guy Fawkes, should succeed in blowing up that house, and that his noble and learned friend on the woolsack was the only person fortunate enough to escape: he knew that before writs were issued to those who were to succeed many of their lordships, his noble and learned friend would have to inquire whether their lordships left widows; for if their lordships left no issue born, the inquiry would be, whether their widows were in that state which afforded a prospect of a successor? and if they were, no writ could be issued until that question were decided by the birth of an heir, or until a sufficient time had elapsed to put the chance of issue beyond doubt: he would have to ascertain whether there was any titled peer not then visible, but who might be so in due course of time; and until that were determined, the title would be as it were in abeyance. Now, would it not, *a fortiori*, be still more necessary to make the same inquiry, in case of the event to which allusion had been made? Would it not be necessary to make some provision for such a contingency, which was by no means impossible? The necessity, indeed, for such a provision was so evident, that he could

not see why it should be disputed for a moment. In any measure adopted after the demise of the crown, in case none was adopted before, it would be necessary to have recourse to the authority of some party exercising the power of a sovereign. There must be a real or a phantom king; and it was just the same in principle, whether this little king was not able to speak or walk, or whether he was only in *ventre de sa mere*. To prevent the difficulty to which this would give rise, recourse should be had to the authority of a sovereign who was really, as well as constitutionally, able to exercise the prerogative of the throne.

The hostility thus manifested by the leading members of the tory party, was heard as the knell of the administration. Lord Ellenborough, feeling the deepest and most hereditary respect and regard for the last speaker, confessed he did not expect to hear his lordship use such a tone as that in which he had spoken on the subject before the house; and he found it impossible to restrain his surprise and regret at the course which his lordship had taken. The course ministers proposed to take had been decided on after the most careful deliberation. He felt great personal regret for the language used by earl Grey. Since the formation of the present government, he had expressed his almost entire confidence in the wisdom of their measures, and for some of them, he had declared he felt grateful; yet, that night, he had told them he considered them incapable of conducting the business of the country with advantage. The expression of such an opinion came from him with a bad grace; but he rejoiced in knowing who were the real opponents of the government, and who were their friends.

To postpone the immediate consideration of what would be necessary in case of the death of the new king, the marquis of Lansdowne said, would be to contradict the policy of all legislation in the country from the earliest period. Was it not, in all cases, customary for parliament to provide for deaths, and other possible events? Was it not a large portion of the business of legislation to provide for such possibilities? That was the argument. The course for which he and his friends contended, it was alleged, would produce much inconvenience to individuals; while those who made that allegation appeared not to recollect, that a great

constitutional precedent was about to be created, the remote effects of which no man could anticipate. He would reduce the question to a narrow compass. Was parliament to turn its back upon its own functions, at a moment when those functions happened to be of the highest importance to the public interest? He hesitated not to affirm, that if they once gave way they would put an end to the act of William III. and to the act of 3rd of Anne. The noble lord seemed to hold, that in proportion as the exigency was great and difficult, so was the incompetency of parliament to provide for it: the difficulty was great, but they were not capable of providing for it. Was that anything more than saying, in so many words, that the most important functions of parliament, parliament was at that time not able to discharge? If so, the acts to which he referred ought to be repealed at the earliest opportunity. He would not enter into particulars: he would admit at once that there were difficulties in the case; but they were difficulties which could not be considered as insuperable. If the parliament shrunk from contending with them, it would no longer be deserving of the trust reposed in it by the constitution.

The duke of Wellington requested the indulgence of their lordships while he offered a few words (and they would be but few) in reply to some of the remarks which had been made. Something had been said about the loss of influence which he had sustained in consequence of the measure of last year, which had been so often mentioned. He did not mean, at present, to say a word on that measure, except this, that however sorry he might be to lose the support of the noble earl (Mansfield) on the opposite bench, and of other noble lords who concurred in that noble earl's views, if the thing were still to be done, he would take exactly the same steps as he had taken last year. The question now before their lordships, was to be considered without reference to the actual situation of parliament. This was not a state of things in which there was a balance of inconveniences, nor had it been so represented by the noble and learned lord on the woolsack. It was a balance between positive and great inconvenience on one hand, and a remote risk on the other; and the best and the easiest mode of getting out of this risk was by means of the dissolution. Their lordships were very much mistaken if they thought that the matter of the regency could be settled merely by a short bill. It was a

subject of very great difficulty, and one which it was impossible to settle properly in the present parliament. The ministers had not adverted, in the way of objection, to the conduct of the house of commons. But the pressure of business was so great, and so much still remained to be done, that it was hardly possible, in the course of the present session, to get through that business, in addition to the important measures which had been so much insisted upon in the course of this discussion. A noble earl, on the other side, had said that the ministers, by the proposition which they had this night submitted to their lordships, wished to throw on parliament the responsibility of the dissolution. That, however, was not the case, nor was it ever so intended. The ministers had merely brought down a message from his majesty, who stated that he saw the inconvenience of the present parliament's sitting much longer; and he requested their lordships to adopt such measures for carrying on the public service, as would enable him to dissolve the parliament as soon as possible. The noble and learned lord—*[here he looked at lord Eldon, who took off his hat]*—he meant his noble and learned friend on the cross-bench, whom he had been so long accustomed to see with so much satisfaction on the woolsack—had observed, that ministers, by this measure of dissolution, proposed to dispense with the advantage of the act of William and Anne, as if they had disapproved of that statute. That, however, was very far from being the case. On the contrary, it was that act which enabled them to recommend these measures to parliament; for had it not been for the statute in question, the measures would, of course, have all been lost along with the parliament. He regretted that he could not concur with the noble earl in the delay which he had proposed. He did not mean, in the least, to impute to the noble earl any other motive in making the proposition than that which he himself avowed; but he could see no use in the delay, and therefore thought it best that they should come to a decision on the question that night.

Their lordships, after further debate, rejected the amendment; the contents being fifty-six; the non-contents, one hundred. The original motion was then put, when earl Grey submitted a new amendment in an address which stated their lordships to acknowledge, with every sentiment of grati-

tude, the communication which his majesty had been most graciously pleased to make; that they acknowledged as a most grateful proof of his majesty's consideration of the public convenience his most gracious declaration, that considering the advanced period of the session and the state of public business, his majesty felt unwilling to recommend to the attention of parliament any new matter which might admit of postponement without detriment to the public service; but that feeling themselves at the same time called upon humbly and respectfully to assure his majesty, that if adverting to the present circumstances of the government, he should find it expedient to propose to parliament any provisions to secure the country against possible inconveniences and danger of the most serious nature, to which it might otherwise be exposed, they would be ready, and anxious to take into their immediate consideration, with a view to carry them into effect, in such manner as might be most conducive to the public safety, any measures which his majesty might be graciously pleased to recommend for that purpose; that they would be at all times ready, with the devotion which they felt for his majesty's person and government, to concur in affording the means which might be necessary for providing for the exigencies of the public service, and for facilitating the exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative of dissolving the parliament, whenever it might appear to his majesty to be required for the benefit of the people; and they humbly hoped that the furtherance of his majesty's wishes, in that respect, might be most conveniently and effectually promoted by their proceeding with all due diligence and expedition to the completion of those measures which were then in progress, in consequence of his late majesty's most gracious recommendation from the throne at the commencement of the session, and which were necessary for the public service.

The question being put, the noble earl's amendment was negatived without a division, and the original one moved by the duke of Wellington was then agreed to.

A question was asked by the earl of Cawdor as to the intention of ministers with respect to the relief expected by the public from the unequal pressure of taxes; and whether the measures for reforming the law were to be proceeded with, which at the commencement of the session were recommended by the throne itself? If ministers had not firmness to per-

severe in them, he must infer that it was a proof that they did not possess the confidence of their lordships, nor that of the country.

The duke of Wellington, in answer, stated it to be the intention of government, in the first place, to pass a bill for the repeal of the beer-duties. Of the bills for the improvement of the law, the Scotch judicature bill was in a forward state, and would most probably pass this session, as might others which were also forward. Several measures relating to the administering of justice in the courts of equity, on which some differences prevailed in quarters for which he entertained considerable respect, would perhaps be postponed.—Lord Holland then asked if it were the intention of ministers to propose, as usual, an appropriation act? to which the duke of Wellington at once replied—"It is."

The proceedings in the house of commons were in conformity with those which took place in the upper house. Sir Robert Peel called attention to that part of the message of his majesty which expressed a hope that the house would make temporary provision for conducting the public service, in the interval which must elapse between the termination of the present session and the assembling of a new parliament. The house was, no doubt, aware that by an ancient law the demise of the crown necessarily terminated the existence of parliament. The reason assigned for it by Blackstone, was that the king being the head and soul of parliament—its *caput principium et finis*—the demise of the crown necessarily put an end to its proceedings; and it was not till the reign of king William III. that any alteration was made in the law in that respect. By an act of the 7th and 8th of that king, it was provided, that the demise of the crown, during the existence of parliament, should not necessarily terminate its existence; but that it might continue to sit, unless expressly prorogued or dissolved, for six months after such demise. This had been said to be only a temporary act; but he held a different opinion, finding it had been re-enacted almost in the same terms in the reign of queen Anne. The question, however, for their consideration was, whether in the present state of the public business, and referring to the proceedings incident to the demise of the crown and the accession of a new sovereign, it was more advisable to dissolve the present parliament, or to continue

to sit for the consideration and dispatch of such public business as remained unfinished. Ministers had come to the conclusion that they should best discharge their duty by recommending the course pointed out in the message. He was aware that it had been usual to send a message to the house to proceed, without delay, in making an arrangement of the civil-list; and that, in fact, such arrangement was made before any prorogation or dissolution took place. But the constitution of the civil-list was different then from what it had now become. The sovereign was then in possession of the hereditary revenues of the crown; and the sum to be voted by parliament was exactly the difference between the actual amount of the civil-list and the charges upon it. The time devoted to the discussion of the subject up to the accession of George III., was not of such length as, in modern times, so important a subject would seem to require. The bill, for instance, which settled the civil-list of George I., was passed with an expedition little known now-a-days. Queen Anne died August 1st, 1714, and the bill for settling the civil-list of her successor was brought in August 12th; passed through all its stages with great rapidity and little comment, upon the 17th; it was taken up to the lords; returned from them on the 19th; and parliament was prorogued on the 25th of the same month. It was to be considered that ministers had now to arrange and settle the civil-list of three different parts of the empire, or rather the three civil-lists of England, Scotland, and Ireland. There were several circumstances connected with the subject which required improvement. He would mention, for instance, that some of the public officers of state received their salaries partly from the civil-list, and partly from the consolidated fund. The judges were so paid; so were some of the officers of the treasury—the expense and charges being defrayed from both sources. At that moment the chancellor of the exchequer received his official salary from five different sources; partly from the civil-list, partly from the consolidated fund of the country, partly from the consolidated fund of Ireland, partly from other funds arising out of the commutation of fees, and partly from transactions in his office. It was desirable that this condition of the civil-list should be amended, and all charges upon it consolidated. The arrangement of it he therefore considered

would be better deferred till a future opportunity. He showed what had been the course pursued at former periods on the occasion of a demise of the crown. Then the question of a regency, he could consider nothing more deeply affecting the interests of the country. In English history, there had been instances of regencies; but there was no case exactly resembling this. In each of the years 1751 and 1765, there was an heir-apparent to the throne of tender years, and parliament made provision for the possible demise of the crown. But the subject was so far involved in difficulties, and the circumstances were considered so dissimilar in character, that parliament thought it necessary to make a great difference in the arrangement. By the act of 1751, the princess-dowager of Wales was appointed guardian of the infant prince her son and regent of the kingdom, in the event of a demise of the crown. In 1795, parliament empowered George III. to name the person who should be the guardian of his son, and regent of the kingdom, restricting his choice to certain individuals. He mentioned these things but to show that the subject deserved the most serious consideration, and, therefore, ought not to be hastily disposed of. But then he was asked, "Is there no risk in leaving the case wholly unprovided for till the next meeting of parliament?" To that he would reply, that at the earliest period of our history there were various instances of infant sovereigns coming to the throne of this kingdom, for whose protection no legislative measure had been previously taken. He might name Henry III., Richard II., and Henry VI., none of whom were above eleven years of age: one was not a year old, and yet parliament made no provision for a regent; but after the accession of the sovereign, appointed persons to govern the kingdom, till the infant king had arrived at those years of maturity which the act appointing the regency prescribed. In 1751 and 1765, different courses were pursued; but in neither of those cases was there a provision immediately made for a minority. In 1765, no steps were taken till three years after the birth of the heir-apparent. The late king was born in August, 1762; but it was not till 1765, that the precaution of appointing a regency, in case of a demise of the crown, was taken. Wishing to treat the subject with all proper delicacy, he would fairly ask, where was the risk of postponing the measure till the next session? In the

reign of George III., it was postponed for three years; and in the reign of George II., nearly ten weeks were suffered to elapse after the death of Frederick, prince of Wales, before any act was passed for the regency. Of course, under the sanction of that precedent, there could be no necessity for making provision for a regency in the interval between the end of the present session of parliament and the opening of a new one. In case such an event should unfortunately happen as the demise of the crown, he apprehended the infant queen would have full power to sanction any act of parliament appointing a guardian for herself, and a regent for the kingdom; and that in a manner as binding as if it were signed by a sovereign of full age. He pressed upon the house the impolicy of discussing then the plan of a regency, as any temporary arrangement would have the effect of fettering the future and final decision on the question. He stated the course which ministers thought it right to recommend to the house with regard to the public business of the country; and he concluded by moving an address similar to that which had been submitted to the other house by the duke of Wellington.

Lord Althorp opposed the motion, and recommended, under the circumstances of the case, that the house should adjourn for twenty-four hours. He wished it to be distinctly understood, that he submitted that proposition to the house without any feeling whatever of disrespect to the illustrious person who had been called to the throne. He moved, as an amendment, that the further discussion on the subject of the address should be adjourned till the following day.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Brougham, who said he should lament as much as any man that any recommendation of his should have the semblance of a disposition, on his part, captiously and needlessly to embarrass his majesty's government. Such a disposition he utterly disclaimed. But the question of adjournment, as it regarded the civil-list, was a delicate question. It was one of great difficulty: and how did he propose to meet it? By recommending that which he had recommended ten years ago, on the accession of George IV.—that the precedents of the three former accessions should be followed. It was true, that on the death of William, of Anne, and of the first George, the existing parliament did arrange the civil-list; and the only devia-

tion from the rule was on the death of George III. That, however, was a peculiar case; and such was the argument of lord Castlereagh, advanced against him (Mr. Brougham), ten years since. Such being the fact, the house ought to agree to the very moderate proposition of his noble friend, and postpone the further consideration of the subject till to-morrow. The question of a regency, he thought, ought to be entertained without waiting till the emergency arose. At such a time, they could not decide with the unbiassed judgment they could bring to it at the present moment. They could not so well decide between the various claims of the illustrious individuals who might be anxious to assume the reins of government. The rule of the succession to the crown was distinct and clear: the entire right and pre-emption of the crown would be vested in the princess Victoria; but then they would have to place "a barren sceptre in her grasp;" and by no extension of self-flattery could they lay "the flattering unction to their souls," that she could exercise a salutary control over the councils of the state; and it would be a monstrous mockery of all reason and common sense, to presume the possibility, or for an instant to think that a child of eleven years old, was to say who should be regent for the next seven years;—to decide whether her own mother should be queen for that period, whether her uncle should be king, or whether several of her uncles should form a regency, according to the mischievous precedents of 1751 or 1765; or whether her mother's brother should be for seven years the sovereign of these realms. "But, be the person a man or a woman," Mr. Brougham said, "the uncle or the mother of the princess (as he or she must be, in fact, the director of a child in leading-strings), I do marvel that any member possessing reasoning powers, should hesitate to pronounce in favour of an immediate decision on that question, to prevent the possibility of the many evils which must on a future occasion throng in, when intrigue and agitation must naturally be rife, should parliament be called upon to decide on the spur of the emergency, and without the advantages of that deliberation which should precede every legislative measure. We can come now," he said, in continuation, "to discuss the respective claims of the princes of the blood, with a degree of calmness, and with an absence of all bias; but

who can answer for our being able, at a future period and under other circumstances, to bring to the discussion the due solemnity and deliberate mind which it would require? Can we promise ourselves that we shall be able to give the crown away calmly and discreetly to one or other of the claimants?—that we should elect our regent as subjects should elect a sovereign, and decide whether we should have one duke or another duke for our ruler, during the ensuing seven years of minority? There would be, on such an occasion, an accession of the duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover, and parliament would be suddenly called upon to decide upon his election to the regency—to the supreme rule, to which he would have a paramount claim, although he had not a strict right." On these grounds he therefore called upon the house not to suffer the possibility of a defect in the executive government, and not to recommend the dissolution of parliament till after the consideration of the regency question.

A warm debate arose on this subject, in the course of which Mr. Huskisson spoke in favour of the amendment. Sir Robert Peel, in reply, begged those who contended for the immediate appointment of a regency, to recollect that even supposing the crown were to devolve upon the princess Victoria, the responsibility of ministers in appointing a regency would remain the same, and no difficulty would occur in a case of the kind, more than at present. He entreated the house, therefore, to go to the vote on the real merits of the question—on the proposal of complying with the wishes of the crown, and reposing a just confidence in his majesty's ministers; and not to be deluded by an amendment, which professed to require twenty-four hours for the consideration of a question which had already been fully determined upon.

On a division, there appeared in favour of the amendment, one hundred and thirty-nine; against it, one hundred and eighty-five. The question being then put on the original motion, lord Althorp moved a new address, in substance the same as that which had been produced in the house of lords by earl Grey.

Sir Robert Peel then said (meaning no disrespect to the noble lord), as debating the amendment would only be going over the same ground again, he should content himself with generally opposing it.

The determination thus announced pro-

duced an extraordinary scene. Mr. Brougham spoke of government as being disposed to proceed not only without the support of the house, but in contempt of its sentiments. The whole weight of government had been put forward, and had only secured the support of one hundred and eighty-five members against one hundred and thirty-nine; to collect which no expedient had been used; no coalition had taken place; no understanding had been come to. Let it be remembered, too, that this had taken place on a Wednesday (a day on which lengthened discussion was generally avoided); and from that hour, never let any one be flouted or flung at for bring forward a motion on that day.

Among the arguments used on the other side, he acknowledged there was one which was new—one which he had not heard in that house; he meant the implied threat of resignation. They were in a manner told, it was the duke of Wellington's idea, that to leave government in a minority, would compel the resignation of ministers. "It is an argument," said Mr. Brougham, "which I have not heard in the house, viz.—'If you leave government in a minority, I will resign; and where will you get a field-marshal to superintend your finances and your law courts?' If I had had the misfortune to hear such a threat uttered in this place, I would have stated the grounds on which I deemed it my duty not to listen to the threat, but to look with equal mind on what some might consider the last national calamity. I conceive it barely possible for the United Kingdom to bear the going out of office of a considerable portion of his majesty's ministers. Let them not lay 'the flattering unction to their souls,' and indulge fond hopes from the measure they contemplate; that hope may meet with such a disappointment that they may look back even to this parliament with some of the pleasures of memory. The day of force has gone by: he who would rule this country by royal favour, or by military power, may be hurled down from his height. Him I accuse not. I accuse you [addressing the ministerial benches], his flatterers, his mean, fawning parasites."—Sir Robert Peel, with great vehemence, interrupted him. "I ask the honourable member if he means to accuse me of being such? The honourable and learned gentleman addressed himself to this side of the house, and said, 'I mean to accuse you, his flatterers, his fawning para-

sites.' I am sitting on this side of the house; I am the representative of the opinions of those who sit here; but I put the question to the honourable and learned gentleman—not on their behalf, but as an individual—and I ask, does he presume to say of me, that I am the mean, fawning parasite of any man?" Mr. Brougham:—"I answer the question by asking the right honourable gentleman, if, in the whole course of the two or three sessions in which he has had the opportunity of seeing me opposed to him, he has seen anything which made it likely that I should treat him disrespectfully, as he, it would seem, chooses to think I have done? If my conduct towards him, both as to words and deeds, have never had the least tendency to treat him with personal incivility, he must acquit me on this occasion. It is absurd—it is ridiculous—to suppose I meant to allude to him. No; I allude to the votes which have passed—to the resolutions which have been come to—to the cries which have been heard; and I have as much right to answer those cries, as others have to utter them. If I am interrupted by a cheer from the ministerial side, I have a right to impute that interruption to what I please—not to motives, but to tendencies. I spoke of parasites as the *pessimum genus inimicorum*. This shall ever be my course of conduct, and this is the course of conduct which it behoves the house to adopt."—Sir Robert Peel said, he had no right to speak, but he hoped the house would permit him to offer a few words (he trusted in perfect good temper) in allusion to the part of the honourable and learned gentleman's speech in which he referred to his (sir Robert's) interruption of the honourable and learned gentleman's observations. He now wished to say, he did not suspect the honourable and learned gentleman of any deliberate intention of offending him by a personal comment, or

even to offend any one; but it would have been infinitely better if the honourable and learned gentleman had withdrawn the allusions altogether, than attempted an exposition which was not very satisfactory. He had a perfect right to attack ministers; but he had no right to accuse men of being flatterers who were as independent as he was. It was a bad example to set. He (sir Robert Peel) would make the retraction for the honourable and learned gentleman. He was convinced that the expressions were not intended to apply to him, and that they were uttered in the warmth of debate, increased by interruption.—Mr. Brougham assented to the correctness of this statement, and allowed that he might have been a little warmer than usual. He, however, added, that "what he had said of parasites was, in fact, true; and that the worst sort of enemies a man could have, were those who obsequiously called themselves his friends." This was a principle which nobody cared to question, and which had been advanced by less acute observers of human nature, before the learned orator who now gave it the authority of his adhesion, was born: and the usual sobriety of the house was restored.

In reply to a remark that the opposition, on this occasion, seemed to have employed the means supposed to be employed by Mr. William Holmes, who was called "the whipper-in," and whose task it was daily to secure a sufficient attendance of members to form a house, Mr. Brougham significantly replied, it would be found in another session that one hundred and thirty-nine members were by no means the whole that could be numbered who were disposed to unite in defence of the constitution and the people.

The second address was lost: the numbers being one hundred and forty-six to one hundred and ninety-three; and the original motion was carried.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BEER BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; DEBATE ON THE REGENCY QUESTION; FINANCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY; APPROPRIATION BILL.

The bill to regulate the sale of beer continued to be regarded with great displeasure and alarm by the trade. When it had

reached the house of lords, a petition against it was presented to their lordships (signed by four thousand licensed victuallers of the

metropolis) by the duke of Richmond, who, approving of the principle of the bill, could not consent to its passing in its present form; and announced that, in the committee, he would propose a clause to prevent ale or beer, sold in shops established under the bill, from being consumed on the premises. The earl of Falmouth took a similar course; and, in consequence of what had been said, the duke of Wellington, on moving the second reading of the bill in the house of lords, addressed the house on the objects proposed to be accomplished by the measure in question. He said, the effect of the bill (if passed into a law) would be, to enable any person to retail beer, under a licence from the excise, without a licence from the magistrates; and there were provisions in the bill for the preservation of peace and good order in those places where beer should be sold under the authority of this act. One great object of the measure was, to enable the country at large, and particularly the lower orders, fully to avail themselves of the advantages to be derived from the other measure connected with this;—he meant the bill for the repeal of the beer-duty. He was aware of the objections that had been made to this bill, some of which had been mentioned by the noble duke to whom he had just referred; and if the objections should be further pressed, in the course of any discussion that might arise that evening, he hoped for their lordships' indulgence while he adverted to such topics, in reply, as might occur to him. At present, the objections to the bill appeared to him to resolve themselves into two: first, the danger with which the measure was likely to be attended, with reference to the peace and good order of the community, from the permission given to sell beer at any place licensed by the excise, without any licence from the magistracy; and secondly, the great injury which would result from it to the great body of publicans, who had invested their property in public-houses licensed by the magistrates. As to the first objection, their lordships would find, on an examination of the bill, that it contained a variety of regulations, which were calculated to remove all reasonable apprehension of any serious danger to the peace and good order of the community. There were provisions for preventing the houses from being kept open at improper hours, more particularly on the Sundays; and other regulations, for the prevention of

disturbance and riot, were enforced under severe penalties. As to the alleged injury to the property of those who had already invested their capital in the public-houses licensed by the magistrates, it ought to be recollected, that they had hitherto enjoyed large profits from the monopoly of this trade; and that the bill was confined to beer alone, and did not trench on the monopoly which they had in the sale of wine and spirits. Besides, they would have their full share of the advantage to be derived from the abolition of the beer-duty, and they would, in all probability, gain more by the increased sale of beer which would follow that abolition, than they would lose by throwing open the trade. It was obvious that, in the competition, these public-houses would have great advantages over other houses, by the superior accommodation which they could afford. He was convinced that the measure would be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the lower orders, by enabling them to drink a superior article at a much cheaper rate than they had been accustomed to do; and he did not anticipate that there could be any very serious objection made to the second reading of the bill.

The earl of Falmouth could not agree with the noble duke, that the present measure would be conducive to the advantage of the lower orders. In his opinion, it had a direct tendency to lead to disorders and a relaxation of the morals of the people, which, he thought, were to be sacrificed for the sake of revenue.—Lord Teynham supported the bill. He did not think it would be injurious to the lower orders; for the houses which would be established under this act would be as much under control as the public-houses which then existed. He hoped the result of the measures then in progress, would be, to increase the consumption of both malt and hops, and to do away with the adulteration of beer. The differences that prevailed among their lordships, called forth a further explanation from the duke of Wellington. He said, it appeared to him that the object of this bill had been, in some measure, misunderstood. This was not a question of preference as to the remission of one tax as compared with the remission of another. The object was, to regulate the beer-trade, and to extend the power to retail it to houses licensed by the excise, instead of confining it to houses licensed by the magistrates;

and this measure was necessary, in order to give the people the full benefit of the repeal of the beer-duty. The benefit would be a very great one to the lower orders; for, by means of these bills, it was probable that the price of beer would be diminished by twopence per pot, or about forty-five per cent. The advantage would not be great to their lordships, or people in the higher stations; but the lower orders would derive great benefit from the abolition of the beer-duty, and for that reason it had been selected. The object of the present bill was, to give the people the full advantage of the remission of the duty. He apprehended no danger to the peace and good order of the community from the present bill, as the necessary provisions had been introduced to prevent the peace of the community from being broken, and the morals of the people from being injured. If their lordships would examine minutely the evidence given before the select committee of the other house, they would see that there was no danger to be apprehended from the want of control by the magistrates. As to the publicans, he still considered that they had derived great profits from the monopoly; and, if that were trenched upon by this bill, they would receive ample compensation by the increased sale of beer, in consequence of the reduction of price which would be occasioned by the other measure for the repeal of the beer-duty. The opposition to the measure proved of no avail.

Notwithstanding the intimation of the king's wish, and the ministers' decision that no immediate provision should be made for a regency, on the 6th of July the consideration of that important question was again pressed on the house of commons, a motion being submitted by Mr. Robert Grant, brother of Mr. Charles Grant, for an address to the king, assuring him of the readiness of that house to take into its immediate consideration any measure which, in his majesty's royal solicitude for the happiness of his people, he might be pleased to recommend, in order to guard against those evils which could not but be apprehended from the demise of the crown under the present circumstances of the succession.

The motion was introduced by a long and argumentative speech, in the course of which, Mr. Grant touched on the precedents which had been furnished in the last century—in 1751 and 1765. The course taken in 1765 he deemed most important. George III.,

he said, having then been four years sovereign of the realm (being also in the very prime of life—for his age was not more than twenty-seven—alarmed by an illness which, though severe during its continuance, he had the highest authority for declaring not to have been dangerous), thought it necessary, not by a message, but by appearing in presence of his houses of parliament, to call them to a consideration of the casualties belonging to his exalted situation, as well as to that of every other man; and requesting them to make provision for the succession to the crown falling upon an infant prince. The words in which he addressed his parliament appeared so (in every way) applicable to the present crisis, that he would read them at once to the house. They were these:—"The tender concern which I feel for my faithful subjects, makes me anxious to provide for every possible event which may affect their future happiness and security. My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life while my successor is of tender years. The high importance of the subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquillity; and paternal affection which I bear to my children and to all my people; and my earnest desire that every precaution should be taken which may tend to preserve the constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of the crown unimpaired, have determined me to lay the weighty business before my parliament." Such were the words (so far as related to the exigency) that were used in the address spoken to parliament by that revered monarch. They were dictated, he supposed, by those who were the responsible ministers of the crown at that period; and he was sure he was not wrong in saying, that they found a ready response in his majesty's bosom. They were in accordance with his manly and consistent character; they bespoke at once the kingly firmness with which he could contemplate the termination of his life and reign for the benefit of his country; the kingly spirit with which he regarded the welfare of his family and of the monarchy at large, in case of that event; and the kingly bearing and consideration in which he brought that distinctly before parliament, in order that the quiet of the country might not be disturbed, that the constitution might not be endangered, and

that full satisfaction might be awarded to the rights of the crown and to the interests of the nation. Mr. Grant added, he was certain that no son of that venerable monarch would be wanting in courage, to face the consideration of the lamentable event to which he had been compelled to allude, or in the moral firmness which would enable him calmly to contemplate the progress of parliament in completing the various details of any measure which it might think necessary to provide against the melancholy contingency. In his opinion, ministers would have done well to counsel their august master, that in the moment of celebrating the obsequies of his illustrious predecessor, he ought to imitate the example of his royal father; to look forward, like him, to the termination of his own reign and life, and to provide for the exigency in which it must inevitably place the country.

The motion was resisted, as having been introduced without the paramount necessity which could alone justify the bringing of it forward. It was asked—the king, having just acceded to the crown; his royal brother yet unburied; his own affairs yet unsettled; and before he had had any opportunity of consulting the wishes of his queen, or the views of any member of the family; was it decent to rush to the foot of the throne and tell him, in reference to their late decision—“Hastily we acceded to your wishes, but we repent that we did so—time presses—we cannot delay; and yet we are waiting for a measure to settle the regency.” On the other hand, it was contended, in reference to what had been said of the feelings of the sovereign, that it should be remembered that kings were not like common men—they were placed aloft to be the object of general regard, and could not expect to enjoy the privacy which was the delight and luxury of their subjects. At the very birth of a sovereign the great officers of state were present, and the public solemnity of a royal marriage, was, in some respects, a scene of grossness and indelicacy. The house of commons addressed queen Anne, soliciting her to form a new matrimonial alliance at the very moment her husband was lying dead.*

The debate was long; and, in the course of it, sir Robert Peel insisted it would be hardly respectful to the crown—after the king had communicated to the house of commons that he had no intention to recommend to it the consideration of a regency, or any other matter which would have the effect of delaying the proceedings of parliament—to vote an address, calling on the crown for a message which it had been declared the king did not mean to deliver. The right honourable baronet proceeded:—“It would not be a very auspicious commencement of a new reign, for the house to oblige the king to do what he had declared he had no intention of doing. The proposal of his majesty’s government, to permit a sufficient time to elapse for maturely considering the proposal of the crown, was reasonable and proper. He could conceive nothing more difficult, than to determine what were the contingencies likely to happen on the demise of the crown, so that they might be properly provided for beforehand. There were very many contingencies which might occur, and which it might be extremely difficult to provide for; and after exerting the utmost ingenuity in devising remedies, they might produce ten thousand times more danger than if the contingencies took place without the remedies. Some specific calamities, to which the crown was subject as well as private individuals, had been adverted to; and his honourable friend had instanced the calamity which had befallen lord Liverpool, who was in the full possession of his health and strength, and in one short week was struck to the ground and deprived of his mental faculties. But was it proposed to make provision for every possible contingency by which the exercise of the regal functions might be suspended? If not, what had the case of lord Liverpool to do with the question? The house would recollect what had passed in the reign of George III. In 1788, when a calamity had visited the sovereign, proceedings were taken to provide a regency. But did parliament think it desirable to provide against the recurrence of such an event? No; for in 1810 it did recur, and did not parliament

* This assertion was incorrect. Prince George was certainly lying dead, but it was in Westminster-abbey, and not above ground, as might be supposed from the words used, or the meaning commonly attached to them. Prince George died on the 28th of October, 1708; parliament did not meet till the

16th of November; and his funeral took place on the 13th of that month. It was in the following year, on the 22nd of January, when an order had been made to alter the form of prayer, supplicating the Deity to make her a happy mother, that her majesty was solicited to entertain thoughts of a second marriage.

find itself without any provision for that contingency? It did: and why, after having obtained the knowledge that the royal faculties might decay, did it refuse to provide for such a future contingency? Because it would rather permit its recurrence, than be guilty of the indecency and indelicacy of presuming upon the possible future derangement of the king. The honourable mover had stated eight or ten suppositions, and these only by way of sample. If contingencies were so numerous, and the difficulty so great, was it decent, before the funeral of the late king, to force his successor to deliver a message, requiring the house to consider all the contingencies? If the question were so complicated, let it be left to the crown and its advisers to devote a sufficient time for its consideration. There were two contingencies which had been mainly dwelt on. The first was not a question immediately connected with that of a regency, because it might occur when the heir-presumptive was not a minor; namely, when, on the demise of the crown, there was an heir-presumptive, and also a queen-consort who might be pregnant. The question, in this case, was—whether it were desirable to make any provision; and, if so, what provision? When he referred to this case on a former night, he had mentioned its having already occurred, and the possibility of its recurrence; and he then stated, that the absence of a remedy was a strong proof of the conviction of the legislature of the difficulty of providing a satisfactory remedy, and of the necessity of mature consideration before any remedy was suggested. The honourable member for Montgomery (Mr. C. W. Wynn) had said, in this case, that the existence of an heir-presumptive contemporary with a queen-consort pregnant, was most important, and required to be provided for. His answer was, that that was a case of which there had been examples in our history, and that they had not been provided for; and, therefore, before the subject was submitted to parliament, the crown should have at least six weeks for considering it. He would content himself with taking all the illustrations he should have occasion for from recent times; and taking the reigns of our monarchs from James I., reign by reign, the result was, that in almost every case, similar circumstances existed to the present. In the reign of James I. the case was similar, at least it was equally necessary for parliament to provide a similar remedy.

There was a king in possession of the crown—an heir-apparent, who was a minor—and no provision was made for a regency. In the reign of Charles I. (at least for some period of his reign) the parliament might have felt a deep interest in regulating the succession to the throne: nor were the contests between that prince and his parliament a reason why they should not feel such an interest. In the reign of Charles II. the king was married, but had no legitimate issue. There was an heir-presumptive (James II.) and a queen-consort. Charles II. died, and the queen-consort might have been pregnant. The heir-presumptive was of full age; and he begged to say, that the danger of a struggle was far greater when the heir, as in that case, had been accustomed to military service. In the reign of James II. this was the state of things. James, by his first wife, had two daughters, who were the heirs-presumptive. Thus in every reign hitherto, a case might be found parallel to the present. In the reign of Anne, there was something, if not parallel, at least analogous. During the lifetime of George, prince of Denmark, parliament made a provision as to the successor to the throne, who then resided abroad—the princess Sophia or George I.; but it made no provision for the possible case of the pregnancy of the reigning queen. Then came the case of George III., in which, for three years, the contingency might have occurred; and yet no provision was made. He did not despair of parliament finding a remedy, if the contingency should occur; nor was parliament so dependent on mere forms, that it could not make a precedent. In the case of the abdication of James II., parliament had found a remedy, as well as on the occasion of the mental indisposition of George III. God forbid that he should exclude all consideration of provisions against possible dangers; but they should be adopted after due consideration: and he could not admit that, at present, the risk was so great as in former instances. In all instances prior to the reformation, no regent was ever appointed till after the demise of the crown."

Mr. Brougham complained of the over-nice sentimental delicacy which professed to spare the feelings of the king, and insisted on the importance of making policy accompany delicacy. He said he found a precedent for such a provision as was now called for in the time of Charles II. In that reign he found, that not only did parlia-

ment provide for the possibility of the demise of the crown, but it provided for it, moreover, by a bill of exclusion, which passed through the house of commons, after repeated discussions, and shut out James, the brother of the king, because he was a catholic. There was a precedent, of parliament having considered it necessary to make provision for the succession to the throne at the time there was an heir-presumptive, the brother of the king; and at a time, too, when, for anything they knew, the queen of Charles might be *enceinte*. It was true that the parliament, which met afterwards in the time of James, sat for three weeks and more, settling the civil-list: but then it was immediately prorogued, and not summoned again, except for a very few days. They had afterwards much more important business on their hands, during the whole of that bigoted and subtle tyrant's reign, than settling a regency. While strongly opposing the bill, and contending that confidence ought not to be placed in ministers to the extent called for, he was careful to explain that he cast no personal reflection on the duke of Wellington. "I have no distrust," he said, "of the noble person now at the head of the government. I disavow, in the most solemn manner, all imputation of mixing up anything arising from personal consideration in this discussion. When I call on the house to address the crown to take measures to provide against those chances which may produce the calamitous results I have described, it is not that I harbour any distrust of the motives of that noble person—that I wish to cast even the shadow of a shade of suspicion on his character; or that, by not neglecting to take those steps which I consider so imperatively called for, I would insinuate that his noble nature, or his tried honour and public virtue, could think of compassing anything treacherous to the constitution of his country. I acquit him of all intent or conception of that kind. His public services are my guarantee for the integrity of his conduct. His civil services, for which the country—and above all, regenerated Ireland—owe him so much; for which posterity will bless his name, and which place him higher on the record of fame than the victories of Waterloo or of Salamanca. They are my pledges for the purity of his motives: but I am here to represent the people of this country; I am here, as one of the commons of England, to distrust and to watch ministers, because

they are the public servants of the crown—to know no difference between man and man in that capacity, but to take all the security I can obtain against even the principles of the constitution, or the rights and privileges of the people being endangered." He went on to say, what he dreaded was the evils which might possibly arise from a disputed succession, and those which flowed from the accession of an infant sovereign. He repudiated as sophistical the arguments which had been used in favour of postponing the settlement of a question so important, and concluded with a forcible declaration of his sentiments on the subject of an hereditary monarchy. "There are many great evils," he remarked, "there are many grievous burdens, to which it subjects us, and there are many sound principles to which it is opposed; but it has one great redeeming feature which reconciles me to it; and would reconcile me even were its faults greater and more numerous—it renders the succession to the throne certain, and provides in that way a remedy for those evils which could never be thought of without horror—the evils of civil war; a state of things where all life dies; where death alone lives, and all combine to introduce mischiefs abominable and unutterable, such as fable never feigned, or imagination devised."

When the house divided, there appeared for the motion, ninety-three; against it, two hundred and forty-seven.

After the decision, formally pronounced by parliament, against prolonging their sittings to get through the business which had been entered upon, and after the funeral of the late king, the measures in an advanced state were soon brought to maturity. On the 8th of July, when a motion was made for going into committee on the sale of beer bill, viscount Goderich made a statement, on the subject of the finances of the country, of considerable importance. Speaking on the prospects of the country, early in the session, he had assumed, on hearing of the savings to be made in the present year, that there would be a surplus revenue of three million seven hundred thousand pounds; but the duke of Wellington had corrected him, by saying, ministers could not calculate on the surplus which had been mentioned, nor on one exceeding fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand pounds. This, viscount Goderich said, he did not very clearly understand. He was glad when he afterwards found the

chancellor of the exchequer had, in the other house, proposed to take off taxes to the amount of three million pounds, which, he concluded, would not have been determined upon had the surplus been no more than the noble duke expected it would be. He remarked on the various taxes which had been abated, and thought, in other ways, greater relief might have been afforded to the country. He wished to know from the noble duke, what ought to be the amount of the revenue and expenditure; what it had been last year; what he expected it to be under present circumstances; and what were the grounds of his expectations.

The duke of Wellington, in reply, admitted that the noble viscount had been more correct than himself in the financial statement he had formerly made. He was willing to do justice to the motives that induced the noble viscount to make his present statement, which was intended to throw light on the subject, and promote the interests of the country. In respect first, to the surplus of the revenue during the present year, he must admit that it was less than he had stated it would be at the commencement of the session. He had then stated it from estimates which had been prepared; but it should be recollected that the government had been enabled to make very considerable reductions. Their lordships knew that the finance committee had recommended that there should be a surplus of three million pounds; and he thought such a surplus very desirable; but their lordships must be aware that the revenue in this country was unsettled and uncertain. It depended on a variety of causes; some of which—such as the seasons—were very variable; and the consequence was, that with the same rate of taxation, the amount of revenue was different in different years. From circumstances of this kind, he could not say that up to that time the surplus of the year had equalled three million pounds; nor could he hold out a hope, unless there was an increase in the revenue, that the amount of the surplus next year would be three million pounds. There was, and there would be, a considerable surplus; but the revenue must improve very much before the amount of the surplus became equal to that recommended by the finance committee. According to the estimates, the expenditure for the present year would be—for the funded debt, for the unfunded debt, for the permanent charge for pensions, half-

pay, &c., the charge for the army, the navy, and the ordnance,—altogether, forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. The revenue for the year was fifty million, four hundred and eighty thousand pounds; being, for the customs, seventeen million two hundred thousand pounds; excise, nineteen million three hundred thousand pounds; stamps, post-office, &c., thirteen million seven hundred thousand pounds; miscellaneous branches of revenue, two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. From this was to be deducted seven hundred thousand pounds for the loss of duty on beer; one hundred and sixty thousand pounds for the loss of the leather-duty; and one hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds on account of the sugar-duties; making, together, a sum of one million fifteen thousand pounds; leaving forty-nine million four hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds. It was not, however, by looking at any one year, but by looking at the surplus of former years, that they could form the most correct judgment of the probable surplus in future. In the year 1829, the surplus was two million two hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-three pounds. The expenditure of that year was fifty-one million three hundred and ninety thousand and thirty-three pounds. At present the expenditure, in consequence of the great reductions which had been made, was forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. The probable expenditure for the next year, would be forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. Under the circumstances of the country, the government had been able to reduce the expenditure two million five hundred thousand pounds. It had reduced the interest on the funded debt eight hundred thousand pounds; and on the unfunded debt, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. In three years the government had reduced the expenditure three million five hundred thousand pounds. That reduction had given the country a claim to a reduction of taxation. The government had performed its engagements to the country, and had remitted taxation to the amount of three million five hundred thousand pounds. He looked at the repeal of taxation to produce an increase of revenue from those taxes that remained; but there must be some difficulty in making the surplus equal to that recom-

mended by the finance committee. He agreed with the noble viscount, that it would be wise to revise the system of taxation—repealing such taxes as bore the heaviest on the people, and cost most in the collection. He agreed also with the noble viscount, that the expenditure ought to be reduced; the government had undertaken that task, and would accomplish it. Much had been already done; but he entreated their lordships to remember, that the army, the navy, the ordnance, and the miscellaneous sources were the only part of the expenditure which could be reduced; and they only amounted to sixteen million five hundred thousand pounds. Of these, five million five hundred thousand pounds went for half-pay and pensions, and could not be touched; leaving but little more than eleven million pounds from which it was possible to make reductions. Under these circumstances, their lordships would see that great further reductions could not be expected; but as much had been, and would be, done as possible. He knew that it was said that great savings might be made in the colonies; but the greater part of the expenditure now incurred in them was for convicts and troops—charges which the country was bound to bear. Independent of these expenses, the cost of the civil government of the colonies was very inconsiderable.

The exposition thus furnished, was received with general satisfaction by their lordships. The sale of beer bill was passed.

An appropriation bill having been introduced and passed through its earlier stages, the third reading was moved on the 16th of July, when the marquis of Lansdowne offered some observations on the domestic and foreign affairs of the country. He expressed deep regret that those circumstances in the state of Europe, which had been justly adverted to at the commencement of the session, and respecting which a sanguine expectation was expressed that a final and satisfactory settlement would shortly take place (he alluded to the affairs of the west and the east of Europe), remained in the same unsatisfactory condition as they were then, and that his late majesty's life had closed, and this session of parliament would terminate, without producing the final settlement of either of those important branches of foreign policy. He remarked on the appropriation bill before them, containing, in a mass, the different grants which their lordships had not had an opportunity of examin-

ing separately. He threw out various suggestions to prevent abuses and jobbing, which he hoped to see acted upon in the next session of parliament.

The duke of Wellington called their attention to that part of the address of the noble marquis (Lansdowne), in which he stated that the sums voted in the appropriation bill were voted in mass. If the noble marquis would take the trouble of looking over the bill, he would find a clause in it where all the several sums were specified. The measure, therefore, was not liable to the objection which the noble marquis had stated. Then, with respect to the noble marquis's observations in relation to Ireland, he begged to state, that it was perfectly true that a committee of the other house did consider all the Irish estimates, and did make a very detailed report, which contained a great deal of valuable information. His majesty's ministers had, however, on their own responsibility, taken the present mode of submitting those items to the consideration of parliament; and he was convinced that if the items had come under discussion, the reasons which had influenced his majesty's government would have been thought perfectly satisfactory; but so much time had been occupied in discussing other matters, that no opportunity was afforded for considering those estimates. He repeated, that when the subject should be properly considered, the reasons for not following the suggestions of the report, would be acknowledged to be satisfactory. There were suggestions, not only in the report of that particular committee, but also in those of other committees, recommending a variety of measures with respect to Ireland. Those suggestions had been, as much as possible, acted upon in different measures introduced in the course of the present session, some of which had been passed, and others remained under consideration. He thought it would be allowed that more time was necessary than one or two years after the making of a report, to suggest such detailed measures with respect to every abuse (for abuses, he admitted, existed in Ireland), as would induce parliament to join with government to carry them into effect. Measures to remedy those abuses would be introduced as quickly as possible; but the ministers would not bring forward any one till they had fully considered it themselves. The circumstances of Ireland made it necessary for government to proceed with caution, in touching upon anything that

was established in that country. He would now advert to the foreign policy of the country. With respect to the state of foreign policy in the east, their lordships were quite as well acquainted with the history of the transactions which had taken place connected with that part of the world as he was. All the documents were before them, and the whole history of the affairs, up to the beginning of the month of June last; and their lordships were in as favourable a condition to form an opinion on them, as the ministers. All he could say on the question was this, that the endeavours of the ministry had been uniformly directed, since that period, to bring the transactions to a termination; and he had every hope that they then would be brought to a satisfactory settlement, as a cordial union prevailed between the three allied powers; and they were unanimous in desiring to accomplish that object, and in their efforts to bring it about. With respect to the other part of Europe, he had to say that the great distance between Portugal and Brazil rendered it extremely difficult to bring the transactions connected with those countries to a speedy termination. But he could state, that all parties have a common interest in those affairs, were sincerely desirous of conducting them to a satisfactory conclusion, and that a cordial union existed between all the governments engaged in them.

Lord Holland sarcastically remarked, the duke of Wellington had said, on these two important subjects to which his attention had been called, exactly what he had told their lordships for the last three years, with equal solemnity, assurance, and certainty, and with precisely the same reasons for his statements as he had alleged to the house

on the present occasion. He sharply criticised the policy of ministers, and said, though more than two years ago expectations were confidently avowed that negotiations would soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, a curious fact had only now come out, that Rio-Janeiro was at a great distance from Portugal. The discovery of that fact, it would seem, had greatly discouraged the noble duke, and disappointed the expectations in which he had indulged. He hoped, when parliament met again, they would not place such reliance on such a government—as had hitherto been the usage.

The duke of Wellington complained of the course taken by the noble lord, in coming down to the house and making a speech like that which he had just delivered, without any previous notice or intimation. He would confine himself to that part of the noble lord's observations in which he had alluded to his (the duke of Wellington's) supposed discovery of the distance from Brazil to England; and on that he would merely observe, that a gentleman had just arrived with communications, on which there had not been sufficient time to come to any definite conclusion. All he would say was, that there appeared to be a cordial desire and concurrence, among all parties, to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement.

With this general answer on the conduct of the government, the appropriation bill was allowed to pass. The opposition in either house became very languid, as the political adversaries of the duke were now of opinion their forces would be better employed in securing strength in the new parliament, than in raising objections to the business then in progress.

CHAPTER XXV.

CALL FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY; BILL FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF EAST RETFORD, AND DEMAND FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT; OPENING OF THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL RAILWAY; DEATH OF MR. HUSKISSON; EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND; OPENING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE state of the slave-trade became the subject of complaint; and it was said, the duke of Wellington had not exerted himself as a minister of England ought to have

done, in order to put an end to that unholy traffic. Before the close of the session, it was mentioned in parliament. On the 19th of July, earl Grosvenor expressed regret that

little had been attempted, on the part of the colonial legislatures, to ameliorate the condition of slaves. He reminded their lordships of the resolutions which had been passed in 1823, with a view to the improvement of the condition of the slave population of the colonies, and said they must see that little had been done to carry them into effect. He gave notice, that if no one else brought the subject forward, he would, at an early period of the next session of parliament, move for leave to introduce a bill, to declare that all children born thenceforth of slave parents should be free.

The duke of Wellington observed, with reference to the suggestion of the noble earl (Grosvenor), that an act to declare the children born of slave parents free, under the present circumstances of the slave population, was impracticable. If it were to be declared that all the children born of slave parents should be free, he, for one, should wish that the noble lord would explain how he could find means to take care of them. Before the noble lord decreed their emancipation, he ought to bring in a bill to provide for them. With respect to the colonies under the government and control of his majesty in council, the ministers had done what they could to carry the resolutions of 1823 into effect, and had thereby evinced their sincere desire to improve the condition of the slaves, as much and as speedily as was practicable, consistently with a proper respect for the colonial legislatures, and for the interests of private property. This having been done, would it not be worth while to wait a little, in order to see whether the measures adopted in the ceded colonies, might not be attended with such obvious advantages as to induce the colonial legislatures to follow the example? It appeared to him, that that would be the safest and wisest plan; and he hoped that the consequences of those measures would be such as to lead to the universal adoption of them.

Many petitions had been presented in the house of commons, praying for the total abolition of slavery. Mr. Otway Cave, in presenting some of them, expressed an opinion that it could not be shown that the slaves were the property, by law, of the West India proprietors; and trusted that the friends of abolition would persevere in promulgating the doctrine, that if the British legislature refused to interfere, the consequences which might ensue would rest

upon the heads of those who provoked them. If that house refused to interfere, he thought the slaves would be justified, before God and man, in taking, by any means, that to which they were entitled; by force they might take what force, and not right, had dispossessed them of. He concluded in the words used by an honourable and learned gentleman in 1823. "Difficulties there may be (in the way of negro emancipation), as there are in every case; but are they insurmountable? I think not, and that no one will be stopped by them who does not wish to be impeded."

The warm language used by Mr. Cave was remarked upon by several ministerial members. They urged, that if injustice and inhumanity had originated the slave-trade, to excite the slaves to acts of violence was not, at that moment, the best way of consulting the true interests of humanity under present circumstances. The honourable gentleman, however, persisted in his declaration. With the best feelings towards the West India proprietors, he wished, he said, to save them from going too far, by making them sensible of the dangerous position in which they stood.

While Mr. Wilberforce and his friends were calling for the abolition of the slave-trade, they were careful to proclaim, that nothing was further from their thoughts than the idea of putting an end to slavery. The distinction thus made they were anxious should be noted. Such a project in the then state of the world, they regarded as perfectly Utopian. With the existing evil they did not venture to grapple: that it should not continue to increase was the limit of their generous labours; but their object gained, other purposes were avowed by philanthropists who followed them; and a feeling arose in the public mind (while it was proudly avowed, the slave who set his foot on English soil, at once became a free man), that it was inconsistent and dishonouring to Great Britain for slavery to prevail in her colonies, which could not be endured near the seat of government. The West India proprietors who had succeeded to large properties, could not easily be persuaded to resign affluence; and the reports they received from those to whom the management of their estates had been confided, were of a character which satisfied them (as men are easily convinced of that which largely favours their interests), that to make the Africans free, would be to expose them to

many evils which they were spared while they remained in their present state; and, in a word, men whose characters were anything but cruel or sordid, sincerely believed that the extinction of slavery in the dependencies of England would be at variance with policy and humanity.

In this case, no complaint could justly be made against the government. If the progress of the cause was slow, it was unfair to throw the blame on the duke of Wellington. To persuade other countries to join with England in labouring for its furtherance, was no easy task. Those who did not hesitate to condemn the traffic in human beings, notwithstanding their professions, were resolute to continue it. England, giving up the slave-trade, had opened views of profit to the traders of other nations which were closed against them before; and it was prosecuted by some of them with great vigour, and with such precautions suggested by the necessity of concealment, as added unheard-of sufferings to the miseries formerly endured by the sable victims of mercantile cupidity. The United States of America, while raising their voices in praise of liberty, failed not to appear among the champions of the condemned system. They denounced, as canting hypocrites, the advocates for abolition: they quoted Scripture to prove that slaves were possessed by the revered fathers of mankind; and ingenious sophistry boldly affirmed, that the power of buying and selling his fellow-creatures, was among the dearest, time-honoured, and inalienable rights of the free-man, and could not be withdrawn from a people who knew their rights, and were prepared to make any sacrifice in defence of liberty!

The last interesting debate of the session was that on the East Retford disfranchisement bill, which proposed to throw the franchise of the borough open to the adjoining hundred. That corruption had existed there, and for a very long period, had been proved beyond all doubt. The turpitude of all parties connected with elections in that borough, during the preceding half century, was great; and no defence of the parties could be attempted. The debate was important, as it brought out a statement of facts, which went far to prove that the disfranchisement of East Retford was of no value while the general system under which members were returned to parliament continued—such as it had long been.

The second reading having been moved by the marquis of Salisbury, his lordship said, he thought it had been shown that bribery and corruption in East Retford had existed from a very early period; and their lordships must have perceived that there had been a deliberate intention to buy votes, on the part of the candidate, as there was on the part of the electors to sell them, to the highest bidder.

To the disfranchisement of a borough so corrupt, it might have been supposed no objections would in any shape be raised by the friends of parliamentary reform. But such was not the case. Changing circumstances produce strange alterations in the views of politicians with regard to certain measures. It was now very generally felt, that something more than the correction of an insulated abuse, occasionally detected, was necessary to the working of the constitution. For many years a radical reform had been called for out-of-doors. It had been ably advocated, and eagerly sought for a time, and then the subject was dropped, and seemed to have lost all its interest with the public at large. Little had been heard of it for some years; but now, at the commencement of a new reign, the question was again opened, and all the anxiety which had existed in connexion with it at a former period, was more than revived. Nor was it on slight grounds, as will be seen from the speech we are about to quote, that a change was demanded. On the second reading of the bill above mentioned being moved, lord Durham said, he considered the question before them not a government, but a judicial question. That the electors had voted as stated, he did not deny—that corruption had existed many years in East Retford was a fact which could not be disputed; but while parliament remained in its present state—while seats were sold (as all knew they were), he could not approve of a measure like that which was now before them. He submitted some strong facts to their lordships. "If," said he, "that which the bill describes to be corruption is yet in daily practice; if a minister, in the distribution of the patronage of the government, thinks fit to gratify a peer of this, or a commoner of the other house of parliament, with a place for supporting, or strengthening the administration (as it is called) by his vote in parliament—is it to be styled corruption? If it be, it yet daily takes place. I should like to know, what

distinction can be drawn between the peer and commoner who so receives a place, and the voter who receives twenty or forty guineas? Why is the poor man to be disgraced, dishonoured, and disfranchised on the one hand, whilst on the other, the rich peer is to be congratulated by all his friends; and, in the language of the Scripture, to be proclaimed in the streets as 'a man whom the king delighteth to honour?' Now, my lords, as to the amount of this corruption—suppose that those persons did receive twenty or forty guineas each, and that three or four thousand pounds was distributed amongst them, I say it is as a drop of water in the ocean, compared with the sums spent in elections. Mr. Evans himself tells us, that he spent seventeen thousand pounds at Leicester; and it is pretty well known, that at the last election for Northumberland, one hundred and forty thousand pounds were spent, not in legal expenses only, but in treating and other illegal inducements to vote. At my own election in the county of Durham, I had to spend about thirty thousand pounds; and a noble friend of mine (a noble marquis opposite) must have spent a great deal more. At the election for Yorkshire, in 1826, although there was no contest, one hundred thousand pounds was spent by the four candidates—a fact which was mentioned in the other house of parliament by one of the members. In the election of 1806, in the same county, lord Milton spent one hundred thousand pounds; another party, ninety thousand pounds; and the committee who acted for Mr. Wilberforce, sixty thousand pounds. Indeed, the expenses of even an uncontested election in Yorkshire, are so notorious, that there is at this moment the greatest difficulty in finding members to represent it; and I believe that, except one of the present members, and a gentleman little known to the freeholders of the county, no other individuals have declared themselves candidates for the expensive honour of representing it. In fact, with the exception of Westminster, there is hardly a place in England, where it is not necessary for a candidate, who seriously intends to succeed, to spend a considerable sum of money. Whatever the theory of the representation may be, it has in practice come to this—that either, directly or indirectly, covertly or openly, every man comes into parliament by a breach of the law. Another consideration arises upon this question. If the corruption of the

voter who receives twenty pounds for his single vote deserves punishment, what are you to do with a person who sells, not the individual vote, but the actual representation of boroughs—the actual seats themselves? It is a matter of notoriety, that the market-price of a seat in the other house of parliament is one thousand two hundred pounds. A noble friend near me, tells me that the price has so risen of late, that it is one thousand eight hundred pounds annually! No person will now pay several thousand pounds, taking his chance of the parliament being long or short; but gives his annual sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, to be secured in his seat. I know that it used to be only one thousand pounds a year; for, many years ago, a seat was offered to be placed at my disposal at that price. Most of these boroughs so sold, are the property of peers of this house; and a valuable property they must be, when we hear that the freehold of the celebrated and notorious borough of Gatton, has lately been sold to a nobleman for one hundred and eighty thousand pounds. These, my lords, are the acts of peers, of commoners, of clergymen, who receive a portion of their incomes, and much of their consideration in life from the sale of seats in parliament; and I will venture, if you will give me a bill of indemnity, such as has extorted the evidence now on our table, to pledge myself to make these same peers and commoners confess every one of these facts. It is upon these grounds that I feel myself entitled to say, that the corruption of East Retford is infinitely less than that of nine cases out of ten." He considered this a bill of pains and penalties. Their lordships were to decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused. He must declare against condemning a whole corporation, as the charge of corruption had been proved against a minority only; and that was no legal offence. It moreover appeared that the corruptions proved against parties commenced in 1812, and ended in 1820, leaving the last election untouched. He moved an amendment—that the bill should be read a second time that day six months.

The earl of Eldon having voted against every disfranchisement bill that had been brought before their lordships, felt bound to oppose this. Lord Wynford considered the preamble proved, and would therefore vote for it.

Earl Grey took the same course lord Durham had pursued. He said too much

could not be done to secure the purity of elections. This measure had been preceded by one which violated a most important principle of the general law of the land,—a bill of indemnity by which they compelled men to appear at the bar, and state what at once disgraced them, and rendered them obnoxious to punishment. He objected to a bill of indemnity being thrust upon unwilling witnesses. If such a course were proper in one case, why not in all? And if they would make it a principle of law, let them give him a bill of indemnity by which he could compel members of the other house of parliament—aye, and of their lordships' house also—to appear at their bar, and answer such questions as he should put to them; and if he did not disfranchise half the boroughs in the kingdom, he would submit to any penalty their lordships might think proper to impose. He objected to the principle of the bill, and should therefore vote against it; but if it were carried, he thought it would be better to give the franchise to some manufacturing town, than the neighbouring hundred, as was proposed to be done.

The duke of Wellington said, that he lamented very much that the bill had been brought into parliament: it was not his act, but being there, it was his duty to consider what should be done with it. He admitted that it was a bill of pains and penalties. It charged long-continued and notorious corruption on the electors of East Retford, in electing representatives to serve in parliament; and it enacted a penalty as a consequence of the act stated in the preamble. Before their lordships voted against the borough, they ought to be convinced that the preamble had been proved. He had attended to the evidence as much as his other avocations would allow, and he must say, that in his opinion, the preamble had been proved. He would not follow the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, or the other noble and learned lord who had spoken through all the evidence: he would content himself with referring to the proceedings of Mr. Thornton, and the evidence of Mr. Evans, to prove that bribery was common. In every election since 1796—in the elections in 1802, 1806, 1812, and in 1818—in his opinion bribery had been proved. The general corruption charged in the preamble of the bill had been proved; and if the crime were not proved, certainly their lordships ought to inflict no punishment. There was no noble lord who at-

tended to the evidence but must have seen that in every case where the candidate lodged the money usually paid at elections, he succeeded; but that in every case where he failed to do so, he lost his election. There was evidence before them, that the successful candidate always lodged the money, and that in no case it returned into his pocket, but uniformly went into the pockets of the electors. It was contended, on the other side, that the proofs in question did not come down to the last session; and, if true, there was no direct proof of the money having been received at the last election: but could any person doubt, from what passed—from the circumstance of the money having been lodged—that it would have been disposed of in the same manner as former lodgments, but for what had afterwards happened? The question, however, was one of policy and expediency, as well as of right. The house had to consider whether or not they would; in this case, pursue or deviate from the course which they pursued on all similar occasions. It was to be remembered that they disfranchised no one by the present bill; they merely let in the votes of the adjoining hundred. He owned he was surprised at the course taken by the noble earl (Grey), who, though he had contended that no sufficient proof was given that a majority of the electors were corrupt, had declared his intention to move, at a future stage of the bill, not that the innocent majority should be held harmless, but that the franchise should be taken away from the innocent and the guilty, and transferred to another place. On the noble earl's own showing, this would be unjust; for if he believed there was no evidence of general corruption, he ought not to take away the franchise at all. The noble duke concluded by repeating that he thought the preamble of the bill fully proved, and therefore it should have his support.

The amendment of lord Durham was rejected, and the bill passed the lords. Though the duke of Wellington disavowed the bill, he had no objection to punish corruption when proved; but on the general question of parliamentary reform, which was now taken up by the nation at large, his views remained such as they had always been.

The 23rd of July was the day fixed upon for the prorogation of parliament. Applauding shouts from the assembled crowd, hailed king William on his way to Westminster. He wore the uniform of an admiral under

his regal robes. A sailor-monarch was a popular novelty. The speaker of the house of commons, attending with many members at the bar of the house of lords, pronounced a loyal address to his majesty, who then closed the session with the following speech:—

“My lords and gentlemen,—On this first occasion of meeting you, I am desirous of repeating to you, in person, my cordial thanks for those assurances of sincere sympathy and affectionate attachment which you conveyed to me on the demise of my lamented brother, and on my accession to the throne of my ancestors. I ascend that throne with a deep sense of the sacred duties which devolve on me, with a firm reliance on the affection of my faithful subjects, and on the support and co-operation of parliament; and with an humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that he will prosper my anxious endeavours to promote the happiness of a free and loyal people. It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find myself enabled to congratulate you upon the general tranquillity of Europe. This tranquillity it will be the object of my constant endeavours to preserve; and the assurances which I receive from my allies, and from all foreign powers, are dictated in a similar spirit. I trust the good understanding which prevails upon subjects of common interest, and the deep concern which every state must have in maintaining the peace of the world, will ensure the satisfactory settlement of those matters which still remain to be finally arranged.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I thank you for the supplies which you have granted, and for the provision which you have made for several branches of the public service during that part of the present year which must elapse before a new parliament can be assembled. I cordially congratulate you on the diminution which has taken place in the expenditure of the country, on the reduction of the charge of the public debt, and on the relief which you have afforded to my people by the repeal of some of those taxes which have heretofore pressed heavily upon them. You may rely upon my prudent and economical administration of the supplies which you have placed at my disposal, and upon my readiness to concur in every diminution of the public charge which can be effected consistently with the dignity of the crown, the maintenance of national faith, and the permanent interests of the country.

“My lords and gentlemen,—I cannot put an end to this session, and take my leave of the present parliament, without expressing my cordial thanks for the zeal which you have manifested on so many occasions for the welfare of my people. You have wisely availed yourselves of the happy opportunity of general peace and internal repose, calmly to review many of the laws and judicial establishments of the country; and you have applied such cautions and well-considered reforms as are consistent with the spirit of our venerable institutions, and are calculated to facilitate and expedite the administration of justice. You have removed the civil disqualifications which affected numerous and important classes of my people. While I declare, on this solemn occasion, my fixed intention to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the protestant reformed religion established by law, let me, at the same time, express my earnest hope, that the animosities which have prevailed on account of religious distinctions may be forgotten, and that the decisions of parliament with respect to those distinctions having been irrevocably pronounced, my faithful subjects will unite with me in advancing the great object contemplated by the legislature, and in promoting the spirit of domestic concord and peace, which constitutes the surest basis of our national strength and happiness.”

The circumstances which had caused the secession of Mr. Huskisson from the duke of Wellington's government could not be remembered without poignant regret, which was mournfully revived at the close of the summer of this year.

That great domestic revolution which was to change the whole face of England and the habits of its people, now announced itself in the opening of the railway from Manchester to Liverpool. The ceremonial was fixed for the 15th of September, and a grand celebration had been planned, at which the duke of Wellington consented to be present. At the dinner which was to be given on the occasion, it was expected that the duke of Wellington would have something to say on the subject of the recent French revolution. It had been rumoured, that the ordinance issued by the minister of Charles X., had the sanction of the duke; that, in fact, he had encouraged prince Polignac to persevere in a line of conduct which had lost Charles a throne, and seemed likely to cost the minister his head. Several journals expressed an opi-

nion, that the entertainment to be given at Manchester would offer a favourable opportunity to the duke for explaining himself on the subject of the ordinances. The surmise that he had prompted—that which had proved so fruitful of disaster—was groundless. In a London evening paper, which was understood to be in communication with government, the following statement appeared:—"We feel it proper to declare, lest the duke should consider the introduction of this topic at Manchester improper, that the friends of the duke, and the duke himself, have plainly and unequivocally contradicted this rumour; and we now repeat, that the duke was not a party to the appointment of prince Polignac as minister to Charles X.: the duke disapproved, from the very first week of Polignac's administration, of the course he was pursuing; and the duke never wrote to prince Polignac during his administration, or sent any letter, or sent any message in approval of his conduct; or urging him to any unconstitutional act; or sent any message at all in reference to his conduct as a French minister."

From the contradictions thus supplied, it will be collected that industrious malice had been on the alert to impute to the duke of Wellington, not only all the distress which had been felt in England, but much of the mischief, tumult, and bloodshed, which had been unhappily witnessed in a neighbouring country. The English ambassador in Paris, however (lord Stuart de Rothsay), had been ignorant that the fatal ordinances were prepared, till they came before the public. Rumours were abroad respecting them, and he had made inquiry on the subject, but had been assured the rumours in question were wholly without foundation. "If," demanded a writer in the *Spectator*, "lord Stuart de Rothsay did not know the intentions of the French government, how could the duke of Wellington, or any member of the cabinet in London, know them? We neither speak from authority nor for authority; but we make a plain statement which is due, we conceive, to the duke's character. His grace is fair game as a minister of the crown; but he is entitled, as every Englishman is, to fair play."

Mr. Huskisson, as the member for Liverpool, had taken a lively interest in the extraordinary undertaking now completed, during its progress, and rejoiced in the opportunity

which was afforded of witnessing the opening of the railroad. At a very early hour on that day, vast crowds were seen moving towards the spot at which the formal proceedings of the directors were to commence. About ten o'clock the duke of Wellington reached Liverpool, and was welcomed with loud acclamations by the multitude assembled to behold the first grand progress on the first public English iron-road. A splendid state-carriage had been prepared for his grace, which carried him through the tunnel, while the band heralded his advance to those beyond it, by striking up "See the conquering hero comes." "The pomp of pageantry" began. Engines with waving flags and bright colours were displayed, music sounded, and rejoicing shouts were heard when the carriages started—one portion on the down, and the other on the up-line. Nothing could exceed the success of the undertaking; and all was pleasant until the arrival at Parkside, where the engines were stopped for a fresh supply of water. The company had been requested not to leave their carriages: the caution was also given in printed directions. It was misunderstood or disregarded. Most of the gentlemen in the "Northumbria" (the carriage in which the directors and the more distinguished of the guests were placed), when the train stopped, got out, and formed in groups on the line. Suddenly an alarm was given that the "Rocket" engine was rapidly approaching, and the various parties dispersed. Mr. Huskisson had been conversing with Mr. Joseph Sandars, one of the principal originators and promoters of this railroad, and congratulating that gentleman on having seen a work of such magnitude happily brought to a conclusion under his auspices, when he was called away to several gentlemen, who were anxious to hear his opinion on a subject they were discussing.

Mr. William Holmes, with a view of terminating that coldness which had grown out of recent circumstances between Mr. Huskisson and the duke of Wellington, led the former round to where his grace was seated, Mr. Huskisson saying—"Well, I must shake hands with the duke on this day, at any rate." Wellington, on seeing the right honourable gentleman approaching, immediately extended his hand towards him, which was very cordially shaken by Mr. Huskisson. It was then that the "Rocket" was seen to be rapidly advancing.

ing, which caused a general movement of the persons about the "Northumbria," and an admonitory and rather alarming cry of "get in" was heard. Mr. Huskisson attempted to escape the danger by crossing, but the steepness of the bank prevented his exit from that side. Mr. Holmes, who remained near him, and was nearly in the same situation and exposed to like danger, drew himself up as closely as possible to the duke's car, there being a space of about eighteen inches between the two lines. Having thus stationed himself, Mr. Holmes remarking some confusion or irresolution in Mr. Huskisson, called out to him, for God's sake to be firm. The right honourable gentleman grasped the door of the "Northumbria," it swung open, was struck by the "Rocket" as it passed, and Mr. Huskisson fell on the railway. His right leg was instantly crushed by the wheel of the engine. He moved a little out of its path before it came in contact with him, otherwise it must have gone directly over his head and breast. As it was, the wheel crushed his left thigh, squeezing it almost to a jelly. Mrs. Huskisson was near, and had the affliction to see her husband bleeding and in great agony. The earl of Wilton and Mr. Holmes rushed to his assistance, and raised him from the ground. "I have met my death; God forgive me!" were the only expressions that escaped the unfortunate gentleman in that sad moment. He asked for his almost distracted lady, who approached him. A board was procured, upon which Mr. Huskisson was placed, and then lifted into the orchestral car, from which the musicians had been removed. He consented to this with great reluctance, having requested the surrounding spectators to let him die where he was.

The melancholy catastrophe greatly affected the duke. To lose an old and highly-esteemed friend at the moment of being reconciled to him, after an unfortunate estrangement (caused, he might probably feel at that moment, by something like harshness on his part), was an affliction such as few men have known. It was the wish of his grace that the joyful business which had been in progress should at once terminate; but, on its being represented that public expectation had been raised so high at Manchester, that, if the train did not proceed, serious disorders might occur among the multitudes that thronged the end of the

railway, he consented to the forward movement for which the directors contended, but which, under such mournful circumstances, had necessarily more the air of a funeral procession than that of a festive celebration. No entreaties could induce him to take part in the festivities which had been prepared at Manchester. He and sir Robert Peel remained in the car which had carried them thither, and partook of some slight refreshments brought to them there, while a portion of the company, not much affected by the catastrophe of the morning, did not refuse the solace of a cold collation.

The last moments of the duke's distinguished friend were marked by manly fortitude. When it was determined that the procession should advance, the carriage of his grace and that of the directors were attached to those which accompanied the "Phoenix" engine, and in this manner the whole proceeded at a slow pace towards Eccles, where a stoppage took place, and the duke and his friends made inquiry respecting the condition of Mr. Huskisson. The "Northumbria," which had by this time arrived from Manchester with Mr. Ransome and other surgeons, was reattached to the duke's carriage, &c., and the whole proceeded, in the order originally agreed upon, to Manchester. The "Northumbria," with the duke and directors, arrived in front of the warehouses about a quarter before three; but the other engines and carriages did not come up till some time afterwards. Mr. Huskisson, and the party who accompanied him, reached the vicarage of Eccles about half-past one o'clock. A couch was carried to the railway, upon which he was placed, and, in a reclining position, he was removed into the drawing-room of the vicarage. A bed was immediately prepared for him; but the pain which he endured was so severe that he could not be carried to it, and he remained upon the couch until the moment of his death. On arriving at the vicarage, the surgeon found Mr. Huskisson in a state of extreme suffering, but remarkably composed, and exhibiting extraordinary firmness of mind. The bones of the leg were broken into small pieces, and a considerable wound was visible on the skin and muscles. The thigh-bone, above the middle part, was also broken into several fragments, and the muscles were laid bare, high up the thigh, exposing the principal nerves and blood-vessels. The professional gentlemen decided that it was impossible to venture upon the amputation of the limb. The sufferings of

the patient, during the few hours he survived, were most acute. Every now and then groans of the deepest agony were extorted from him by the intensity of the pains which he was enduring: there were, however, no screams, no murmurings against the dispensations of Providence; but every symptom of the most manly courage, the most unshrinking fortitude, and the most Christian resignation. In the course of the evening, when Mr. Blackburne, the vicar, in reading the Lord's-prayer to him, came to the clause, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," Mr. Huskisson said, in a firm and distinct tone of voice, "That I do most heartily; and I declare to God that I have not the slightest feeling of ill-will to any human being." The sacrament was subsequently administered to him and Mrs. Huskisson. He did not make any allusion, or send any remembrance to his political friends. He showed a natural anxiety for the preservation of his character as a statesman. "The country," he said, "has had the best of me. I trust that it will do justice to my public character. I regret not the few years which might have remained to me, except for those dear ones," he added—grasping Mrs. Huskisson's hand, and looking with affectionate regret upon her dejected countenance—"whom I leave behind me." In the midst of his sufferings he retained the most perfect self-possession. He called for his private secretary, and desired him to draw up a codicil to his will, to which he made several verbal corrections; and having given the paper signed "W. Huskisson," he desired to have it brought to him again, that he might place a dot between the W and Huskisson, which was his usual practice. He took an affectionate leave of his lady, and requested the surgeons who had been called in to refrain from administering cordials, which could only prolong his sufferings. "God bless you all!—let me die at once," was his last exclamation.

A corporation dinner was to have been given to his grace, at Liverpool, on the following day, when the freedom of the corporation was to be presented to him. Some of the parties concerned expected, notwithstanding the melancholy event which has been narrated, that the duke would attend, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. Crowds thronged the streets of the town on the morning of the 16th, expecting his arrival. They were disappointed; as, at an early hour, the following note, addressed to

the mayor, was received from his grace, which had been forwarded from Childwall, a seat belonging to the marquis of Salisbury, where the duke had been staying, and to which he had retired after the accident:—

"Childwall, September 16, 1830.

"Half-past seven, A.M.

"Sir,—I enclose a note received, about an hour ago, from lord Wilton, which will make you acquainted with the melancholy result of the misfortune of yesterday. Having all been witnesses of this misfortune, and as all must feel for the loss which the public, and the town of Liverpool in particular, has sustained in Mr. Huskisson, I do not think that it would be satisfactory to any, that there should be at this moment in the town any parade or festivity. Under these circumstances, I propose not to visit the town this morning; and I request you to excuse me for declining to dine with the corporation this day. I likewise beg leave to suggest to you the expediency of postponing, to some future period, the ceremony of your delivering to me the freedom of your corporation, to which you did me the honour of admitting me some time ago.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

The letter of lord Wilton, enclosed in the foregoing, announced the death of Mr. Huskisson, at nine o'clock on the preceding evening.

The outbreak in France which terminated the reign of Charles X., led to the elevation of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, to the throne. Charles wished to abdicate in favour of his grandson: but this was not regarded; and he and his family were compelled to leave France. On the 9th of August, the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, and being, after some slight hesitation, accepted, he was installed as king of the French without the usual forms of consecration and coronation. The ceremony was likened to the inauguration of the president of a court of the prefect or mayor, by convening thereto the authorities or public functionaries. The foreign ambassadors were embarrassed how to act; and on the day of the inauguration, while every other part of the chamber was crowded, their gallery was peopled only by a few ladies and *attachés*. On this occasion the golden *fleurs-de-lis* had been removed from the drapery about the throne, and four large tri-coloured flags were elevated behind it.

The charter was then sworn to. Ninety peers were present; seventy-six created by Charles, and who had protested against the new charter, did not appear.

Louis Philippe, seated on a chair in front of the throne, his head covered, and his sons standing on each side, called for the declaration of the 7th of August, as agreed to by the peers, which was read and delivered to him; then rising, he addressed the peers and deputies to this effect:—"I have read, with much attention, the declaration of the chamber of deputies, and the act of agreement of the chamber of peers. I have carefully weighed and considered all their expressions. I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and engagements which the declaration now presented contains, and the title of 'king of the French,' which it confers upon me; and I am ready to swear to their observance." He then, still standing, received in his left-hand the form of the oath; and at that moment the whole assembly rose, and the new king, uncovering his head, and elevating his right-hand, solemnly pronounced the oath in an audible voice. It ran thus:—"In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration. To govern only by the laws, and according to the laws: to cause good and exact justice to be rendered to each according to his right; and to act in all things with a view only to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." His speech called forth enthusiastic acclamations; but some confusion was remarked. Those who had made the duke a king, had not as yet determined on his style and title; and the various cries of "Long live Philippe VII.!"—long live Philippe I.!" and "Long live the king of the French!" were heard. Four marshals of France then came forward with the crown and sceptre and other insignia of royalty, with which they invested Louis Philippe. At the time France greatly rejoiced in the change; and the three days which had witnessed the terrible struggle, and which were declared to have saved the nation, were ordered to be kept in all succeeding years as holidays. The citizen king was praised for mingling with the people, as he not unfrequently gratified them by appearing in Paris, unattended by guards. The queen, with great humanity, visited the hospitals to which the wounded had been carried; and

in this charitable movement her royal daughters were associated. The new king frequently invited to his table members of the deputations which presented addresses on his accession; officers of the national guard, provincial magistrates, and students from the colleges were admitted to the same honour. Such condescension rendered the royal family popular.

The revolutionary movement in France, on this as on former occasions, was felt in every part of England. During the elections the people were violently excited. The members of the old tory party thought the country in imminent danger. Lord Eldon, in a letter, dated August 19, 1830, wrote:—"To get a thorough insight into the French revolution, you have only to read the proceedings at meetings at London, and all that is stated in them. It will require a master-head—such as Pitt had, and nobody now has in this country—to allay what is brewing (a storm for changes) here, especially for reform in parliament. Everybody here seems to think that the borough members of parliament can scarcely be preserved till another parliament. Such a change, considering that the present system is the support of a floating aristocracy, must, if it take place, deeply affect the higher orders, and perhaps the monarchy itself. My head is full of thought upon this subject. I care not who rules, provided our system of government can be preserved." In another letter, written a few days later, his lordship prophesied as follows:—"The Frenchmen are making what can't long exist—a republican government with a king at the head of it. They will soon find that such things can't co-exist, and revolution has not yet done its work in that country, I persuade myself." He added:—"I fear that, to a certain extent, it will do work here." He afterwards wrote:—"This French business has all possible bad effects here. It poisons the minds of multitudes, among the different orders in the country and town."

The effect produced in England, was a fierce and really menacing demand for a reform in the representation of the people. In October his lordship told lord Stowell,—"Report insists that a negotiation is going on between ministers and Palmerston and company. I incline to believe it. I hear that it is also reported that a pledge has been given that this shall be a partial parliamentary reform, and some kind of a par-

liamentary measure about tithes. I have heard, also, that there is to be a reduction in the civil-list."

A strong feeling prevailed, that from the want of parliamentary reform, unprincipled men had got into the house of commons, who for their own benefit, regardless of the interests and feelings of the people, had involved the nation in expensive wars, for which no necessity existed. It was truly remarked, that this view of the subject was not borne out by history; and that where the democratic will had been most loudly expressed, and most implicitly obeyed, peace had not been preserved in any remarkable degree. But the popular outcry still was, that a corrupt majority voted for war; that war caused loans to be required; and hence the national debt had been swelled to an amount so enormous, that the interest could not, and ought not, to be paid much longer. However erroneous these conclusions, that the permanent burden on the nation had been immensely increased, was a fact that it would have been folly to attempt to deny or conceal. An able writer gave, at this period, the following *exposé* of the progress of the debt, and the state and prospects of the country:—

"Our debt, at the revolution in 1688—now no more than a hundred and forty years ago—amounted only to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds. It has since advanced in nearly geometrical progression; and, at the conclusion of the revolutionary war, in 1815, the unredeemed and unfunded debt amounted to seven hundred and eighty-nine million eight hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and twenty-four pounds. On the 1st of February, 1816, it amounted to eight hundred and thirty-four million four hundred and ninety-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty pounds; and on the 1st of February, 1817, to eight hundred and sixteen million seven hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and six pounds. In 1828, the unredeemed and unfunded debt still amounted to eight hundred and seven million, seven hundred and forty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-eight pounds. We have, therefore, during a profound peace of thirteen years, cleared off no more than between twenty-four and twenty-five million pounds at the utmost; which sum is scarcely equal to one-half the debt we contracted during one or two single years of the preceding war. It is urged by many

persons, that the amount of this debt is of comparatively little consequence, because the greatest part of it is due to natives; and that, though the debt has greatly increased, our wealth has extraordinarily increased also. Both these circumstances are true, and due allowance ought to be made for them. They then urge that, comparing our debt with our means, our condition is better (rather than worse) than that of most of our continental neighbours; that though bankruptcy has often been predicted, it has never yet happened; that, if it did happen, an equitable arrangement with the public creditors would prevent much mischief from ensuing; but that they really cannot reconcile it to their minds, that such an event is within the bounds of the most distant probability. We feel ourselves obliged to declare that we cannot adopt this soothing view of the subject. The amount of the debt is so enormous, that the mere statement of it could not fail to carry alarm to every one possessed of ordinary prudence and foresight, unless familiarity had rendered us insensible to our danger. 'Nations,' says Burke, in his *Thoughts on the French Revolution*, 'are wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt. Public debts, which at first were a security to government, by interesting many in the public tranquillity, are likely, in their excess, to be the means of their subversion. If governments provide for the debts by heavy impositions, they perish, by becoming odious to the people. If they do not provide for them, they will become undone by the most dangerous of all parties—I mean an extensive, discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed.' When it is further considered, that the interest of the debt now greatly exceeds the half of our whole annual income; that it is by no means impossible that the people may become distressed by paying the taxes now imposed, or that their amount, when paid, may be found to diminish—that the pressure of the debt, instead of being relieved by a fall in the value of money, may be aggravated by the continuance of the rise we have now for some years experienced—that the debt, which has been so little reduced during so unusual a course of peace, must rapidly accumulate on the recurrence of another war;—it is impossible for any rational man not to feel great uneasiness at our financial situation.

"It is the practice of those persons, who

trust that the chapter of accidents will, some way or other, avert an evil from which they themselves can point out no mode of escaping, to flatter themselves that, if it should unfortunately arrive, it will prove less dreadful in reality than in prospect. It appears to us unmanly and discreditable to rely on such consolations as these: we prefer looking facts in the face. In most countries of the continent, the reduction or delay of payment of the interest of the day would be no novelty. It can do comparatively little injury to a despotic government, and might perhaps create no commotion among its injured people; but in this country, where no such crisis has hitherto been known, and where universal and implicit faith is placed in the punctuality with which the engagements of the state will be fulfilled, bankruptcy of any sort would inflict unspeakable distress upon a large part of the community, and bring the very existence of the constitution into danger. To remove all chances of such a catastrophe, it certainly appears to be an object of paramount importance that the magnitude of our debt should be diminished. A season of peace and tranquillity like the present, is by far the most favourable for such an undertaking; and if ever it should, in any shape, be brought under the serious consideration of the government, there is scarcely any sacrifice to which the country would not cheerfully submit, provided it were satisfied that the plan would be faithfully carried into execution. To find our finances placed on so stable a foundation as to render an inconsiderable excess or deficiency in the year's or quarter's revenue a subject neither of sorrow nor exultation, and to ensure the gradual, but constant and perceptible liquidation of our debt, would have the most beneficial influence on the affairs of the state, as well as on those of every description of its subjects.* In the same article it was shown that the assessments for poor-rates had, within eighty years, been increased more than ten-fold the amount assessed in 1748, having been no more than seven hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and thirty-five pounds; that of 1827 having reached seven million eight hundred and three thousand four hundred and sixty-five pounds.

A new parliament having been elected—one, it was on good grounds believed, not very favourable to ministers—the two houses assembled for the first time on the 26th of

October. Mr. Charles Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker; and on the 2nd of November (the intermediate week having been occupied with swearing in members of the house of commons), the session was opened with a speech in which the important changes which had recently been witnessed were noticed. The dethronement of Charles X. was thus glanced at:—"The elder branch of the house of Bourbon no longer rules in France, and the duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of 'king of the French.' Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French court." The speech noticed the affairs of the low countries and of Portugal, and commended to parliament the providing for a regency and the arrangement of the civil-list. His majesty said:—"I lament that the enlightened administration of the king (of Portugal) should not have preserved his dominions from revolt, and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and the complaints of his people to the deliberations of an extraordinary meeting of the states-general, should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states. Appearances of tumult and disorder have produced uneasiness in different parts of Europe; but the assurances of a friendly disposition which I continue to receive from foreign powers, justify the expectation that I shall be enabled to preserve for my people the blessings of peace. Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements, I am persuaded that my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world. I have not yet accredited my ambassador to the court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxix.

relations which had so long existed between the two countries. I am impelled by the deep solicitude which I feel for the welfare of my people, to recommend to your immediate consideration such provision as it might be advisable to make for the exercise of the royal authority, in case it should please Almighty God to terminate my life before my successor shall have arrived at years of maturity. I shall be prepared to concur with you in the adoption of those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the dignity and stability of the crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities by which the civil and religious liberties of my people are guarded.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I have ordered the estimates for those services of the present year for which the last parliament did not fully provide, to be forthwith laid before you. The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with that strict regard to economy which I am determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure. By the demise of my lamented brother, the late king, the civil-list revenue has expired. I place, without reserve, at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which may be derived from any droits of the crown or admiralty, from the West India duties, or from any casual revenues, either in my former possessions or in the United Kingdom. In surrendering to you my interest in revenues which have in former settlements of the civil-list been reserved to the crown, I rejoice in the opportunity of evincing my entire reliance on your dutiful attachment, and my confidence that you will cheerfully provide all that may be necessary for the support of the civil government, and the honour and dignity of my crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,—I deeply lament, that in some districts of the country the property of my subjects has been endangered by combinations for the destruction of machinery; and that serious losses have been sustained through the acts of wicked incendiaries. I cannot view without grief and indignation the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of discontent and disaffection, and to disturb the concord which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happi-

ness. I am determined to exert, to the utmost of my power, all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal for the punishment of sedition and for the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder. Amidst all the difficulties of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of government, under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed for a long succession of years a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country of the world. It is the great object of my life to preserve these blessings to my people, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity; and I am animated in the discharge of the sacred duty which is committed to me, by the firmest reliance on the wisdom of parliament, and on the cordial support of my faithful and loyal subjects."

In the house of lords the address was moved by the marquis of Bute, and found a seconder in lord Monson. The earl of Winchilsea called attention to the great distress which prevailed in this country.—The marquis of Camden denied that the distress was at all to be compared with that which was known in the preceding year.—Earl Grey hoped the duke of Wellington would put himself at the head of the sound part of the community in Ireland, and save the country from those fearful calamities which others who sought to divert the people from their allegiance would inevitably superinduce. He entered into a searching examination of the conduct of ministers, and condemned that of Dom Miguel. He rejoiced in the expulsion of Charles X. from France, and hoped, with respect to the affairs of Belgium, the principle of non-interference would be adhered to by England. He remarked on what had been said in the speech on the subject of Portugal, that he understood the recognition of Dom Miguel was in contemplation on his granting a general amnesty. This, it appeared, he had promised; but whether the promise would ever be fulfilled, who could say? Even in this case there was a departure from the principle of non-interference; for what right had England to dictate to any foreign sovereign that an act of amnesty should be

granted to those who had offended him? His lordship said, the people of England were anxious for a parliamentary reform. He did not know whether ministers were prepared to bring forward any measure of that nature; but if they were not, they would soon be compelled to frame one when it might be more inconvenient to do so than it would be at that moment.

The duke of Wellington said, he was in hopes, judging from the first part of the noble earl's speech, that he should have only had to congratulate their lordships on the sentiments which the noble earl had delivered in commenting on his majesty's speech, and what had fallen from the noble lord and the noble duke. The sentiments of the noble earl did him the highest honour, and became the rank which he ought to hold in the country as a statesman. They did equal honour to his heart and head, and he (the duke of Wellington) congratulated the house on their expression; at the same time, he was sorry he could not agree with what had fallen from the noble earl upon all the points he had touched upon. The noble earl ended his speech with some observations relative to Portugal, and he would commence by answering them. He begged the house to recollect how frequently his late majesty had stated to parliament the inconvenience felt in this country, in consequence of the interruption of our diplomatic relations with Portugal; how frequently his late majesty had stated his wish to re-establish those relations; how anxiously he sought to reconcile the two branches of the house of Braganza; and how frequently, as he repeatedly told the house, he had negotiated on the subject. Having failed in his negotiations to bring about the desired union, his majesty adopted other measures with a view to remove the difficulties of the case, and benefit his subjects; and the royal speech informed the house, that there were now hopes of effecting these objects at an early opportunity. As long as there existed a government in Portugal, keeping a large portion of the talent and property of the kingdom in a state of exile, his majesty could not recognise a government so circumstanced without endangering our safety and honour. An amnesty, therefore, which would permit the return of the exiled party, and guarantee their security, had been long recommended; and the government of Portugal, at length intending to carry it into effect, his majesty conceived the great diffi-

culty to be removed, and expressed his intention to recognise that government. The noble earl had asked, shall we be bound to go to war, to carry into execution that amnesty? That did not follow by any means; and the noble earl would see from the expressions used in his majesty's speech, and from the observations he had submitted to their lordships, that we should not be bound to go to war to carry into effect any part of the engagement. We should be bound to interfere in every possible way, short of actual war, to prevent a violation of the amnesty. Such an interference was very different in its nature from the design referred to by the noble earl, and was perfectly justifiable. Although the noble earl did not approve of the recognition of the Portuguese government, and of the renewal of our diplomatic relations with that country, he was glad to find that he approved of the policy of ministers with respect to France; and he begged to assure the house, in answer to what the noble lord had said, questioning whether it was, or was not, the intention of ministers to proceed in the same spirit in which they had begun, and carry into execution the arrangement with France with good faith, that these arrangements never would have been made if it had not been intended to carry them faithfully into effect. When the government of this country saw the new government of France established, his majesty had not the slightest hesitation in acknowledging the new order of things, and he sincerely hoped that such arrangements would be made, in addition to those already completed, as would conduce to the welfare and best interests of that country, and the lasting peace and tranquillity of Europe. The noble earl had thought proper to find fault with the expressions used in the speech with reference to the government of the king of the Netherlands; and the noble earl said, his majesty had not mentioned one single subject of complaint made by the people of the Netherlands to their sovereign, though those complaints had appeared in a pamphlet which had been published some years ago, and had become matter of history, and were well known to the king. But though that were the case, was his majesty, the ally—the close ally of the king of the Netherlands—in speaking of the government of that sovereign, to mention what had occurred among his subjects as anything but a revolt against his authority? How could his majesty do

otherwise than treat the convulsion which had taken place in the territory of his close and near ally, but as a revolt against his legal and established government? The noble lord had, no doubt, read in the publications of the day a full history of these transactions. They commenced, it was well known, in nothing but a riot. The troops were eventually overpowered by those who had risen under the pretence of putting down that riot, and for which purpose they had ostensibly armed themselves; though they eventually turned their arms against the royal authority. The complaints of the revolvers against the king of the Netherlands, were, in the first instance, absolutely nothing. Of what did they complain? The first object they found fault with was the union of the two countries, and the existence in the administration of the government of a person named Van Maanen, who, however, was actually out of office at the time when the complaints against him were made. The other complaints were of real or supposed grievances, of a partial nature, and the result of local regulations. In fact, it was very well known (and he appealed to every noble lord who heard him, whether he was not correct in saying it), that no complaint whatever was made against the king of the Netherlands personally, or against his administration of the government, or (with one exception) against those to whom he had confided the functions of official duties, until the revolvers had attained a degree of success, and began to aim at what, in the first instance, they had not contemplated. What, then, he again asked, was his majesty the king of England, in speaking of his ally, to do? Was it for him to enter into their complaints, or would it have been proper in him even to have alluded to the subject? He could not hesitate to say, that such a course would have been, in every respect, inadvisable.

His grace did not stop here. He went further in vindication of the king of the Netherlands. That monarch, he said, on reading the complaints which were made to him, had assembled the states-general, the body in whom was constitutionally invested the right and power to remove the grievances complained of by a portion of his subjects. He proposed, as a question for their consideration, what were termed the greatest grievances—namely, the union between the two parts of the country: he laid before

them the wish of one portion of his subjects to dissolve the union as far as the government of the country was concerned; and first he proposed to them the question of revoking certain laws which were obnoxious to his subjects. Would his majesty the king of England have done justice to his ally, the king of the Netherlands,—did justice from one friendly sovereign to another require that he should not assume that his conduct previous to the revolt had been that of a wise and good sovereign, and that he wished to adopt the most effectual measures to remove the grievances complained of? What his majesty the king of England had said, was merely that he lamented these measures had not produced satisfactory results. The noble lord asked, was it possible that the government of England could be a just and impartial mediator, when it had, in fact, pronounced a sentence against one of the parties? He would say, that even the parties themselves could not, and would not, deny the facts which he had just stated, nor would they dispute the correctness of the interpretation which he put upon his majesty's speech from the throne. The Belgians had, in fact, revolted, and that was what his majesty had said in his speech.

The treaties which connected this country with the Netherlands having been alluded to, the duke of Wellington next passed them in review. He said, the first was the treaty of 1814, by which the provinces called Belgium were conceded and adjudged to be joined to the united provinces of Holland, with a view to form a sovereignty under the government of the king of the Netherlands. In consequence of the treaties of 1814, arrangements were made for the government of the Netherlands under the king of Holland by each of the four powers which had made the treaty with France. This arrangement, it was well known to the noble lord, was recorded in the treaty of the eight articles; as also that the treaty referred to the fundamental laws of the united provinces which were to be made applicable to the whole kingdom. There could be no doubt whatever that the four contracting powers were bound by the treaty in the present case. It made over to the king of the Netherlands the whole of Belgium, who received it according to the arrangement of the treaties by which all parties were to be strictly bound. Could it be contended that anything that had since occurred, or that

anything in the present posture of affairs, could alter the obligation or destroy the power of those treaties? Subsequent to the arrangements of which he had been speaking, the treaties had been made matter of record, and a basis of negotiation in the acts of the congress at Vienna; and, in fact, the articles of the treaty of eight articles was an appendix to the treaty of Vienna, to which the king of France became a contracting party. The treaty had therefore received every possible sanction and ratification, and France had become a party to all the arrangements under it which referred to the kingdom of the Netherlands. Notwithstanding that, it had been said the king of the Netherlands could dissolve the union between the two parts of his kingdom of himself, and without consulting those who made the treaties, or desiring their consent to its dissolution. There could be no doubt whatever that the five powers which had signed the treaty of Vienna, would claim the indisputable right to give their opinion upon the future explanations of the articles. England could not attempt to pacify the parties alone. France could not make the attempt; nor could any other power use an effort to pacify or reconcile existing differences alone: the object must be attempted by all the parties in concert, and that concert, whatever the arrangements were, must include France. That there were difficulties in the way of effecting a pacification, he did not deny; but he hoped to get the better of them. He could assure the house that there was no intention whatever, on the part of his majesty's ministers—that there was not the slightest intention, on the part of any power whatever—to interfere, by means of arms, with the arrangements respecting the Netherlands. The desire of his majesty, and of every other party concerned, was to settle, if possible, every point by negotiation, and by negotiation alone.

On a remark which had been made by the noble earl, that the treaty of peace of 1814 had not tended to secure the tranquillity of Europe, which was its object, but had laid the foundation of future wars, the duke thought it right to say, that unfortunately for the noble earl's assertion, as far as experience had yet proved the efficacy of the treaty, directly the reverse had been the case. Since the treaty of 1814, there had been the longest general peace, he believed, ever known in Europe—a peace of sixteen years, uninterrupted only by the

return of Bonaparte from Elba, in 1815. This would show that by conciliation and management, the country might get over present difficulties as it had got over others; and the course which it was necessary to pursue, was to make the general interests of the different powers of Europe compatible with the good government and welfare of the people.

With respect to the call made for the repeal of the union with Ireland, he said it was objected to by all the landed proprietors of Ireland, by a very great majority of the Roman catholics, and by all the protestants, as well as by the unanimous voice of both houses of parliament. But what, he asked, would have been the case if the great measure of catholic emancipation had not been carried? The house well knew that a vast majority of the people of every class, in Ireland, had desired to see the catholics restored to all their civil rights. The house well knew that a majority of its members, as well as a great majority of the other house, had been equally desirous of effecting that object: it well knew that the great majority of the young and growing intelligence of the country had ardently wished for the measure; and would any noble lord contend that the government did not now stand on firmer, better ground, even in reference to the union, than it would have stood on, if the catholic question had not been carried? He did not see the advantage of repeating against him the reproach of his having given way upon the question from fear. He denied that he had been influenced, even in the slightest degree, by any such motive. He had given way (if it could be called giving way), solely because the interest of the country required it. It was not his duty, and it was far from his inclination, to throw imputation on any man; but still he was bound in fairness to say, that if the government had been properly supported upon that question—if it had been supported as vehemently as it had been opposed; if in its efforts to heal the divisions in Ireland, it had not been thwarted—that country would now have been in a very different state. To what had been said on the subject of poverty in Ireland, he replied, that no man either in that country or in this, could be more painfully aware than he was of the extreme poverty of the Irish, and of the great inconvenience and danger to the empire resulting from the state of the lower orders; but he insisted

that it was not by coming to that house, and by talking to their lordships of the poverty of the people, that the poor could be relieved, or that the evils resulting from that poverty could be removed. If they wished to tranquillise Ireland, the way was to persuade those who had money to buy estates and settle in the country, and to employ their capital in its improvement. By transferring capital to Ireland, and exciting industry there, they would soon change the state of the case. If persons of estate in the country would reside in it, and spend their incomes there, they would do more to tranquillise it than all the measures which his majesty's ministers could adopt.

He then glanced at the disorders which had occurred in some parts of the country, and remarked, that the particular county in which the greatest outrages had been witnessed, was not that which had been the scene of the greatest distress. He imagined that the outrages were perpetrated by two different classes of people. Some had been committed by a class which was always disposed to break machinery which they thought (and certainly rightly thought) would, in the first instance, throw them out of work, although they did not see, that eventually machinery created an additional demand for labour, and bettered the condition of the labourers. He was sorry to say there was another class of persons who burned and destroyed property without any visible motive whatever. Of the causes of the recent outrages, ministers knew no more than the gentry and magistracy of the country had told them. They were doing everything in their power to help the gentry and magistracy to discover the causes, and they were giving them every assistance they required to put the law in force, and to put down the disturbances as quickly as possible.

The duke concluded with a remarkable declaration on the subject of parliamentary reform. The noble earl, he said, had spoken of the propriety of speedily effecting a parliamentary reform; but he had been candid enough to admit that he was not prepared with any measure of reform, and he (the duke of Wellington) could have no hesitation in saying, that his majesty's ministers were equally unprepared. He added, for himself he had never heard or read of any measure up to that moment which had, in any degree, satisfied his mind that the state of the representation could be improved or rendered more satisfactory to the country

at large than it was at the present moment. He would not, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite a discussion; but he did not hesitate to declare unequivocally what were his sentiments on that subject. He was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and that to a greater degree than they ever had been answered in any country whatever. He would go further and say, that the legislation and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possessed that confidence; and the discussions in the legislature had a very great influence over the opinions of the country.

Growing warmer as he proceeded, his grace was not satisfied with the almost measureless praise he had bestowed on the parliament, unreformed as it was: he told their lordships more:—"I will go still further," he said, "and declare that if, at the present moment, I had the task imposed on me of forming a legislature for any country (and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions), I do not mean to assert that I could produce such a legislature as we at present possess; for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be to form such a description of legislature as would produce the same results. The representation of the people, at present, contains a large body of the property of the country in which the landed interest has a predominating influence. Under these circumstances, I certainly have not prepared any measure of the description which has been suggested by the noble earl. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of that nature, but I will at once declare, that so long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to oppose every such measure that may be brought forward by others."

The address was carried without a division; but of the declaration thus volunteered, the duke of Wellington was often reminded with bitterness and reproach. It was seized on by his adversaries as a valuable instrument to further their designs; while, by many of his friends, it was pronounced to be anything but well-timed. The happy results of which he had spoken were not, at that moment, remarkably con-

spacious. If, in many parts of the country, the distress which had lately prevailed were in a considerable degree abated, enough remained to demand the most serious attention of the duke's government. Malcontents, as usual at a period of general depression, were actively engaged in ascribing all that the sufferers had to deplore to the incapacity—or, worse, to the selfish wickedness—of ministers. Numerous meetings were called, at which resolutions were passed and petitions voted, calling for a revision of the constitution; declaring all the ills which pressed with such severity on the lower classes, to grow on the defective state of the representation of the people in the house of commons. In Kent, alarm-

ing disorders occurred. Incendiary fires were now beginning to be lighted. Machinery, grain, and cattle were frequently consumed in the dismal conflagrations which were almost nightly witnessed. The miserable example was soon followed elsewhere; and the owner of property saw with dismay a systematic organisation formed against his rights, similar to that which had at once impoverished and degraded Ireland. At first detected offenders were treated with lenity; but the threatening aspect of the wide-spreading evil became appalling, and rendered stronger measures necessary, and large rewards were offered for the discovery of the mad or guilty men who were concerned in such desperate proceedings.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; REFORM CALLED FOR; DISTURBED STATE OF LONDON; MR. ALDERMAN KEY'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE KING AND QUEEN DECLINE VISITING THE CITY ON LORD-MAYOR'S DAY; RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS.

In the house of commons, on the first night of the session, immediately after the usual sessional orders had been read, Mr. Brougham gave notice that, on that day fortnight, he would bring the great question of reform of the commons house of parliament fully under their consideration. He disavowed altogether certain plans which had been put into circulation, and attributed to him; he intended to bottom his reform on the ancient days of the constitution of the country, as exhibited in the plan of its representative system. His scheme would be one of conciliation, so as to combine all interests and all opinions in favour of restoring the constitution to its original purity; his object was not revolution, but restoration.

An answer to the speech from the throne, in an address, was moved, couched in the usual terms, by lord Grimstone. It was seconded by Mr. R. A. Dundas. Lord Althorp criticised some parts of the speech, and took occasion to set forth the importance of an extensive measure of reform, to satisfy the expectations of the people. A very long amendment was then moved by the marquis of Blandford, condemnatory of the last house of commons, and calling, in

strong language, for a parliamentary reform.

Mr. Hume described the speech to breathe nothing but war and expensive establishments, and taking no notice of the distress which then existed in the country. He spoke in terms of admiration of the French, for the efforts which they had made to recover their rights, of which they had been deprived by a despotic monarch. Twelve hundred millions, he said, had been expended by this country to restore the Bourbons; and in three days, all that had been done, at such a vast expense, had been destroyed. Not a word appeared in the speech about a reduction of taxes. He insisted the constitution ought to be restored to what it was in former days. The speech stated that there were individuals who were endeavouring to disturb the public mind, and that dissatisfaction existed among the people. He denied it. There was, indeed, great dissatisfaction with the ministers, but no disaffection to the king. There was dissatisfaction at the bad conduct of government, but he utterly denied that the country was disaffected. Where was the disaffection in England? He had been

in Scotland, and he could affirm there was none there, although there was much distress. Was there disaffection in Ireland? He might be told there was, but he did not believe such to be the fact. Because his honourable friend the member for Waterford (Mr. O'Connell) had taken some whim into his head, was that any reason why government should exercise unconstitutional power against a single individual? While Ireland was suffering from misrule, as it had long been, his honourable friend was perfectly justified in acting as he did.

The duke of Wellington must have consulted his wishes rather than his experience, when he indulged a hope that granting the prayer of the catholics (of whom Mr. O'Connell had so long been the champion) would pacify Ireland. Agitation was stirred up almost as successfully as ever. The main difference between the present and the former posture of affairs was this,—that some of the English allies of O'Connell had fallen off. They looked in vain for that happy state of things—that peace in Ireland—that increase of strength for England from securing the affections of the sister-kingdom, which had been so unreservedly promised as the fruit of catholic emancipation. They found that they had been duped; that tranquillity was not the object of O'Connell and his friends; and were not willing to expose themselves to be cheated again. This matter was treated very lightly by Mr. Hume. Speaking of the state of the kingdom, he said he considered the proclamations which had been issued by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland were unnecessary acts of oppression, and that to charge the people of Ireland with disaffection, was injurious and insulting to the people of that country.

Few people in England concurred, in this instance, with Mr. Hume. The insult offered to authority, by the barefaced shuffles attempted to render proclamations issued in the name of the sovereign of no avail, and in the eyes of the people ridiculous, was too gross to permit men who were not carried away by party zeal, to regard the measures adopted by the Irish executive, in self-defence and to preserve the public peace, as partaking of the character of oppression. The policy and the views of government were explained by sir Robert Peel. In reference to the late occurrences in France, he said, neither the king of England nor his ministers had approved of those acts, on the part of the

French government, which had led to its overthrow. They were much mistaken who could suppose that he had approved of the ordinances of the French minister; or that he had thought them consistent with good policy, or with the fundamental law of France. That he lamented what had occurred, was quite true. He did lament it; and, for that very reason, he deplored the cause. The English government had not interfered in the appointment of prince Polignac (as had been reported), directly or indirectly. This he had stated before, and he now distinctly repeated it. He said he did not know what there was in the speech that could be said to breathe war; and he explained the position in which this country stood with respect to the Netherlands, as the duke of Wellington had done in the other house. Mr. Hume, he remarked, had treated lightly what was passing in Ireland, and had asked, "Might not the member for Waterford (Mr. O'Connell) have a whim in his head, and indulge it, as well as another man?" That whim, as it had been called, Mr. O'Connell had not wished to hear discussed in parliament. But, for what Mr. Hume called a whim, was the peace of a whole country to be disturbed, at the imminent risk of plunging it into confusion and bloodshed? What was the responsibility which some men took upon themselves? He knew not what that responsibility might legally be, but he knew that, in the sight of God and man, they incurred a responsibility from which the most inhuman obduracy might shrink. It was against the designs of such men that the proclamation of the Irish government was directed. Surely it was not to be required of that government, that they were to be gulled and deceived into the belief that the sole object of the association formed in Ireland was to get up petitions. The Irish government, he conscientiously believed, would have justly incurred blame, by omitting to issue the proclamations which had been published. The right honourable gentleman proceeded with increased animation and earnestness:—"Oh! do not let them play with such subjects as these! Do not let them lightly proceed to inflame the minds of men with the mad project of dissolving the union of this great empire! Was it for this that the blood, and the labour, and the wisdom of ages had been expended upon its consolidation? Having first destroyed the heptarchy; having then united Wales to this country; having

next effected the union with Scotland; and having, at last, consummated the union of the British empire, by bringing Ireland into the family of nations, were they now to begin to retrace their steps—to dissolve the whole into its original component parts? If they began with Ireland, why should they stop there? There were other countries which had made some sacrifices to obtain the same common good; others who were equally and justly proud of the independence which they had lost, but who were sensible of the blessings, of the power, and the greatness, which union had conferred upon the whole. No, sir," he said in conclusion, "Ireland is not to be separated from England. The agitation of a repeal of the union may raise an individual upon a bad eminence, but it will be at the expense of the best blood of the two countries; at the expense of the repose and the tranquillity of one, but of still more lamentable consequences to the other."

Mr. O'Connell described the misery of Ireland to result from absenteeism, the sub-letting act, and the union; and complained of the tyrannical conduct of the Irish government. He was followed by Mr. Brougham, who said he had a right to carp and cavil at the whole speech, which was, in fact, the speech of the prime minister, and not of the king. It, in effect, declared that the principle of non-interference was at an end, and the English government was, in future, to attend to the internal affairs of other countries. Looking at what had been said with respect to the Netherlands and France, it appeared to him that actual interference had already begun; and if ministers were not frightened away, the peace of England—the peace of Europe, was not worth six months' purchase. They might see again the congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, and a lord Londonderry, and a prince Metternich, attempting to adjust matters with which, of right, they had nothing to do. He spoke of the government as the feeblest that the country had seen, but hoped it would not be thought that, because the present ministry was the weakest that perhaps ever attempted to conduct the government of the country—because they were hardly capable of managing the affairs of the offices over which they presided, and manifestly incapable of managing the houses of parliament—that, unable as they were to direct the bark of the state, even in a calm, they would be the last to call up a tempest. What

he feared was, that they would put themselves in a situation which would render war inevitable. The people of England well knew that the acts of the king of the Netherlands were not wise, were not enlightened. He had marched troops into Brussels pending a negotiation—a negotiation into which he had trepanned his subjects. The people were excited by such an act of perfidy: they indignantly rose, crushed the oppressor, and annihilated his army. The last act of this enlightened monarch—the attack upon Antwerp—might not have been known when the speech was in preparation; but when known, was it not an abuse of language to call the king of the Netherlands an enlightened monarch. There never was, he maintained, a more unnatural union than that which knit, or seemed to knit, Holland and Belgium together. Their religions were different, their languages were different, and their public assemblies speaking different languages. Their commercial interests were different; and the consequence was, no real union could exist between them. He hoped ministers would avoid war. In this country, though there might be some disaffected persons, the great body of the people were sound. He loved a limited monarchy, though he felt no disrespect for a republican form of government. That form might do well in America, but it would not answer here; because the people preferred a limited monarchy—a constitution composed of king, lords, and commons. The people also liked an aristocracy; and in every limited monarchy there must be an aristocracy.

No opposition was given to the address; but Mr. Hume gave notice that on the next day he would state his opinions in such a way that they might appear on the journals of the house. When the report of the address was brought up, the subject-matter of it was again debated. Mr. Brougham did not object to the intended recognition of Dom Miguel, because his was a government *de facto*, but he regretted that the recognition was thought of at the present time, because it seemed like a sarcasm on Louis Philippe, and in effect said, "we have recognised you, and shall therefore recognise Miguel, because we think him as good and legitimate a king as you are."—Sir Robert Peel was sorry that it should be supposed the recognition of Dom Miguel was meant in any way to diminish the grace of the recognition of king Louis Philippe. When the latter was chosen king of France, there was not a moment's

hesitation in establishing diplomatic relations with him; the recognition of Dom Miguel had not yet taken place. Mr. Hume, in accordance with his announcement of the preceding day, proposed two amendments to record his opinions. They expressed regret that no intention of reducing taxes appeared in the speech, and hoped the people would take vengeance on a government who showed so little sympathy for the sufferings of the people. By vengeance (on the expression being noticed by sir Robert Peel) he explained his meaning to be, that he hoped they would turn ministers out of their places. The amendments were rejected.

In London the voice of discontent was loud, and unmeasured abuse was levelled against those at the head of affairs. The 9th of November was now fast approaching; and at the commencement of a new reign the citizens of London expected, in conformity with long-established usage, to be honoured with the presence of the sovereign at the grand festival which annually celebrates the inauguration of their chief magistrate. William IV. and his queen had graciously consented to attend at Guildhall on lord-mayor's day, and great preparations were made to receive the royal guests. Seventy years had passed since a king of England and his consort had met the citizens of London in their Guildhall; and expectation was on tip-toe, when, on the evening of the 7th of November, a letter was received from sir Robert Peel, stating that the king, by the advice of his ministers, had resolved to defer his visit till a future opportunity. The reason given for this was, that "information had been received which gave cause to apprehend that notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and attachment borne to the sovereign by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of the nocturnal assemblage of multitudes to create tumult and confusion, and it would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their majesties if any calamity were to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city." In consequence of this, great disappointment was experienced, not only by those who were to be present at the banquet, but by thousands who had calculated on witnessing the gorgeous pageantry of the day. What was more to be regretted was, it not only disturbed the intended revellers and the sight-seers, but sober-minded men were startled, to learn that the ministers did not think it safe for the king of England to appear in his capital. There certainly had

been remarked, of late, an active disposition to do mischief, and the duke of Wellington, and the newly-established police were pursued by the inflamed multitude with virulent hostility. Hand-bills of a dangerous character had been circulated; and two members of the common council acknowledged that they had warned his grace danger might attend his appearance in the city. Mr. Alderman Key, the lord-mayor elect, had apprised the duke that an attack upon his person was in contemplation. The intelligence was communicated in the following letter:—

"My Lord Duke,—From the situation of lord-mayor, to which I have been elected, numberless communications are made to me, both personally and by letter, in reference to the 9th; and it is on that account that I take the liberty of addressing your grace. Although the feelings of the respectable citizens of London are decidedly loyal, yet it cannot but be known there are, both in London as well as the country, a set of desperate and abandoned characters, who are anxious to avail themselves of any circumstance to create tumult and confusion. While all, of any respectability, in the city, are vying with each other to testify their loyalty on the occasion, from what I learn, it is the intention of some of the desperate characters above alluded to, to take the opportunity of making an attack on your grace's person, on your approach to the hall. Every exertion on my part shall be used to make the best possible arrangement in the city; but at the same time I feel, that should any violent attack be made in one quarter, the civil force alone would not be sufficiently effectual: and I should not be doing my duty, after what I have heard, did I not take the liberty of suggesting to your grace the propriety of coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. I probably may be considered giving you needless trouble; but the respect which I, as well as every person who really wishes the welfare of the country, must have for your grace, and the gratitude we owe you, has induced me to adopt this course.

"(Signed)

JOHN KEY,

"Lord-mayor elect."

This communication was made on the 7th of November; and on the same day an answer was returned by the secretary of state. A letter of more apparently awful import than that of the lord-mayor elect, had, perhaps, never been addressed to a high public character on public matters,

since the communication made to lord Montague, which caused the discovery of what was called the gunpowder-plot. It was corroborated, to some extent, by information received from other quarters. The letter of Mr. Key was sent on Saturday, and the civic festival was to take place on Tuesday. It was felt that no time ought to be lost, and there was little opportunity for inquiry. Under these circumstances the resolution was soon taken on the part of the government, and it was determined that their majesties should be advised not to be present at the Guildhall banquet. A letter, announcing this their decision, was received in the city at nine o'clock that evening, which ran thus:—

“Whitehall, November 7th, 1830.

“My Lord,—I am commanded by the king to inform your lordship that his majesty's confidential servants have felt it to be their duty to advise the king to postpone the visit which their majesties intended to pay to the city of London on Tuesday next. From information which has been recently received, there is reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night, to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the property and the lives of his majesty's subjects. It would be a source of a deep and a lasting concern to their majesties, were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city of London; and their majesties have therefore resolved, though not without the greatest reluctance and regret, to forego, for the present, the satisfaction which their visit would have afforded to their majesties.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ROBERT PEEL.”

When it transpired that such a letter had been received, and that their majesties would not attend the celebration of lord-mayor's day, it caused great alarm in some quarters, and infinite disappointment in others. The storm raised in the city led Mr. Alderman Key to suspect that he had gone too far, writing as he had done to the duke of Wellington. He regretted the step he had taken, and tried to recall or counter-act it, but in vain. On the following day a deputation from the committee of the feast waited three times on the ministers, to offer

explanations in reference to what had been reported; but nothing they could state affected the duke's determination. He insisted that the banquet must be postponed, or a large military force brought into the city. It is impossible to say what might have been witnessed, had William IV. and his consort acted on their previous resolution; but the consequences of their *not* doing so, were serious. A cry was raised that a formidable conspiracy against the sovereign had been discovered, and the preparations made to repress any insurrectionary movement were of themselves sufficient to justify apprehension. Troops and artillery moved in various directions through the city, or in its vicinity; the tower-ditch was filled with water; huge timbers were mounted on its walls, through the small space beneath which and the brick coping, musketry could be used against assailants without exposing the soldiers to the missiles of the rioters. Extra guards were placed at the bank, and at the magazine in Hyde-park, and a powerful military force was ready to act at a moment's notice. Great sensibility was shown at the stock-exchange: the funds fell nearly three per cent. in an hour and-a-half; and trade was almost wholly at a stand.

Many believed that a revolution was at hand. On Monday, the new lord-mayor announced the postponement of his own procession, and the banquet which, according to ancient custom, follows it. This might be a very prudent measure, but it did not abate the alarm which prevailed. It was reported that a regular plan had been organised of the most formidable character. The conspirators were to allow the procession to pass without interruption to Guildhall; but, in the evening Temple-bar was to be closed, the bridge barricaded, and the gas-lamps cut off. During the confusion which must ensue, and the darkness which would prevail, the houses of the wealthiest citizens were to be plundered.

While some regarded this as a subject of solemn meditation, others treated the whole affair with levity. On the Monday several of the members of the common council presented a requisition to the *locum tenens* of the lord-mayor, requesting him immediately to convene a court of common council, for the purpose of considering the communication received from sir Robert Peel relative to the postponement of their majesties' visit to the city. After some demur, this, in considera-

tion of the emergency, was assented to; and in the court held in consequence, the lord-mayor's *locum tenens*, sir Claudius Stephen Hunter, presided. The lord-mayor elect addressed the court, and said no one more deeply lamented the unfortunate result than he did. He however added, he had received letters from various quarters, on the subject of their majesties' intended visit, some of which stated that his majesty would be received with the most ardent expressions of loyalty, but that it would be far otherwise with the duke of Wellington. He had received other communications, stating that it was the intention of a set of desperate and abandoned characters to attack the duke, and upon such a foundation was his communication to the duke built. He had previously, in a communication with sir Robert Peel upon the subject, heard the secretary say, "What are we to do with the duke of Wellington?" The lord-mayor elect added, that his letter had been hastily sent to his grace, and he should never cease to regret that he had acted so erroneously.

The general opinion was, that there had not existed any necessity for taking the serious step on which Mr. Alderman Key had ventured. A resolution was submitted for appointing a committee to prepare a declaratory resolution, expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and condemnatory of the conduct of the lord-mayor elect. On that an amendment was moved to frame a declaratory resolution expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and their regret that circumstances should have occurred to deprive the city of the gratification of the royal visit; which was carried.

Some inquiry into the circumstances of the case was entered upon in the court of aldermen, but no resolution of censure was passed. It was, however, maintained by the most active members of the court, that the lord-mayor had been too precipitate, as they were convinced the civil power, strengthened as it had been for the occasion, would have proved equal to the task of preserving the public peace; and that the king and queen might have proceeded to Guildhall in safety. A declaration to this effect was adopted. Mean-

while serious disturbances were witnessed in the streets of London. A meeting was held, on Monday night, in a building called the Rotunda, on the Surrey side of Blackfriars-bridge, at which Mr. Henry Hunt, a well-known public character, presided. When it broke up a tri-coloured flag was displayed, and a cry was raised of "Now for the west-end." A multitude of rioters passed over Blackfriars-bridge, shouting, "Reform!" "Down with Peel, and down with Wellington!" The mob passed through Fleet-street and the Strand to Downing-street. Thence, after some delay, they were expelled by a body of the police. Several of the disturbers were roughly handled, and three of their number were taken into custody. These disorders were renewed on the following day; and, in the course of the evening, an attack was made on Apsley-house, the residence of the duke of Wellington. Riots of a serious character broke out in other parts of the metropolis; but plunder seemed the object, and they were speedily quelled by the civil power.

If the duke of Wellington had a great dread of the horrors of civil war, he had as great a dread of the consequences of leaving rioters to proceed unchecked; he, in fact, regarded the one as leading directly to the other. Every preparation was therefore made to put down the violence of an insurrectionary mob with a strong hand. The formidable means which were ready to quell riot were happily not required to be brought into action; the awe which they inspired at first, soon subsided, and they were pursued with mirthful ridicule. In many ways a disposition to treat that which had lately been a source of grave apprehension with mockery and derision, was ostentatiously displayed. At the theatre especially this humour found expression. Colley Cibber's version of Richard III. was frequently performed; and as it was understood the lord-mayor of London had stated a plot to have existed for firing the city, the moment the chief magistrate appeared in the play, it became the constant practice of a large portion of the spectators to shout, "Fire, fire!" till the actor who sustained that character left the stage.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE GROUNDS ON WHICH MINISTERS ADVISED THE KING NOT TO VISIT THE CITY, EXPLAINED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; ALARMING CIRCUMSTANCES STATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ELSEWHERE a like readiness to treat the alarm of ministers as extravagant and preposterous, was found to exist; but it was accompanied by more serious condemnation. In parliament, they were exposed to many taunts for the advice they had given their sovereign. The duke of Richmond, in a conversation which arose on the 8th of November, held their alarm to have been unfounded, as he was satisfied the king reigned in the hearts of his people, and that unattended by his guards he might have traversed every street in his capital.

The duke of Wellington then rose to explain what his views had been. He shared the conviction of the noble duke who had spoken, as to the good feeling of the people towards the king. "His majesty," his grace said, "is a sovereign whose public and private conduct most unquestionably deserve the popularity which he has obtained. The letter, however, which was written last night, by command of his majesty, to the lord-mayor elect, was not in any manner connected with that popularity; for his majesty had never the slightest doubt of the attachment and loyalty of all the respectable citizens and inhabitants of the metropolis." The duke then read the letter of the lord-mayor elect; after which he proceeded:—"From that letter, though I felt myself to be placed personally under the same protection of the laws as any other subject, I did not think that I was justified in placing myself in a situation which might be the cause of confusion and tumult in the procession which was to attend his majesty, by adopting the advice of the writer of the letter, and seeking protection from the civil and military power, in such a way as would be likely to produce the very disturbance which all well-disposed men were so anxious to avoid. Under these circumstances, when I received the letter I have read, I felt it my duty to refrain from attending the city feast. My lords, I communicated that determination to my colleagues, and we concluded from the letter of the lord-mayor elect, from other letters which I had received, and from letters received by my right honourable friend, the

secretary of state, on the same subject, that it was very possible that a tumult would occur in the city on the occasion of his majesty's visit; and we thought it our duty to advise his majesty to postpone his visit. We were induced to come to that determination in consequence of the information we received of various descriptions. We had no doubt whatever, looking at the information conveyed to us from different quarters—information on which we could rely—that an attack would be made on the police, that there was a plan laid to extinguish the lights, and that a variety of attempts would be made to excite riot and disorder. My lords, we had no doubt that we should know how to suppress those tumults; but I must say, that I considered it far preferable not to hazard the risk of riot and confusion occurring in the presence of the sovereign; and we, therefore, recommended the sovereign not to put himself in a situation to be a witness of such tumult. My lords, it was solely in that view that we recommended his majesty to postpone his visit, as I conceive it impossible that such confusion and tumult should exist without ending in bloodshed. The people, my lords, would be collected together to witness a pageant—the pageant of his majesty going in state to visit the corporation of the city of London, and conferring on the lord-mayor the honour of dining with him. His majesty's ministers, the great officers of state, and the foreign ambassadors, could not go to the city of London without causing a great collection of people, and making it very probable that riot and confusion would take place. I say, my lords, that there was a chance, and a very great chance, that there would arise serious consequences to his majesty's subjects, and therefore we recommended his majesty not to go. The noble duke has asked if the news of disorder and tumult were confined to the city of London, and if there were not apprehensions of riot in other places. There were not. It was sufficient for me to know that there were such apprehensions in the city of London. With some parts of the country noble lords are likely to be much better acquainted

than I am. The noble duke must know more than I do as to the dispositions of the people of Sussex. In Surrey, and one or two other counties, it is known to your lordships there have been some disorders; there have been some stoppage of works in Lancashire; but I know nothing beyond these to disturb the national tranquillity at the present moment. At the same time I cannot doubt the truth of the information communicated by the lord-mayor elect—namely, that there would have been confusion and tumult in the city if the pageant had taken place. After having said so much, I shall only add, that I shall have no objection whatever to produce the document asked for by the noble marquis [a document relative to the connexion between Belgium and England]; and I can assure your lordships, that there is no inclination in the government of this country, or any other government that I am acquainted with, to do anything which is likely to disturb the peace of Europe."

The earl of Shrewsbury considered that the times were full of danger. From what had been stated by the noble duke, the present was not a period when the feelings of the people could safely be trifled with, or the government, which ought to be administered for the benefit of all, administered for the benefit of a few.—The marquis of Clanricarde said, he had heard the explanation of the noble duke with the greatest horror. His grace had said he had waited with the greatest impatience for an opportunity to justify himself, and he hoped that he would have done away with the panic he had caused—the terror which he had inspired, and restore the property which confidence in him had destroyed. He had advised his majesty not to trust himself among his subjects. He had thrown a slur on the city of London; he had thrown a slur on the nation; and he had thrown a slur on the good name of his majesty. These were the consequences of his conduct.

The noble marquis proceeded to argue that because it was rumoured an attack might be made on the noble duke, that was no reason why the king should not go to the city. The duke of Wellington, his lordship said, had caused a loss of property to a considerable amount. The funds had fallen three per cent. that day, which had caused a serious loss to some persons; and if the noble duke was determined to retain power at all hazards, he did not believe that

the fundholders would ever recover their losses. What, he would ask, was the excuse for all this? Because the noble duke was unpopular. Was that news first known on Saturday? Was there a man among their lordships who did not know that before? Had not the noble duke had painful evidence of that for some time? The pageant, it was said, would create a great crowd; but what would be said if it did not? If it were only an ordinary dinner; if no shops were shut; if the people were not to assemble to do honour to their sovereign; if there were no crowd; would not that be a slight to their sovereign? But how was it that all these hazards were not known before? Was it that the noble duke had no information concerning the state of the people; and was he now, as he was last session, completely ignorant of all the circumstances which caused excitement in the country? After all, he had heard of nothing that should deter his majesty from going to the city, except the rumoured attempt on the noble duke. That was a good reason for the noble duke not going to the city of London. Against such an attack no man would more seriously contend than he would;—honouring the duke as he did as a military man, though as a minister he should always oppose him. To the government and the country his conduct was equally detrimental. There was, perhaps, no person who would not suffer in some degree from the alarm sounded by the noble duke. The news would be spread to distant parts that something serious had happened. It was known that a large military force had been drawn round London, and with that knowledge the communication made to the city of London would have gone forth to the country without one word of explanation. It would be sent through the whole kingdom that his majesty dared not trust himself in the city of London. He concluded by remarking, that the conduct of the noble duke must lower the administration in the eyes of the country, and show that in minute matters of detail, as well as in the more comprehensive duties of government, his majesty's present ministers wanted capacity to administer the affairs of the country.

Earl Grey, dissenting from the general policy of ministers, said no existing treaty bound England to interfere with the affairs of the Netherlands. He approved of the last French revolution, because he thought it was

necessary in consequence of the fatal attempt of the government to interfere with the liberties of the people. At a moment when the country had to contend with difficulties abroad, it was not well that accounts of public dangers at home should be unnecessarily circulated. There was said to have been no danger for the sovereign, but there was some danger of an attack on the noble duke. His lordship went on to say: "I abhor all such attacks; and were I the political enemy of the noble duke (which I am not), I should readily place myself in any situation in which my services could defend the noble duke from any such attacks; which I consider un-English in their character, as they are unmanly and ungenerous. I deprecate all such attacks; and I see with regret any such feelings arise among his majesty's subjects. From the threats against the noble duke, I think he took a wise step in resolving to absent himself from the ceremony." He, however, added, that as the danger to the duke was the prominent feature of the communication received from the lord-mayor elect, there was no proof of disaffection which ought to have deterred the sovereign from visiting the city. He thought the advice which had been given to his majesty was not justified—was not authorised by sound judgment.

The remarks of his lordship called upon the duke of Wellington to explain. Other letters, he told their lordships, besides the communication from the lord-mayor elect, had been received on the subject. They would recollect, that the lord-mayor had stated, in his letter, that he could not depend on the civil power for preserving peace, though all proper measures had been adopted for that purpose. The information which had reached him from various quarters, satisfied his mind that it was intended to make an attack on the police. He had been asked, if his majesty could not proceed to every part of the town alone, without danger of being attacked? His majesty certainly could; but, in this case, the king was not to proceed to the city alone. There was to be a procession, which required that the streets should be kept clear for fourteen or sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. A great number of persons would be collected on one spot; and if an attack were made on the police, it would be necessary, for the safety of their lives, to call for the interference of the military. Was it fit, then, he

would ask, if, when his majesty went to visit the lord-mayor, that there should be a battle in the streets among those who attended to witness a pageant? He had letters in his pocket, and a handbill, calling on the seamen (to the number of three or four thousand) to collect and present a petition to his majesty. He had received various intimations, from persons in different situations, all representing that a disturbance was to be expected. These were sufficient to make the government hesitate, before they received the communication from the lord-mayor elect. Further he would state, that the gentleman who was then lord-mayor, and about to go out of office, had told him the day before, that it would be absolutely necessary that the escort of honour which accompanied his majesty, should remain in the neighbourhood of Guildhall or the Mansion-house.

The statement of this important fact made a deep impression on the house; and his grace then emphatically added: "When the consequences which might have resulted to the city of London are contemplated—when it is seen that bloodshed was likely to ensue—when it is remembered (which is an important feature in the case), that these people would be brought together by his majesty's ministers and the corporation of London—was it to be borne that they should, by perseverance in their original design, be the cause of riot, disorder, and loss of life? I therefore must say, that I was never more satisfied that I had done my duty, than when I had given advice to his majesty not to go to the city." His grace added—he was not alarmed for the danger that might await his majesty; and for himself, any danger to which he might be exposed, was nothing to the possible consequences to the people.

This explanation was declared, by the earl of Radnor, to be not more satisfactory than the former speech of the duke's. He was astonished that four thousand special constables, who were ready to be sworn in, were considered insufficient to preserve the peace. He could not help thinking that, if ministers advised the king not to visit the city, on no other information than that which had now been brought forward, the proceeding looked very like a betrayal of their trust.

What had been said of the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, was controverted by the marquis of Bute. That his unpopu-

larity had gone, to a great extent, the marquis could scarcely believe, as it was not very long since he heard the contrary with his own ears. "Who could be more popular," he asked, "than he was a few months back, when there was a review of the troops in Hyde-park? His advice to his majesty was not to do that which would be attended with the imminent risk of shedding the blood of his subjects; and in doing so, he showed a proper sense of duty."

The speech of the noble marquis closed the conversation; the motion, which was for a copy of the protocol of 1814, relative to the union of Holland and Belgium, being carried.

The postponement of the visit of their majesties was noticed in the house of commons. Lord Althorp brought the subject forward, and desired to be informed on what grounds the king had been advised not to visit the city? Sir Robert Peel replied, by stating the circumstances under which it had been resolved that such advice should be given. His explanation was, in substance, the same as that offered by the duke of Wellington. He read the letter of the lord-mayor elect, and commented with severity on a sarcastic cheer which it called forth. There was in the letter, he said, an intimation from the lord-mayor elect of London to the duke of Wellington, that there was no security for his grace, unless he came provided with a large military guard. "Would it be fitting, I ask," sir Robert Peel said, "for his grace, after all the services he has rendered to his country, to be seen going to Guildhall, accompanied by a guard of soldiers? Is that a salutary state of things, in which it is announced that a minister of the king cannot go to meet his sovereign at Guildhall without being exposed—I do not say to the usual symptoms of popular obloquy, but to the risk of an attack upon his person?"

The house was then told by the right honourable baronet, that the letter of the lord-mayor elect was not the only communication which had been received to that effect. Intimation had reached his office that an attack was to be made on his grace's house in the course of the night, when the police were at a distance, under the pretence of calling for lights to illuminate. "I say," he proceeded, "that such an attack must be accompanied by riot, and that the attempt to suppress such a riot by force, when the streets were filled with women

and children, must be accompanied by circumstances which every one must lament. That, however," sir Robert continued, "is only one of the causes which I have for believing in the possibility of such an attempt at riot taking place. Every one is aware that there existed in the public mind considerable excitement against those authorities which have been appointed, under the sanction of the house, to maintain the public peace,—I allude of course to the body which is known by the name of the new police." To maintain order in the civic procession, had it taken place, it would have been necessary to draw together all the civil power which the new metropolitan police places at the disposal of the magistrates, it being desirable to resort to all civil means, in preference to military means, for the preservation of the public peace. He showed that it would have been difficult to effect this, and at the same time afford due protection to property in all parts of the city; and he then added: "I am now sorry to be obliged to inform the house, that in the course of Saturday and Sunday last, the most industrious attempts were made, in various quarters, to inflame the public mind against the new police. Thousands of printed handbills were circulated, some of which I will read, for the purpose of showing the means employed to inflame the people against that portion of the civil force which is entrusted with the preservation of the public tranquillity. These are not written papers drawn up by illiterate persons, and casually dropped in the streets, but printed placards, not ill-adapted for the mischievous purposes which they are intended to answer. One of them is in these terms: 'To arms!—to arms!—liberty or death! London meets on Tuesday next—an opportunity not to be lost for revenging the wrongs we have suffered so long: come ARMED; be firm, and victory must be ours!' Another of them is couched in the following terms: 'Liberty or death! Englishmen! Britons! and honest men!!! The time has at length arrived; all London meet on Tuesday—come armed. We assure you, from ocular demonstration, that six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang—remember the cursed speech from the throne!! These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?' Now," sir Robert Peel said, "after hearing the inflammatory language of these handbills, I leave the

house to consider how great the likelihood is, that after the police had returned to their ordinary duties in their respective parts of the town, a desperate attack would be made upon them. If it were made, it would of course be resisted by the civil force; if the civil force were not sufficient to repel it, the military would be called in; and then, on that night of general festivity and rejoicing, in the midst of crowds of unsuspecting women and children, there might be resistance, and if resistance, bloodshed occasioned by the necessity of supporting the civil authority." He added, assaults had recently been made on the police. The last public procession was on the 2nd of November (the day on which his majesty opened the session of parliament), and in the course of the night which followed, the police having attempted to apprehend certain persons discovered in the commission of crime, were violently attacked by numbers of the lower classes, and the individual who aided the police, by giving them permission to deposit prisoners in his house and shelter themselves under its protection, had his residence attacked, and most of his windows broken. The next morning there came before the magistrates of the different police-offices in the metropolis, no fewer than sixty-six cases of assaults committed in the course of the night; forty-two of which were ordered to find bail to appear at the sessions, and nineteen were fined or imprisoned in default of payment. Such being the case, he contended ministers could not view, without apprehension, the consequences which were likely to ensue to the police after they had withdrawn to their respective districts. If unprovoked attacks were made upon them (and he had decided proofs that such attacks would be made), was there not danger that in exerting the energy of self-defence, a few desperate characters might, in spite of the great loyalty of the mass of the population of London, have produced consequences highly injurious to the public tranquillity? He, therefore, maintained that with a full knowledge of all the circumstances, the disappointment created by not holding the festival, was a very subordinate consideration indeed, when placed in the balance against endangering the public peace.

The circumstances connected with the postponement of the city festival, appeared to Mr. Brougham such as to justify a severe attack on the government and on the duke of Wellington. The learned gentleman in-

stituted a comparison between the popularity of the king, and the disapprobation evinced for his ministers. That such was the case he regretted, on account of the mischief which it was calculated to produce in the mercantile world; and he regretted it on account of its apparent connexion with that speech from the throne which had been followed up by a more fatal declaration (he alluded to what had been stated by the duke of Wellington) against every species of reform, "a declaration," said the learned gentleman, "to which, in my conscience, I believe the noble duke owes nine-tenths of his present unpopularity." He emphatically continued: "I wish I had not lived to see the day when the brilliant and imperishable renown of his grace, as a general and a conqueror, was associated with a deviation from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics, and an attempt to shine as a statesman. I wish I had not lived to see the day when the forgetfulness of the people of the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier of his own sphere of greatness, has shown to Europe and to the world, that he cannot accompany his majesty in a progress into his capital, and into the hearts of an attached and loyal population."

While sir Robert Peel was speaking on the subject of the meditated attack on the person of the duke of Wellington, a sarcastic cheer was heard, on which the right honourable baronet offered some sharp remarks. Colonel Davies, from whom the cheer had proceeded, rose to vindicate himself, that it might not be supposed he could approve of any attack which a ruffianly rabble might make on the duke of Wellington. He viewed with as much indignation as a man could feel, the infamous attacks made on his grace. What called forth the cheer which had been noticed was the astonishment he felt, that after such an alarming letter as that which had been published—a letter, containing a declaration which he conceived could only be justified by the discovery of some wide-spreading conspiracy against the throne—it should turn out that the main, and indeed the only reason why the city was disappointed of a visit from its sovereign, was the unpopularity of the prime minister. Was it, he asked, the intention of the duke of Wellington, now that he found he could not raise his own popularity to the same height with that of his majesty, to bring down his majesty's popularity to the level of his own

unpopularity? The right honourable secretary had, in his opinion, made out no sufficient case to justify the postponement of his majesty's visit to the city.

Sir Robert Peel rose again. He wished to refrain from replying to the sarcasms which had fallen from Mr. Brougham, as his object was to co-operate with that learned gentleman in his endeavour to calm the public mind. He now meant to state, in the most positive terms, that the learned gentleman had put a correct construction on his language. "I believe," he said, "that the king and queen might safely go to Guildhall to-morrow, without any inconvenience, save that arising from the exuberant loyalty of the people. I believe that, from one end of the procession to the other, there would have been nothing but one universal demonstration of loyalty and affection to their majesties. I believe that every man possessed of property in the metropolis, would have been ready to expose himself to any danger for its protection, and for the preservation of the public peace. I know that among those who had confederated for that purpose were fourteen or fifteen hundred persons connected with the first houses in London. I declare my sincere conviction to be, that never was there an occasion on which greater attachment to the king, and a stronger disposition to maintain the public peace, were displayed." Having made this declaration, the right honourable gentleman showed that, notwithstanding the popularity of the king, designing persons there were reasons for believing, would have found an opportunity for plundering the suburbs or places, which, had their majesties visited the city, must have been left exposed to their violence.

The matter was not allowed to rest here. Mr. Alderman Waithman censured the course which had been pursued by the lord-mayor elect. He would not trust himself to express the indignation he felt at such conduct, as he was satisfied that there was no cause for fear that the citizens of London were not able and willing to prevent any breach of the peace. His majesty, he was sure, might have visited the city, and heard no other sound than the boisterous merriment of a delighted people.

Another member of the court of aldermen, Mr. Thompson, confirmed this view of the case; but he admitted that the government had been placed in a very delicate and embarrassing situation; and he therefore could

not concur with those who threw a stigma on ministers for the advice they had given to his majesty. He was anxious to rescue the city magistrates from the imputation of timidity; and he read a resolution, which had been come to that day in the court of aldermen, in which they unequivocally disavowed the knowledge of any communication made to the government, setting forth the inability of the magistracy to preserve the peace of the metropolis on the lord-mayor's day (which they were bound and ready with their lives to maintain on all occasions), and was quite satisfied of the efficiency of the police, and that the steps which had been taken to increase the civil force, were commensurate with the importance of the occasion. To this it was replied by sir Robert Peel, that on Saturday two aldermen had come to him, as from the city authorities, one of whom was the lord-mayor elect, and the other a gentleman who said he was deputed by the late lord-mayor, who told him that the civil power of the city would not be sufficient to preserve the public peace. He added, considering the heavy responsibility which rested on him, he wished the magistracy of the city of London would be good enough to depute proper persons to make communications to the government.

The conversation was further continued; and, in the course of it, a letter was read, which had been sent to a respectable tradesman, and which ran thus:—"Sir, if you let or illuminate any part of your house on the 9th, your life will be in peril. There is at present too many Englishmen starving, to let money be spent so. (Signed) SWING." This caused laughter in the house; but the member who had produced the letter said it had not been laughed at by the tradesman who received it. Mr. Hume lamented the situation in which the metropolis had been plunged, in consequence of the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, and trusted the house of commons would feel it was their duty immediately to lay an address before his majesty, soliciting him to dismiss the noble duke and his colleagues from his councils.—Sir James Graham considered the unpopularity of the duke and his colleagues arose from the declarations recently made against reform by his grace and by sir Robert Peel. He (sir James Graham) would say, upon that point, in reference to which the duke had said he would concede nothing, that his grace was directly at issue with the people of England; and when he said "the people of

England," he did not mean merely the lower orders, but the middle classes of society, in conformity with whose sentiments the government must be conducted, or it could not stand.

On the subject of the personal attacks which had been made on the duke of Wellington, Mr. Denman participated in the sentiments of disgust which had been expressed. His extraordinary services ought to shield him against personal attacks on account of political opinions. He thought the government ought not to have advised the king to postpone his visit to the city, till they had better ascertained the grounds on which the aldermen who had waited on sir Robert Peel formed their opinion. The late disgraceful attacks upon his grace had been instigated by persons whose interest it was to create a tumult, and who consisted principally of the same class who assaulted the new police (and which, unfortunately, amounted to many thousands) in all great

towns—namely, pickpockets, and vagabonds of that description.

Ever since the trial of queen Caroline, Mr. Denman had enjoyed a large share of popularity. Sir Robert Peel did not let slip the opportunity which now offered of fixing attention on the praises of the duke, and the contemptuous condemnation of his assailants, issuing from such a quarter. He told the house he never could forget the honourable and candid conduct of the learned gentleman, which, however, did not surprise him, knowing as he did his high and honourable character. He was grateful, but not astonished, at hearing the sentiments which the learned gentleman expressed respecting the attacks upon the duke of Wellington, as well as the brutal attacks made upon humbler but very useful individuals. Those sentiments might draw down upon him some unpopularity, but they were the sentiments of all respectable and good citizens in the state.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CAUSES OF THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE CITY ARE CALLED FOR IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; IT IS JUSTIFIED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE NEW CIVIL-LIST IS BROUGHT FORWARD IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; REGENCY QUESTION; MOTION TO REFER THE CIVIL-LIST TO A COMMITTEE; MINISTERS ARE LEFT IN A MINORITY; THEY RESIGN OFFICE; A NEW ADMINISTRATION IS FORMED.

THE business thus dealt with in the house of commons was, two days afterwards, again brought forward in the upper house, when the earl of Radnor begged to ask the noble duke whether he possessed any information respecting it other than that which had been already communicated to them; and whether, such being the case, it was now intended to lay before their lordships the additional information; and he desired to know if ministers had sent the letter written to the lord-mayor, without having previously consulted the king on the propriety of the course they had adopted.

To this the duke of Wellington replied, the noble earl having put to him three questions, he would take the liberty of answering the last first. He would state that his majesty was apprised of the course ministers deemed it advisable to pursue, before the letter which had been mentioned

was written to the lord-mayor. This he had distinctly stated on a former occasion; and he, for one, certainly would not have consented to such a letter being sent, without his majesty's permission being first obtained. The noble earl asked whether his majesty's ministers relied on the lord-mayor's letter as the principal reason for recommending his majesty not to go to the dinner, or whether they had received other information to the like effect? He had mentioned, on a former evening, that he had for many days before that on which the lord-mayor's letter was written, received a number of communications—some anonymous and some with signatures—conveying information of an intended disturbance; but he certainly had not paid much attention to them till he received the letter of the lord-mayor elect. That reached him on Saturday, and he then felt it his duty to

send for his right honourable friend, the secretary of the home department, who considered it was of sufficient importance to require his immediately entering into a communication with the lord-mayor on the subject of its contents; and on the following day, his majesty's ministers came to the determination to advise their sovereign not to attend the dinner. On the evening of the 8th, when the debate took place in that house, he had received still further information on the same subject; and he stated that he had so received it while explaining the course pursued by the government. He was asked if ministers proposed to lay such information before the house? He must beg to decline laying information of that kind before their lordships. If parliament had disapproved of the course pursued by the government, that would have been quite another thing; but the two houses had not thought proper to censure the government, and therefore he did not think it incumbent on him to present the information referred to by the noble earl. Some observations had been made as to an inquiry whether the lord-mayor's letter was a genuine one. It was perfectly true that the gentleman deputed to carry the letter from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor, was directed to make the inquiry; because the circumstances were so extraordinary, that the right honourable gentleman, though he had had several communications with the lord-mayor on the subject before, did feel that in a case of so much importance, it was necessary to avoid all possibility of imposition. It had been said, what need could there be for military assistance in a city where there were four thousand constables? Why, did not the noble earl see that the city had been in a state of uproar and confusion through the night, notwithstanding it possessed four thousand constables. In speaking of bloodshed, the use he meant to make of that word was, that if there were riot and confusion in the city, it would become necessary to re-establish the public peace, in order that his majesty might pass in safety to his palace; and, to accomplish such a purpose, he feared blood might be shed. On all these considerations he felt that ministers were perfectly justified in recommending his majesty to abstain from incurring the hazard of witnessing such a contest. He thought they were entitled to as much approbation for sending the letters which the

noble earl condemned, as for any other determination ever adopted in the course of their administration, and he rejoiced that he had been one of those who recommended his majesty to avoid the danger which his visit to the city might have produced.

This speech was listened to with eager attention. It had not the effect of preventing some additional sarcasms being launched against the duke and his colleagues. Their lordships were told the house ought not to take the bare word of his grace; that further and better information ought to be obtained than had as yet been produced; but no motion was made on the subject.

Petitions continued to be poured into parliament, complaining of distress and of the heavy pressure of taxation on the industrious classes. Discontent was abroad, and the call for a reform in parliament became louder than ever.

The house of commons went into committee on the 12th of November, to consider of the settlement of the civil list for the new reign. In opening the business, the chancellor of the exchequer dwelt on the attachment of the people of England to monarchy, and their anxiety to promote the comfort and dignity of the sovereign. He proposed, for the purposes of the new civil-list, a grant of nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, being less, by eighty-five thousand pounds, than the provision made for the late king. This, however, was far from being the amount of the whole saving which would be made. First, there was thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds, which had been paid to his majesty when he was duke of Clarence, and there was a saving of fifteen thousand pounds upon civil contingencies, giving together an immediate saving to the state, upon the civil-list, of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds. Other reductions, in prospect, promised a total saving of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds.

This arrangement was not approved by lord Althorp, and it was protested against by Mr. Hume as that which the country would receive with disappointment, if not with indignation. It was ably defended by sir Robert Peel. Notice was given by sir Henry Parnell, of a motion to refer the whole subject to a select committee—a course which met with the approbation of Mr. Brougham. The chairman reported progress, and the committee was ordered to sit again on the 15th.

The importance of providing for a regency,

in case of the demise of the crown (though postponed from the last session, that it might receive due consideration), was so obvious, that little time was lost in bringing it forward in this. The lord chancellor, on the 12th of November, submitted a bill to the consideration of the lords, prepared in conformity with the recommendation in his majesty's speech at the opening of the session. In the bill now introduced, his lordship said, ministers had not thought it necessary to provide for every possible contingency that might occur. Having considered what were the various exigencies likely to arise, and the means which would exist for legislating for any of those exigencies, at any of the periods when they were to be expected; and as it appeared that, on these occurring, there would be no more difficulty of legislating for them than at the present moment, they had determined not to anticipate the decision of a future legislature, but to leave the question free and untouched. The main point now in view was to protect the person, and secure the succession to the throne, of her royal highness the princess Victoria. "That illustrious personage," his lordship proceeded to say, "is now in the twelfth year of her age . . . The period of her majority, as qualifying her for the sovereignty of the country, will not arrive until her royal highness is eighteen years old. The principal object of the bill, therefore, is to provide, in the event of the demise of his majesty before the princess Victoria shall have arrived at the age of eighteen, for the administration of the government of the country during the interval. That was the duty imposed upon ministers in preparing the bill; but I am only speaking in unison with the feelings of the great body of the people of the country, when I offer an earnest prayer that the life of his majesty may be long preserved to his faithful and affectionate subjects. But, my lord, notwithstanding all the wishes and all the hopes we may entertain on this point, it is necessary that we should look to that which, however much it may be deprecated, is nevertheless a possible occurrence; and it is in this view of the subject that his majesty's ministers have prepared the measure in question."

His lordship described its provisions to be of the most simple character. The first question which would naturally be asked was, whom did they propose as the guardian of her royal highness under the circumstances inferred? The answer, he was

sure, would suggest itself to every mind—it would be quite impossible that they could recommend any other to fill that important office than the illustrious princess, the mother of the princess Victoria. The manner in which her royal highness the duchess of Kent had hitherto performed her duty, in the education of her illustrious offspring, (he spoke upon this subject, not from vague report, but from accurate information), afforded the best grounds to hope most favourably of her royal highness's future conduct. Looking at the past, it was obvious they could not find a better guardian for the time to come. The recommendation of ministers, therefore, was, that on the event of the demise of the crown, the duchess of Kent should be appointed sole regent. But perhaps it would be said, "it might happen that a child will be born to his present majesty. Will the bill provide for that event?" His answer was distinctly in the negative; as, should such an event occur, the legislature would be as competent to provide for it then as it was at the present moment. It was proposed by ministers that the duchess of Kent, in the event of her succeeding to the regency, should not be fettered by any council, but should be left to administer the government by means of the responsible ministers of the crown. In case of a posthumous child being born to the king, it was thought the regent should be divested of her authority. The bill would provide, that in the event of the birth of a child after the demise of the sovereign, her majesty the queen should become the guardian of the child, and the regent of the kingdom. The bill, which was entitled "an act to provide for the administration of the government of the country, in case the crown should descend to her royal highness the princess Alexandrina Victoria, daughter of his royal highness the duke of Kent, being under the age of eighteen years, and for the care and guardianship of her person," was then brought in, and after a few words in approbation from lord Eldon, read a first time.

Notwithstanding the ease with which this important measure was carried, the stability of the government was not secured by its success. Its new friends fell off; its old adherents did not return; and it was soon obvious that the hours of the Wellington administration were numbered. From the feelings which had been excited in this country, the difficulties which now pressed

on the duke of Wellington and his colleagues, were such as they could not hope successfully to meet.

On the 15th of November, the committee of the whole house again entered on the consideration of the civil-list, when the motion of which notice had been given was brought forward by sir Henry Parnell, in an argumentative speech. It called for the appointment of a select committee "to examine the accounts presented to this house by order of his majesty, connected with the civil-list, and to report thereon."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he adhered to the opinion he had originally entertained when the subject was first submitted to the house, that the best course was for the ministers to present to the house estimates of the proper expenditure and arrangements of the civil-list, rather than to delegate the duties and the responsibility which it involved to a select committee; and was prepared to maintain that a select committee was not calculated to effect any economical object, which it was not competent to the house, looking at the statements and estimates laid before it, to effect. He strongly opposed the motion. To accede to it would not, in his judgment, be consistent with his duty as a minister of the crown. [In answer to a question put to him by the chancellor of the exchequer, sir Henry Parnell said he only desired that the committee should be possessed of power to examine the accounts laid before it.] The right honourable gentleman proceeded. He wished the house to see what it was the honourable baronet would delegate to a committee, without powers to call for persons, papers, and records. Not content with empowering a committee, thus constituted, to go into the whole of the estimates of the civil-list, he wished the committee to come to a decision on the best mode of keeping public accounts. Was it possible that a committee, going into these extensive and difficult inquiries without powers to institute a sufficient examination, could ever do good? Was it conceived that its debates and discussions should ever come to a satisfactory conclusion, or that they would not be so prolonged and delayed as to throw impediments in the way of what it must be the desire of the house to expedite, with a view to public convenience, as well as in reference to the dignity of the crown? It appeared that the whole sum enjoyed by his late majesty from the civil-list, &c., was one million

two hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-two pounds; deducting from that amount one hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds, now transferred from the civil-list, the balance was one million fifty-five thousand four hundred and forty-eight pounds. The estimated amount of the future charge was nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, leaving in diminution of charges, after providing for the queen, a clear saving of eighty-five thousand four hundred and forty-eight pounds upon the last civil-list. Let the honourable baronet go through the various classes of the civil-list as now proposed, and he would see the items on which the saving was effected. In a committee, the honourable gentleman would have nothing but the papers which were then already on the table, without the power of examining witnesses, and without the opportunity of having any of the statements cleared up by the chancellor of the exchequer's explanations. Under such circumstances, no additional information could be afforded by the committee for which the honourable gentleman had moved. Many other arguments were urged by the right honourable gentleman in defence of the course which the government had decided to pursue; and, in conclusion, he pointedly declared, that convinced as he was that no other was so proper as that which had been preferred by ministers, he should meet the motion of the honourable baronet by opposing to it a decided negative.

The reasoning of the chancellor of the exchequer was said, by Mr. Bankes, to have confirmed him in the opinion that the subject ought to be referred to a committee; and he should therefore vote for the honourable baronet's motion.—Lord Althorp was desirous of seeing the subject sent to a committee, as he and his honourable friends were of opinion, that they ought to compare the items of the present scale with those which were formerly submitted to parliament. Mr. Charles Wynne spoke in favour of the committee, the appointment of which was opposed by Mr. Herries.—Mr. Holme Sumner said he was grievously disappointed at what he had heard from the chancellor of the exchequer, and thought the case had not been fairly stated. He would not only be willing to send the accounts of the civil-list to a committee, but would not have objected to give the committee powers to send for persons, papers, and records.

A division was then called for. While the members who "went forth" remained in the lobby, Mr. Brougham addressed them, desiring them not to go away after the present division should be over, as it was the intention of an honourable member, should the amendment be lost, to move another resolution, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into all the items of the civil-list after the first three. This announcement was received with loud cheers; but it was unnecessary to act upon it, as when the numbers were ascertained, it appeared that there were—for the original motion, two hundred and four; against it, two hundred and thirty-three: thus giving a majority of twenty-nine against ministers. The question was then put on the amendment of sir Henry Parnell, and agreed to.

No sooner had the result been announced than Mr. Hobhouse rose, and addressing sir Robert Peel, begged to know whether, after such an exposition of the opinion of the house, it was the intention of ministers to retain their places, and continue to carry on the business of the government? To this question no answer was returned; and Mr. Hobhouse then said, he would take an early opportunity of bringing it to an issue.

Mr. Brougham remarked upon this, that the question put by his honourable friend was, under the circumstances, very natural; but he thought at present it was premature. He submitted to sir Henry Parnell, whether it might not be advisable to postpone the appointment of the committee till the following day? This suggestion called forth strong opposition, and a loud cry of—"Now, now," was heard. It was, in consequence, withdrawn by the learned gentleman; and the committee was forthwith appointed.

The amendment being carried by such a majority, determined ministers at once to withdraw; and on the next day (November 16th), the duke rose in the house of lords, and spoke as follows:—"My lords, I deem it my duty to inform your lordships, that, in consequence of what occurred last night in the other house of parliament, I felt it right to wait this morning on the king, and tender his majesty the office which I hold; that his majesty has been pleased to accept of my resignation; and that I continue in my present situation only till a successor shall have been appointed." Having made this statement, his grace immediately left the house.

In the other house sir Robert Peel took a

similar course. From the deep and unfeigned respect, he said, which he felt for that house, he took the earliest opportunity of publicly stating, that in consequence of what had occurred on the preceding night, he had felt it his duty to wait upon the king, and humbly and respectfully to inform him that he considered it was no longer in his power to undertake the administration of public affairs, so far as the same depended upon him, either with satisfaction to his own feelings, or with advantage to the country. His majesty had been graciously pleased to accept the resignation thus tendered on his part; and he therefore considered himself as holding the seals of the home department only till a successor was appointed: and the same was the case with all the other members of the government.

The motion of which Mr. Brougham had given notice, on the subject of parliamentary reform, stood for the 16th. After the announcement made by sir Robert Peel, lord Althorp applied to that learned gentleman to postpone his motion, as he was of opinion a subject of such immense importance could not be properly dealt with while the government was in such an unsettled state—while there was no longer an administration in existence. The motion was, in consequence, postponed till the 25th; but in complying with the suggestion of the noble lord, Mr. Brougham expressed some reluctance to consent to the delay, and intimated that on the 25th it might be expected he would bring it forward under any circumstances, and whoever might then be his majesty's ministers.

Before the conversation closed, sir Robert Peel took occasion to say, in reference to the remark of the noble lord, that "there was no longer an administration in existence," it ought to be known and generally understood, that till his successor was appointed, he was still secretary of state for the home department; and that he was quite prepared, if public necessity should require it, to exercise the authority to its utmost extent, being confident that he should receive the support of the house and the country, if he exerted that authority in any case in which the public welfare called for its exertion.

What had fallen from Mr. Brougham on the subject of the motion which he was determined to bring forward, in any case, on the day he had named, was understood to signify that, for his own part, he would not take office: as

he had stated that personally, he "could not possibly be affected by a change in the administration." This, which was generally deemed sufficiently distinct, was followed the next day by a further declaration to the like effect. A motion having been made to postpone the consideration of election petitions till after Christmas, Mr. Brougham said he was astonished to hear, among the reasons given in favour of such a course, it was urged that had they come on at the time first named for entertaining them, ministers could not be present. "The house," he added, "could do many things without the assistance of ministers; and with every feeling of respect for the future ministers generally, he, for his own part, could have nothing to do with the new administration."

It was thought, beyond all doubt, that be the ministerial arrangements what they might, the late queen's attorney-general would not be a member of the whig government; but, to the surprise of the public, two days after the above declaration was made in the house of commons, the honourable and learned gentleman was elevated to the peerage, and gazetted as lord high chancellor of England!

So fell the duke of Wellington's administration. The obvious and immediate cause of its overthrow was the opinion its chief and his colleagues avowed on the subject of parliamentary reform; but those who looked a little further back, had no hesitation in declaring that the course which had been pursued in the preceding year with regard to catholic emancipation, was that which really brought it to a close. It is not here that details of what followed will be sought. They belong to the general history of England. In this place, such an outline as will show what was subsequently the course of the duke as a politician, must be considered all that is necessary.

King William sent for earl Grey, and that nobleman formed an administration which was pledged to effect a parliamentary reform.

The prospect before the new ministers was gloomy in the extreme. Incendiary fires continued to be nightly kindled, and with such artful arrangement, that ignorant people were half persuaded the powers of darkness had been called from another world, to further the work of desolation in this. Unseen hands were reported to kindle flames, and produce a terrific conflagration,

in a space of time inconceivably brief, such as would hardly suffice if only human means were employed. The most extravagant stories were circulated, with an air of solemnity which claimed for them implicit belief: and while these miserable outrages were continued in England, Mr. O'Connell was, as usual, indefatigable in trying to produce a still more awful flame in Ireland. Earl Grey and his colleagues became convinced that stronger measures than their predecessors had judged it expedient to adopt, were now become absolutely necessary, to restrain the fast-spreading disaffection invoked by that restless agitator.

When, in consequence of the elevation of lord Brougham to the peerage, the issuing of a new writ for the borough of Knareborough was moved in the house of commons, Mr. Croker called attention to the declaration which had so recently been made, that he (Mr. Brougham) could take no part in the new administration. Mr. Croker showed that it had been so understood in different parts of the country; and wished to know, if such were not its signification, what was the meaning of the declaration he had made? Had the noble and learned lord been neglected? or, what was worse, had he been offered something which he did not think equal to his high desert and his splendid talents? Was that the case? and were the words he had uttered intended as a menace, or as a spur to the lazy gratitude of the new first lord of the treasury? If that were the fact, what confidence could be reposed in an administration which was influenced by such motives, and swayed by such means?

These remarks called up sir James Mackintosh and lord Morpeth. The latter said, whatever declaration had been made by his noble and learned friend, he believed it would be admitted that it had not been imputed to him that he had said "he must be mad to accept the office of lord chancellor." Yet, such a declaration made by another noble individual, with respect to another office, had not been considered any detriment to the character of the noble individual. To the allusion thus made, sir Henry Hardinge thought it right to reply. Notwithstanding the indecent sneer, he said—notwithstanding the bitter malice and the sneers with which the duke of Wellington had been assailed—malice and sneers which he despised;—notwithstanding these, the character of his noble friend must now, and ever would stand high

in the history of this country. The sacrifice of patronage, the large retrenchments, the great measure of catholic emancipation, which had characterised the duke of Wellington's administration, would hereafter receive the praise they merited from the historian, and the gratitude of the public, in

spite of the sneers of lordlings. Being called to order, sir Henry felt that he had gone too far, and apologised. All he meant to say was, that the character of the duke of Wellington stood too high to be injured by sneers, no matter from what quarter they might proceed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GENERAL DISTRESS AND MONSTER PROCESSIONS; BITTER COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE LATE MINISTERS; THE SHOREDITCH PETITION; GREAT CONTEST ON THE QUESTION OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE new ministers found it no easy task to govern a country thus disturbed. Great alarm was felt in various quarters at the prospect of the coming winter. In the house of lords, a question was put by lord Wynford to the new premier (earl Grey), on the 29th of November, as to whether it was the intention of ministers to give the magistrates additional powers for putting down disturbances, which had then grown to such a serious height?—Earl Grey replied that such a step was not, at present, thought necessary. He was anxious, except in a case of absolute necessity, not to depart from the provisions of the law. Should the supposed necessity arise, he would not be backward in asking for such further powers as the exigency of the case might require.

On this occasion, the duke of Wellington expressed his concurrence with the minister. He did not see any reason or ground for thinking that an alteration of the existing law was necessary. The outrages which had taken place in the country were of two descriptions. The first was the open description of outrage, which might, there was no doubt, be got the better of by the operation of the ordinary law. The second was that description of crime—the destruction of property by fire, of the perpetrators of which government had not hitherto been able to discover any trace whatever. It was supposed by noble lords that they were foreigners. He did not believe there was any evidence whatever of that fact. It was a description of crime which was certainly effected by a conspiracy of some kind or other; but whether the conspirators were Englishmen or foreigners, no man could

positively declare. He could only say, that with reference to one county, in which outrages of the most flagrant character had occurred, there was not one foreigner among the persons with whom Winchester gaol was filled. He thought it was desirable for government to abstain, as much as possible, from interfering with the recommendations of lord-lieutenants with regard to the magistracy. Deeply interested as those noble lords must naturally be, in the security of property and the preservation of tranquillity in their respective counties, they would, of course, select persons calculated to do their duty by assisting in the administration of justice.

While out of office the duke of Wellington, from time to time, called the attention of ministers to matters of public interest. The angry feelings which had long been marked, and which had taken "parliamentary reform" for their war-cry, were at this period exhibited in monster processions, which, while to present a petition or an address was the object, were, from their threatening appearance, regarded by the friends of order with great alarm. One of these passed through the principal streets of the metropolis, on the 8th of December, to St. James's palace. On the same day the duke called the attention of the home secretary to the subject. He was told that the civil authorities had been consulted on the occasion, and it was thought prudent to suffer the procession to take place. He was happy to add, it had led to no disturbance whatever of the public peace. The duke rejoined, that he believed such a procession was altogether contrary to the law, and was, beyond all doubt, extremely dangerous to the public peace.

On the 9th of December a motion was submitted to the house of lords, by lord Wynford, on the state of the country. His lordship said, much of the disorder arose from distress, as distress prevailed to a very great extent; but he was persuaded that the fires which had occurred in various parts of the country, were not to be ascribed to that cause. He believed they were of an exotic origin, though Englishmen might be employed as agents by those who wished to create disturbance in the country. His lordship's motion, which was for a committee, was negatived without a division. In the debate thus opened, the earl of Radnor spoke with great warmth in condemnation of the late ministers; and, among other taunting remarks, said: "If I had now a seat in the other house of parliament, I should most probably move—not for a committee with respect to parliamentary reform, for that would be unnecessary—but for one to consider of the propriety of preferring an impeachment against the members of the late government, who went out of office leaving the country in the most perilous condition—in a state verging on the dissolution of society, and that, too, without being visited by the vengeance of an insulted and—"

Here the noble earl was called to order, and that resolution was read from the journal which forbids all personal attacks in their lordships' debates.

The earl of Radnor resumed, and said he had no personal feeling against the late ministers individually, and spoke of them only in their aggregate ministerial capacity. He would not stand by the word "vengeance," which had fallen from his lips, but did not retract the sentiment it was intended to express.

When his lordship concluded, the duke of Wellington rose. He opposed the present motion, he said, as he opposed one of a like character in the last session. Though as much alive as any man could be to the distressed state of the country, he maintained it was absurd to attribute the distress to any measure of the administration of which he had been a member, as had been asserted by a noble earl (the earl of Radnor.) With respect to the broad censure so cast on that administration, on the part of himself and his late colleagues, he challenged the noble earl to come forward with a motion for inquiry, and he promised to meet him. Lord Wynford, he remarked, had pointed out, as topics for investigation,

the financial and monetary systems of the country, its commercial policy, its poor-laws, the corn-laws, and the use of machinery. It was impossible for any committee to sift thoroughly all those important questions, and come to any practical decision upon them; and the disappointment of the expectation which its appointment must create in the public mind, would be ten times more mischievous, in its results, than the grievances for which it was intended as a remedy. Besides, it was not fair to ministers who had but just come into office, thus to involve them in difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves. Their lordships had already a committee inquiring into the state of the poor-laws, which might very easily extend its investigation to the expediency of a better distribution of the poor-rates among the manufacturing and funded interests, and to other analogous topics connected with the distress of the country, without exceeding the bounds prescribed to its inquiries. He had not attempted to extenuate the dangerous situation of the country, but would most emphatically deny that it had any connexion with any measure of the late government. "No," he proceeded, "the dangers and disturbances with which some districts of the country have been lately infested, have sprung from various and different causes; among which the example—I will unhesitatingly say the bad example—afforded by a neighbouring state, has been the most influential, as it has been the most pernicious. They have been encouraged and heightened by the misrepresentations and false ideas which have been too generally circulated through the country, of the causes and character of those unfortunate events which occurred last summer in an adjoining kingdom; and above all, by a want of knowledge, on the part of the people, of the real character of those events, and of the mischiefs sure to follow from imitating them. These were the causes of the present disordered conduct of the country, and not any measure of the late government. If the noble earl thinks otherwise, let him point out what measure, or what course of policy of ours, led to this state of things, and, as I said before, I shall be prepared to meet him." The fact is, the cause of the distressed condition of certain districts (which all lament) were beyond the reach or the control of any government. How, for example, could any ministry provide a prompt remedy for the distress of the

labouring class, as it arose from an abuse of the poor-laws? or could they act otherwise than as the noble viscount at the head of the home department had acted, so far as precept was concerned—and by example, each according to his abilities and station? He and his colleagues had gone as far as they could go, constitutionally, with a view to remedy the distress of the country; and it was too much to insinuate, as had been done, that they had neglected that duty. He had even heard it whispered, that the late ministers had neglected the disturbances in some districts of the country. That was not the fact. From the very first moment, they had devised and adopted every means in their power for aiding with their advice—and, if unfortunately necessary, with force—the local magistrates, in their endeavours to preserve the public peace. He repeated, that the events of July and August, in a neighbouring state, misrepresented as they had been, had mainly caused the disturbances in the country: and he concluded with this vindication of his own government:—"During our administration, we did all we could to relieve the people. In the last session, taxes to the amount of three million nine hundred thousand pounds were taken off; and since then, the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country generally, have been in a state of prosperity and tranquillity, excepting in those districts where there have been gross and disgraceful disturbances. These, however," he added, "I trust are but local and temporary. Indeed, I am emboldened to think that they are so; for, with the exception of gross and disgracefully-disturbed districts, an improved revenue and increasing consumption and demand for our manufactures and commodities, show that the country at large is in a state of tranquillity and prosperity."

On the following day a petition was presented by the earl of Radnor, from the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, complaining of distress, of the manner in which the poor-laws were administered, and praying for a reduction of taxation, and especially of those taxes which pressed most heavily on the lower orders of the community. The noble earl described the petition to be an answer to the challenge which the duke of Wellington had thrown out last evening, when he called upon him to make any statement which would show that an inquiry had been called for on the part of his majesty's late government. The peti-

tion stated that the parish contained seventy thousand inhabitants and seven thousand houses; the whole rental amounted to one hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds, and the poor-rates to thirty-four thousand pounds a-year. There was not one person in the parish that kept a carriage, and many of those who were obliged to pay to the poor-rates were forced to deny themselves animal food. This had been the state of things in June last, long previous to the dissolution of the late ministry. A responsible government was, in his opinion, a mere farce, if such a state of things could exist within three miles of the place where they were sitting, yet no inquiry instituted, and no attempt made to remedy the evil. No attention was paid to the application of the people for relief. That was his charge against the late government.

To this new attack the duke of Wellington replied, that he was sure that the noble earl would have the candour to admit, that when he stated last night that he would, if he had a seat in the other house, bring forward a motion for a committee of inquiry, to ascertain whether it was fit to impeach the persons who had served his majesty in the late administration,—the noble earl would have the candour to allow that he did not advert to the distress in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, or in any parish in the kingdom, or in all the parishes together. What the noble earl said then was, that the country was in a difficult and dangerous situation; that the members of the late administration were responsible for it; and that they ought to be impeached. He had said, in answer to that statement, and he would now repeat it, that he called upon the noble earl to bring forward a distinct charge against his majesty's late administration, and he should be ready to meet it, and to defend his majesty's late servants against whatever charge the noble earl might prefer. The noble earl now brought forward a petition from the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and he made a statement, not founded on the petition, but on the assertion of a nameless person, whose assertion he had backed with his authority; and he then said his majesty's late government was responsible for the distress which existed in that parish in June last. He had stated before, and he would repeat it, that he never could or would make himself responsible for any action that was not his own, or for anything which it

was not his duty to see put to rights. He would maintain that he had nothing to do with the maintenance of the poor in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, even if they were twenty times worse off and worse managed than had been stated. The king's ministers were not responsible for the distress in this or that parish. They were not responsible for that which it was not their duty to set right. The noble lords opposite, who had taken upon themselves the government of the country, must see that they could do nothing in such a case as that. They might subscribe, and recommend his majesty to subscribe, in such cases: but it would be found that the late ministers had done the same; and that his late majesty subscribed as much as he could. It was not in the power of ministers—it would not be legal for them to interfere in any other way; and he again dared the noble earl to bring forward any charge against his majesty's late government.

A remark being made that the disgust and irritation produced by making the king speak of the distress experienced in the country as partial, when it was known to be general, had compelled ministers to make those reductions which they afterwards recommended; the duke rose again, and explained that the reductions had been made in consequence of the repeated reductions of expenditure which had been effected in three consecutive sessions of parliament, and in consequence of the great reductions (actually amounting to more than a million sterling) which had been made in the interest of the national debt. Till that was accomplished, it was impossible for government to make any great reduction in the taxes, nor could they decide what it was their duty to reduce; nor was that duty to be performed till the proper moment came for making the reduction.

It was still urged, by several peers, that the late ministers had disregarded the complaints of the people, and done everything they could to prevent inquiry into the extent of the distress which was so generally felt. The earl of Radnor said he should bring forward no specific charge against the late ministers, for this reason—that the only object for such a motion would be to remove them from office, and that, fortunately, was already done. To the disparaging remark thus thrown out, the duke of Wellington replied, that noble lords might talk from that time till to-morrow, but still

they could not deny that the late administration had done all that they could do to relieve the people. Was the beer-bill which they had carried nothing? Was the reduction of three million pounds of taxes nothing? He did think that the late government was ill-used when those measures were forgotten. He seized that opportunity of saying—(though he did not wish to take away any merit from the present government, but was ready to give it all the assistance he could, consistent with his sense of duty; and though no man was less inclined to throw obstructions in its way than he was)—that the poor-law committee, which had been often said to be a measure of the present government, was actually consented to by him, as he was sure his noble friend, who had moved for the committee, would admit.

Some questions were raised touching the conduct of the late government with respect to appointments recently made after the duke of Wellington, on the 16th of November, had announced the resignation of ministers. The subject was brought forward by a motion made, on the 13th of December, by earl Grosvenor, for a return of all salaries enjoyed by the clerks and officers of the house of lords between the 5th of January, 1829, and the 5th of January, 1830, the total amount of which should exceed one thousand pounds. In the speech which introduced this motion, it was mentioned that the situation of clerk of the council having fallen vacant by the sudden death of Mr. Buller, a noble earl (earl Bathurst), the president of the council, made haste to ask that it should be given to his son, to whom it had accordingly been granted. His lordship said there was another point on which he should be glad to receive some explanation. It appeared from a supplementary list of pensions on the civil-list, that after the 16th of November, the noble duke having then tendered his resignation, and his majesty having accepted it, three pensions had been granted. They were one of five hundred pounds, and two of two hundred and fifty pounds each; and one of six hundred and sixty pounds had been given to lady Rae, four days after the dissolution of the administration.

The marquis of Lansdowne explained, that it had been made known to him by his noble friend, that his majesty wished the office of clerk of the council to be given to Mr. Bathurst, when it fell vacant,

and it had been given to that gentleman accordingly. In regard to the other matters which had been mentioned by earl Grosvenor, the duke of Wellington said, the delay in filling up certain vacant offices before the resignation of the late ministers, was occasioned by their intending to reduce the salaries. With respect to the recently bestowed pensions, the noble earl was aware that a considerable sum was always granted to his majesty to enable him to settle pensions upon those who were deserving of them. It was true that the civil-list expired with the king, and that at the last demise of the crown there was a considerable number of vacancies in the list of pensions. He rather believed that the more regular course would have been not to advise his majesty to make any new grants, out of the civil-list, until the act should have passed regulating its amount; but the custom had been to fill up the vacancies as they occurred, without regard to the passing of the civil-list act. He had followed the ordinary course, and had continued it till the hour when he relinquished the seals of office as first lord of the treasury. The noble earl had said that he had announced, on the 16th of November, that he had resigned office; but he forgot to mention that he added he would retain the situation till a successor was appointed. He had retained it till the noble earl, so worthily appointed to fill it, had released him in the following week, and in the meantime he had recommended to the king certain grants, for which he held himself to be responsible. If he had done wrong, he must meet their lordships' censure; but he was firmly of opinion that they would consider that, in this, he had not erred.

The explanation which his grace further supplied was as follows. Two of the pensions in question had been granted to gentlemen, who, for three years, had done him the favour to act as his private secretaries. Looking at the history of former administrations, it would be seen how amply such gentlemen had always been provided for. They ought to be provided for, for this reason,—that not a paper came into his hands from any office (and he had them from all offices), that did not in some way or other pass through those of one of his secretaries. It was not fit, therefore, that individuals who possessed their official knowledge, should remain unprovided for. He would tell their lordships fairly, that, having put down and discontinued

on the establishment every office of every kind that became vacant while he was first lord of the treasury, and not having had (which he could assure their lordships was the truth) above two offices to give away, and those not amounting to two hundred pounds a-year each, he had not had the means of providing for his secretaries; and he had therefore asked his majesty to grant them two hundred and fifty pounds a-year each on the civil-list. These explanations, with others of less interest, were regarded as satisfactory by their lordships.

As stated by the duke in parliament, the recent changes in France had so inflamed the minds of the people of England, that the demand for a change in the constitution had now become so violent, that it could no longer be withstood. It was insisted upon, that the democratic portion of the constitution must be strengthened. On the 3rd of February, 1831, parliament reassembled; and on that day it was announced by the premier that a measure of parliamentary reform had been framed, which it was hoped would satisfy the country.

An important era was at hand. "Then," in the words of Horace Twiss, "approached that remarkable period of our history, when the greatest revolution which it records was stirred up, and carried through, not by a mob or a soldiery, but by the constituted guardians of the state, the ministers of the crown itself;—a revolution, too, not aiming at the mere change of a despot, or even a dynasty, but dissolving the entire frame of the British constitution."

To a reform in parliament, such as was now called for, it has been seen the duke of Wellington was steadily opposed; but it had been made by earl Grey one of the conditions on which he accepted office. It was ardently desired, and impetuously demanded by the great body of the people. In parliament it was favoured by the new ministers, by the whig party, and by the radicals, as they were called; but by the conservatives, or old tory party, it was opposed as that which could not be carried without bringing revolution, and all the horrors of anarchy in its train. When the ministerial plan was opened, on the 1st of March, 1831, in the house of commons, by lord John Russell, according to the writer just quoted, "The project appeared to most of his hearers too extravagant to have been entertained seriously; and it was a pretty general opinion in the house that the whigs, having little

hopes of retaining office themselves, had started this invention, with a view of so unsettling the popular mind, as to make the government untenable by any other ministry. But when, on the following day, the public learned through the newspapers what it was that the king's servants were willing to do, and the king to sanction, it became instantly obvious that nothing was too excessive for the appetite of the time. The whole country took fire at once. The working-people expected that they were to change places with their employers. The middle classes believed that, by breaking down the parliamentary influence of the peers, they should get the governing power of the state into their own hands. And the ministers—the contrivers of the design—persuaded themselves that the people, out of sheer gratitude, would make the rule of the whigs perpetual.”*

It may be said the crisis was hastened by the duke of Wellington. That speech, in which he spoke of the house of commons as being exactly what, in his judgment, a legislative body ought to be, was laid hold of by the multitude, and commented on with outrageous bitterness. The conflict on the reform question, it was known would be long, wrathful, and obstinate; and the result was looked for with impatience, as its progress was watched with intense anxiety.

Opening the important subject in the lower house, lord John Russell dilated on the loud and general demand.

The bill was resisted with determination by the duke of Wellington's late colleagues in the lower house. Sir Robert Peel followed lord Palmerston, who earnestly advocated the proposed change. His lordship had told the house that neglect of public opinion was the error of the late government, and it was that error which had set Europe in flames. It had been too long held that the determination of men in power could at all times subdue the feelings and wishes of the people. If it had not been for the prudence of his noble friend who presided over the home department, and the excellent conduct of the noble marquis in Ireland, the peace of these islands would not have been preserved. The late administration could not have effected so much as the present had done, because they disregarded public opinion, and turned it against them. He might be asked how the question had arisen. He would say, it had sprung from the hot-bed, election. Cor-

ruption had been unmasked and reform denied. There were some who dreaded the question—who were not prepared to meet it, and would therefore prefer remaining as they were. He could tell those persons that shame must rest with them. Three years ago they threw a protecting shield over the corrupt dealers in boroughs. If they had not done so, the house would not now have been found discussing a deliberate plan of reform, submitted by his majesty's paymaster of the forces. Taunts had been thrown out against himself and others for their attachment to Mr. Canning's policy. He should have thought events which had occurred since the death of that great man, would have taught them that individuals might change their opinions with the honest intention of serving their country. They were bad expounders of the opinions of Mr. Canning, who did not allow that he took large and enlightened views; and if he had been living at the present day, his mind would have embraced all the exigencies which pressed upon the government.

To this sir Robert Peel replied, with great energy and feeling, that he wished to God that Mr. Canning were then present to raise his voice, to confound the fallacies and sophistries by which the people had been deceived: he contended that there was nothing in the noble career of Mr. Canning that warranted a belief that, on this subject, his opinion would have been changed. For himself, he was not particularly anxious to sit in the house; but if parliament were dissolved he would go to his constituents with the reform bill in his hand, and fearlessly claim their suffrages for the strenuous opposition he had offered to that measure. But the danger of rejecting the bill had been much spoken of. He had been told, on the preceding night, that if the measure were rejected, he, as an individual member of parliament, should be held responsible. “Oh, sir,” he replied to him that held the threat, “do not endeavour thus early to shift the responsibility from your own shoulders unto others. I have had no share in exciting the people, if they have been excited.” He was not to be scared from the exercise of his deliberate judgment on a peculiarly complex and important question by the apprehension of a threatened assassination. If it were so—which no man who knew the people of England could believe—let those answer for it who had preferred manifesting their ability to de-

* *Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon.*

stroy, rather than their capacity to govern. "I, at least," he added, "am not one who had industriously laboured to excite the stormy multitude, and employed all his faculties to foster discontent. I, at least, have never uttered the language used by a noble lord in 1827, who found the people peaceful, quiet, and contented, and complained that he could not rouse their indignation against the house of commons; grieved that they were so apathetic as to be deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. I, at least, have never called for a list of privy councillors, in order to direct against them the torrent of popular resentment, on account of the remuneration which they received for their services." Continuing in this strain the right honourable baronet demanded, did he ever make comparisons between a civilian who was first lord of the admiralty, and the veteran and distinguished officers in the navy, for the purpose of throwing odium on the first lord of the admiralty? Had he laboured to throw odium on a first lord of the admiralty for receiving five thousand pounds a-year, and afterwards come down to the house and proposed estimates, giving to himself, as first lord of the admiralty, the same salary of five thousand pounds a-year? Did he at the moment when the country was agitated on this very question, and thousands were assembled out of doors, applaud those who were said to have waved under the balcony of the king the emblem of revolution? Did he, after having by such means excited the people and spurred their lazy zeal for the improvement of the constitution, hint to them that if their expectations should be disappointed the worst consequences must follow? Did he, having done all this, turn round upon the members of that house, and say, here is a measure whether for good or evil to the constitution, which you must accept without deliberation, or upon your heads be the responsibility for all the bad consequences that may arise from the disappointment of the people? He had done none of these things, and he would tell those who attempted to shift the responsibility, that it was theirs, and theirs only, and they must bear it. He had been told that an appeal must be made to the middle classes; that the middle classes must support the government. If any of those gentlemen who usually acted with him had uttered one word in disparagement of the middle classes, he repudiated that word.

Sprung from the middle classes himself, and proud of his connexion with them, he must own he should despair of the welfare of the country, if he did not firmly believe they possessed far more prudence, judgment, and deliberation, than fell to the lot of their rulers. Sir Robert then enlarged on the blessings of the British constitution, and referred to the great names which appeared in support of it, and of the house of commons such as it then existed, and he quoted the eulogium pronounced upon it by the marquis of Tavistock, in 1819, on bringing forward a motion for partial reform. The noble lord had then said, "The composition of this house, by representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, I take to be an intimate part of our constitution. The house was so formed when they passed the *habeas corpus* act—a law which, together with other wise laws, Mr. Cobbett himself desires to preserve, although with strange inconsistency, while he cherishes the fruit, he would cut down the tree." His lordship further showed that the boroughs now proposed to be disfranchised, existed in the time of the great men of the revolution; he therefore maintained that the principles of the construction of that house were pure and worthy; and it would be a folly to change them altogether. "The constitution," the marquis of Tavistock proceeded, "had raised up a smiling land, not bestrewn with overgrown palaces, but covered with thick-set dwellings, every one of which contains a freeman, enjoying equal privileges and equal protection with the proudest subject in the land. It had called into life all the busy creations of commercial prosperity. When engaged in war, they had warriors ready to defend the country in the field, or to wield her thunders on the sea. When peace returned, the questions of internal policy, of education, of the poor and of criminal laws, found men ready to devote the most splendid abilities to the welfare of the most indigent classes of the community. Shall we," his lordship asked, "change an instrument which has produced effects so wonderful, for a burnished and tinsel article of modern manufacture? No; small as the remaining treasure of the constitution is, I cannot consent to throw it into the wheel for the chance of obtaining a prize in the lottery of constitutions."

Towards the close of his speech, sir Robert Peel combated what had been expressed on the subject of a standing army. Much had

been said of the danger with which it menaced a free constitution; "but," he proceeded, "the ambition of military conquerors, of men endeavouring by success to discipline armies, never had endangered, and never could endanger, the supremacy of law, or master the control of public opinion. These were the powerful instruments which shattered with impunity the staff of Marlborough, and crumbled into dust the power of Wellington. He held up the last revolution in France, not as an example, but as a warning to the country. In his opinion it was the duty of the government to calm, not to stimulate the fervour of popular excitement. They had adopted a different course; they had sent through the land the firebrand of agitation, and no one could then recall it."

These, the sentiments of the most important member of the late administration, it might reasonably be concluded, were those of the duke of Wellington. Long debates followed on the general question, and the house having given permission to bring in the bill, and the bill having in consequence been introduced, the opposition to it was so ably sustained, that, on the 22nd of March, though the second reading was carried, it was by a majority of one only; the numbers on a division being—for the motion, three hundred and two; against it, three hundred and one. Such a result, on a question to which the ministers stood so deeply pledged, was regarded by the nation as neither more nor less than a defeat. Lord John Russell and his colleagues made some alterations, which they hoped would render the measure less obnoxious to its opponents; and, determined to go on with it, a motion was made, on the 18th of April, that it should be committed. An amendment was then offered by general Gascoigne, which proposed that it should be an instruction to the committee that it was the opinion of the house the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to parliament for England and Wales, ought not to be diminished. Ministers met this amendment as one that would destroy the bill, and resisted it accordingly. It was nevertheless carried by two hundred and ninety-nine, against two hundred and ninety-one. Then the ministers resolved to advise the king, without loss of time, to dissolve the parliament, which, on the 22nd of April, was prorogued after a most stormy scene, and a severe attack on ministers for the course they had decided to pursue. It was dissolved on the following day.

A new parliament was summoned, and a new reform bill was prepared; but before the latter could seriously occupy public attention, some explanation was called for respecting the foreign policy of the country by the earl of Aberdeen. Earl Grey replied to his lordship; and, in doing so, dwelt on the difficulty which he and his colleagues had had to meet in consequence of the situation in which the country had been left when the last administration retired. The duke of Wellington, though he was far from underrating any of the difficulties of office, maintained that the difficulties, of which the noble earl had spoken, were not produced by the conduct of the late ministry, but arose from the state of affairs in Europe, over which they had no control.

The view which he was disposed to take of them he forcibly explained. They arose, he said, out of the events which had occurred in France and Belgium, with the occurrence of which they had nothing to do; and whatever might be the result, his majesty's late ministers could not charge themselves with having applauded them. They foresaw the mischief they were likely to produce, and acted on the plan which, as far as he could see, the present government had acted upon with considerable success—that which had been the policy of the country for the last hundred and fifty years—to keep Belgium out of the hands of France. This was the policy strenuously advocated by earl Grey and lord Holland. The late lord Londonderry had taken the same view of the question, and the whole of the negotiations which he entered into had kept that object in view. On this, as on one great basis, were the negotiations at that period formed; on that, in a great degree, the peace itself rested. And what was the consequence? Why that this country, since the year 1814, and Europe, had enjoyed a longer period of peace than they had known for centuries. That period of peace had been broken up by the events of July in France, and by those of August and September in Belgium. With respect to those events, he did not wish to qualify his expressions. He would express his conviction that the situation of those countries which those events affected had been, at that time, the best for the people themselves, as well most likely to preserve their internal tranquillity as to maintain the peace of Europe. He adhered to the opinion that the former

state of things would tend more to the security of Europe from war than any other political arrangement that could be made. He approved of the steps which the noble lord had taken to give that security to other powers which they had a right to require with respect to the state of Belgium. He entreated the noble lord not to depart from the course he had hitherto pursued, but to persevere, till the last moment, to act in cordial alliance with France and the allies of England, and he might rely upon it whatever difficulties appeared in his way, they would be successfully overcome, and do him and the country immortal honour. With respect to Portugal, ministers would do well to remember how important it was that all questions relating to a disputed succession should be put an end to without loss of time, and more particularly the question respecting Dom Miguel; for if it should lead to the invasion of Portugal by France, it would involve the whole peninsula in one awful conflagration. He recommended that steps should be taken to bring Portugal once more into the society of nations, in order to render it available for the general purposes of Europe, if required.

The state of Ireland continued to be very unsatisfactory, and a bill was proposed to appoint an officer, who should be invested with the powers and duties which had been exercised by the governors of counties, who should be called a deputy-lieutenant, and who should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This measure, it was thought, would establish in each county in Ireland an officer, through whom there would be a settled communication between the government and the magistracy of the country.

The duke of Wellington approved of the bill, and declared himself most willing to give the lord-lieutenant of Ireland all the assistance it was in the power of parliament to afford him. The present system, under which there were, in certain counties, five, in others three governors, and in others but one, could not by possibility work well, as acting on no settled plan; they sometimes stood in each other's way. Many of the governors had been absent, and yet persisted in retaining power which they could not properly use. His grace told their lordships he had at first been disposed to regard the proposed new officers with jealousy, considering the measure might have, as an ulterior object, the abolition of the office of

lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which he knew to be a subject on which strong opinions were entertained. He thought the greatest misfortune which could happen to England, in regard to Ireland, would be the removal of that great officer. In Ireland it was necessary, as it were, to bring the government home to every man's door. He hoped it was not intended to introduce officers whose powers would be such that they might hereafter be told there was no necessity for a lord-lieutenant. He approved of the bill with that reserve, as he felt it was necessary for the government to be in a manner on the spot, to protect every individual, and ever active to put down that bane of the country—the acts and the powers of demagogues.

In taking this course, it will be seen, the duke, rising above all party feeling, did not scruple to give the whigs support on a very tender point. They had made such use of the demagogues of Ireland, that when, from their insolence and disaffection, it became necessary to oppose some barrier to their progress, the outcry raised by their partisans of ingratitude and apostasy, was so loud, that ministers required every aid that could be afforded them, to enable them to perform their duty.

The duke did not refuse to turn his attention to the affairs of the church. A bill was prepared by lord King, which went to provide that no cure of souls at above five hundred pounds a-year should be held *in commendam*. Such a provision would, he thought, put an end to the practice of holding pluralities. When a clergyman held a benefice *in commendam* which was above that sum, he wished it to be enacted that he should not have the power to recover at law tithes or other duties.

To this measure his grace objected, as he thought it made a direct attack on the property of the church. A clergyman, he said, had at present a right to recover the full amount of the tithes of a benefice which was in his possession; but, if the bill passed, a clergyman holding a plurality would be enabled to recover on no more than five hundred pounds a-year of the tithes. He should like to know what was to become of the remainder. To whom was it to be paid? He thought mere justice to the clergy of the country required that they should be protected in their property.

The object of the bill was to diminish the temptation which pluralities held out to the

clergy. The duke of Wellington did not seek popularity by favouring such a reform. Established rights he was anxious to uphold. When, in July of this year, prince Leopold, being about to ascend the throne of Belgium, gave up his English annuity, that feeling was again displayed, and the duke of Wellington, on the statement being made in parliament that his royal highness had taken that course, said he had never entertained a doubt that his royal highness had a right to retain both his property and his regiment. Having examined the question on another occasion, he had seen that they belonged to the prince by as good a title as that by which their lordships held their estates—namely, by the law of the land. He congratulated the house and the country on the course which his royal highness had adopted; but his congratulation did not arise from any of those feelings which had been indicated by the public press. It arose from the fact, that this conduct would show to the people the prince was about to govern, that their sovereign was above even the suspicion of being dependent on a foreign country. On these

grounds he congratulated the house and the country, and not from any of those sordid motives which had been expressed elsewhere.

Though no longer in power, the duke of Wellington more frequently took part in the debates in the house of lords than was his custom before he accepted office. A motion, submitted by the earl of Aberdeen, calling for information received on the subject of outrages alleged to have been committed on the British flag, by persons acting in the name of Don Pedro, in Terceira, was supported by his grace. On the affairs of Belgium, he expressed a strong opinion that a French army ought not to remain in that country, even though king Leopold might have desired it. On various matters of minor importance he assisted their lordships with his opinions and advice; but without stopping to collect all the remarks which, from time to time, he offered on the passing events of the day, we hasten to describe the course which he thought it his duty to pursue in regard to a measure of greater and of more enduring importance—the question of parliamentary reform.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSES THE REFORM BILL; HE COMPLAINS OF THE CONDUCT PURSUED TOWARDS HOLLAND; A SECOND REFORM BILL FAILS, AND MINISTERS RESIGN; WELLINGTON FAILS IN ATTEMPTING TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT; A REFORM BILL IS PASSED; THE DUKE IS PERSONALLY ASSAILED; HE RETURNS TO OFFICE, AND AGAIN WITHDRAWS; HE TAKES PART IN VARIOUS DEBATES; HIS DEATH AND PUBLIC FUNERAL.

A SECOND REFORM BILL having been introduced by ministers, and carried through the house of commons, the second reading in the lords was moved by earl Grey on the 3rd of October. The debate to which it gave rise was continued through four days. On the second day (the 4th of October), the duke of Wellington spoke at great length. The bill, he said, proposed the most important change in the constitution of the country that had ever been effected; and all the changes which it was in contemplation to effect, he thought ought to be known to their lordships before they determined to let it go to a committee. The noble earl, he said, had found fault with the opinions he had expressed of the existing parliament; but what, he wished to know, had this parliament done, up to the

time at which he spoke, to render it undeserving of approbation? He wished it to be remembered, that, when he uttered the remarks in question, he was the king's minister, and it was the duty of the king's minister to support the institutions of the country. He could not admit that his speech had created that spirit of reform which had since pervaded the whole country; that spirit was the consequence of the French revolution. To other comments which had been made on what he had stated, he replied by charging ministers with having contributed to excite the spirit which existed in the country at the last general election by the dissolution of the late parliament, and the speech from the throne, which they had advised. They were

the cause of the unconstitutional practices, heretofore unknown, of electing delegates for a particular purpose to parliament—delegates to obey the daily instructions of their constituents, and to be cashiered if they disobeyed them, whatever might be their own opinion; instead of being, as they had been, independent members of parliament, to deliberate with their colleagues on matters of common concern, and to decide according to their judgment after such deliberation and debate. That was an evil of which the country would long feel the consequences. He remarked, that he and his colleagues had been blamed for having written the letter to the lord-mayor, in which his majesty declined visiting the city. He begged to know why his majesty had not yet visited the city? He now asked, were he and his colleagues wrong in acting as they had done? The noble lord at the home department, had papers in his possession which would enable him to decide on that question. If the late ministers were wrong, he should like to know why his majesty had not yet been to dine with the loyal citizens of London? It was plain that the dissolution of the late government had nothing to do with parliamentary reform. "We retired," he said, "not because we did not declare ourselves the advocates of reform, but because we had lost the confidence of the house of commons. We decided, in consequence, to resign. If we had delayed to carry our design into execution beyond Monday, the great question of parliamentary reform, in which I cannot but think the best interests of the country are involved, would have been discussed on the Tuesday, and those interests defended by a ministry no longer possessing the confidence of the house of commons, and which must, therefore, have gone out of office. If the question of Monday, the 15th of November, had been that of parliamentary reform, it is not clear to me that we should have been in a minority. My reason for being of that opinion is, that many members, on the second reading of the noble lord's bill, in March last, were in the majority of the 15th of November. Whatever might be the degree in which the members of the late parliament were pledged to reform, I think myself justified in the statement, that my opinion on parliamentary reform did not occasion our resignation, and that most probably it was not the cause of our loss of the confidence of the house of commons."

He went on to remark, that earl Grey had said his plan of reform would be based on the settled institutions of the country, to prevent their disturbance by sudden and extensive changes; he now told their lordships that he had brought in a measure that would effect a great change in them; and the noble secretary of state added, that they must be followed by others, or the government of the country would be impracticable. The duke, at great length, described the evils which must result from adopting a measure of such a character. "If this democratic assembly," he continued, "shall once be established, does any man believe we shall long enjoy these vast advantages? [He had spoken of our territorial possessions and rich colonies.] A democracy has never been established in any part of the world which has not immediately declared war against property, against the payment of the public debt, and against all the principles of conservation which are secured by, and which are, in fact, the principal objects of the British constitution as it now exists. Property and its possessors will become the common enemy. Look," he further urged, "at the anxiety prevailing in every part of London in respect to the great revolution to be made by this bill. The noble baron behind me has been ridiculed for adverting to the opinions of tradesmen in Bond-street and St. James's-street. Those in Bond-street consist of more than two hundred respectable persons, who are well able to form an opinion of the effects of this bill upon the resources of themselves, the middling classes, and the poor, as they supply the luxuries of persons in easier circumstances in that quarter of the town. The noble lord who adverted to this topic greatly underrated the wealth of these tradesmen. I know of one, residing in Bond-street, who employs at all times from two to four thousand workmen, whose trade depends, as well as the employment of this body of people, upon the expenditure of his customers. Is he not interested in upholding the public faith, and the system of property now established in England? Are not the people of all classes and descriptions, down to the lowest, interested in the maintenance of our extensive manufactures and commerce; in the conservation of our enormous dominions abroad, and the continued respect of all nations? If I am right in thinking this fierce democracy will be established in the house of commons, does

any man believe that that harmony can continue between the king and his government and the house of commons, so necessary to enable his majesty to protect and keep in order his foreign dominions, and to ensure the obedience of their inhabitants? We shall lose these colonies and possessions, and with them our authority and influence abroad." On these grounds he recommended their lordships to vote against the bill, and earnestly advised them to avoid pledging themselves, in public or in private, against any other scheme that might be brought forward; and he trusted they would keep themselves free to adopt any measure upon this subject that would secure to the country the blessings of a government. By so doing, they would perform their duty to their country, and deserve the thanks and gratitude of posterity.

The arguments of the duke, though not such as could satisfy the supporters of the reform bill, were, by the tories, deemed valid and unanswerable. After five nights' debate, the house of lords rejected the measure. On a division the numbers were—contents (present), one hundred and twenty-eight; proxies, thirty: not contents (present), one hundred and fifty; proxies, forty-nine: thus giving a majority of forty-one against ministers.

Besides opposing the bill in its passage through the house of lords, the duke had, on various occasions, delivered his sentiments on the subject of reform when petitions were presented in favour of the ministerial measure.

On the 20th of October the parliament was prorogued by the king in person. The failure of the second reform bill caused great dissatisfaction throughout the country, and at Bristol and other places serious riots broke out, which were not easily suppressed. Deputations waited on ministers to press on them the importance of soon calling the parliament together again, that a new reform bill might be brought forward. They so far attended to these representations that the houses which were prorogued at the date just mentioned, reassembled on the 6th of December. The new session was opened by the king in person, who again commended to their consideration the subject of parliamentary reform, and on the 12th of that month, lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a third reform bill. The bill was brought in, and on the morning of Tuesday, the 18th, the second

reading was carried by three hundred and twenty-four to one hundred and sixty-two. An adjournment over the Christmas holidays then took place.

In the following month (on the 17th of January), the houses resumed their sittings. The reform bill was again discussed, and, after another contest, it was carried through the commons. The majority on the third reading was one hundred and sixty-one. It passed on the 23rd of March.

The affairs of the Netherlands were brought under the consideration of the house of lords, on the 26th of January, by the earl of Aberdeen approving of the efforts made by the king, in conjunction with his allies, to terminate the dissensions which prevailed in the Netherlands, but reminding him, that it had long been the established policy of England to cultivate the strictest union with the Dutch, but recommending that a treaty should not be dictated seriously detrimental to the interests of Holland.

On this occasion the duke of Wellington spoke strongly against the treatment Holland had experienced. He said he owed some apology for the vote which he was about to give in favour of the address; but he must state, that what principally induced him to consent to the present motion being brought forward, was his sense of the injustice done to Holland, by the departure from the principles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Holland had been forced to consent to the measures determined on by the conference of London, without having time, or being allowed, to consider them. It was upon that ground he rested his justification for requiring that the treaty should now be reconsidered; and he should endeavour to prevail upon the noble lords opposite to reconsider it themselves. He regretted that the noble earl, whose whole time and attention must have been engrossed with other subjects, had not been able to give his attention to this particular business; for he believed such facts had never before occurred in negotiations between any two powers, except on the occasion of the interference of the three powers between the Turks and the Greeks. But the noble earl said that the interference with Belgium and Holland was not a mediation. It certainly did not commence in a mediation, but it had terminated in the assumption of an arbitration—the most unjust that ever was known—on the part of the five powers; and the noble

earl had boasted that he had carried their opinions along with him for the conclusion of the treaty. He asserted that the arbitration was most tyrannical, for the parties were never called on to hear the reasons of the sentence which was passed on them, nor had they any opportunity of making their defence until the sentence had been pronounced to be irrevocable. The noble earl had spoken of the concurrence of the French government as one of these powers. He did not know whether that government had concurred in the treaty or not. But if it had been a party to it, it must certainly have changed its views since; for it had declared that it would not hear of the alteration from a mediation to an arbitration. He did not know whether they meant that principle to be applied to the Belgians only. He could not suppose that they did not mean that there should be a mediation as respected Belgium, but that the powers of an arbitration should not be employed against the king of the Netherlands. Their lordships were well aware of the important distinction between the two terms. In February, M. Sebastiani said, that the interference of the five powers was only in the way of mediation, and that the French government could never consent that it should lose that character. But now their lordships were told that the character of an arbitration was forced upon the conference. Was it forced upon them by those of the five powers who had refused to ratify the treaty, because it had become an arbitration? or was it they who, as their lordships were told, carrying the rest of Europe along with them, had forced the conference to act as arbitrators? He presumed to say, that he had a long experience in those affairs, and he would assure their lordships of his sincere belief, that if England were induced to give up Holland, every other power in Europe would be ready to peck at her. It was on such considerations he grounded the vote which he was about to give. * * * * The noble earl spoke (as usual) very harshly respecting the settlement of Europe in 1814 and 1815. But he ought to remember that that settlement had maintained the peace of Europe ever since, with the exception (which he had always regretted) of the interference between Turkey and Greece. The power which the noble earl professed to have over the conference of London, was entirely owing to that settlement of which he so much complained. * * * * The next

part of those transactions to which he begged the attention of their lordships, was the declaration of independence. The noble earl (Grey) stated that he had been always of opinion that the best arrangement for the peaceful adjustment of the differences between the separated states would be, that the prince of Orange should become sovereign of Belgium. But the mischief was, that what the Belgians wanted, in the first place, was to have their independence declared by the five powers; and the first step taken, after the guarantee for the suspension of hostilities, was to make that declaration of independence. This took place on the 20th of December; and on the 9th of January, the French minister (M. Sebastiani) wrote to the Belgian minister at Paris, expressing great sympathy for the Belgian nation, which long formed part of France, and was still a member of the same great family, and assuring him that the government of France had obtained for Belgium all that it could obtain for her. That the separation from Holland had been brought about by that government, and that the independence of Belgium had thereby been consummated. Such was the construction which the French minister put upon the declaration. Again—in the month of August, M. Meulnere, the secretary of the Belgian government, addressed the conference in these terms:—"The circumstances under which the suspension of hostilities in November, 1830, was proposed by the conference and accepted by the Belgian government, are too well known to require that I should recall to your recollection that Holland, seeing her army suddenly disorganised by the natural effect of the separation of Belgium from her dominions, readily acceded to the suspension; but that Belgium might have continued to profit by the state of things at that time, and might have pushed part of her population out of her own limits, and that yet, on the assurance that her independence would be acknowledged, she acquiesced in the wishes of the five powers, and made her *début* in the political world by a sacrifice to the peace of Europe." Such was the construction which Belgium put upon the declaration. Such was the result of the noble earl's negotiations, as far as France and Belgium were concerned. After that came the discussion of what was called the 12th protocol, in reference to which the noble earl said, that Holland had adopted the basis laid down by the confer-

report as to other counties generally—but he did say, that the opinion of the gentlemen, of the landed property, and of the learning of the country, was against this bill. The bill was, on the other hand, supported by the noble lords opposite and by their adherents, certainly not a numerous class; it was also supported by all the dissenters from the church of England, and by all who wished it should pass, as a means of their attaining votes; but he would repeat, that it was, in fact, opposed to the sentiments of all the gentlemen, of the yeomanry, and of the middling classes throughout the country. Yes, he would say, there was a change of opinion, and that the best part of the public were not desirous of the bill, but were, on the contrary, apprehensive of its effects. But they did not hear of this, and why? Because no gentleman in the country could go to a public meeting and speak his sentiments, secure from the attacks of the mobs. Another ground on which the noble earl (Harrowby) said that they ought to read the bill a second time was, that they should endeavour to amend it; but if the noble earl found that would be difficult last year, would it not be more difficult now? He had that morning had a note put into his hand of the anomalies of the bill, which was the result of a paper laid before the house of commons even since the passing of the bill, and its being sent up to this house, and a perusal of it would show that there was nothing they could do which would improve this bill, and weed it of the gross errors with which it abounded. By parliamentary paper 232, being an abstract of the practical operation of the bill, according to the new limits given to the several boroughs, it appeared that the borough of Clitheroe, which was partially disfranchised in schedule B, had a greater population than sixty places which were left untouched; another, Shaftesbury, than fifty-two; another, Wilton, than forty-six. Clitheroe had more houses than fifty-seven untouched boroughs; Wilton, than fifty-six; Shaftesbury, than fifty-four; and so as to taxes. Christchurch, which was in schedule B, paid more assessed taxes than forty-five places not in the schedule, whereof no less than nine were new-made boroughs; Wilton paid more than thirty-nine; Droitwich and Wallingford more than thirty-three; and so on; seven or eight other places being put into schedule B, which had larger constituencies than boroughs

which were untouched. The reason that the difference in this class was not so great as in the population and houses, was, that the arbitrary additions made to the boroughs were mostly of poor and scattered districts which did not add to the taxation in the same proportion. But the most important view of all, was the number of ten-pound houses, the amount of the future constituency.

At the close of a strong debate, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of nine; the contents being, present, one hundred and twenty-eight; proxies, fifty-six: not contents, one hundred and twenty-six; proxies, forty-nine. On the 16th of April, their lordships adjourned over Easter, and, on the following day, entered on the journals of the house a strong protest against the measure, which they condemned for its violation of chartered rights, and for the introduction of an exorbitant degree of democratic influence into the constitution. The protest was signed by seventy-four peers, including six bishops; and by the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester.

The friends of the bill thought the measure (being carried through its second reading by so small a majority) was by no means safe, and their efforts to keep the public awake to its importance, were unremittingly continued. In all parts of the country meetings were called; at these strong resolutions were passed, which prayed the lords to accede to the wishes of the people, while addresses were voted to the king, calling upon him to be to the petitioners as "their sheet-anchor, and their refuge from the storm." In many instances threats were held out that no more taxes would be paid till the reform bill had passed into a law.

At the close of the Easter recess, the parliament reassembled. On the 7th of May, the house being in committee, earl Grey moved a clause disfranchising certain boroughs. Lord Lyndhurst wished that the clauses respecting disfranchised boroughs should stand over, till the case of the boroughs and places to be enfranchised had been disposed of; and moved an amendment to that effect, which, though opposed by ministers, was carried by a majority of thirty-five. After this they could not hope to carry the bill but by creating new peers. This step they pressed on his majesty. The king hesitated, whereupon they tendered their resignations, which were accepted.

Lord Lyndhurst was then sent for by king William, and directed to take steps towards forming a new ministry, based on a scheme of extensive reform. The message of the king was immediately communicated by his lordship to the duke of Wellington, who, though still unfriendly to parliamentary reform, and though not desirous of again taking office, was anxious to extricate the king from the embarrassing situation in which he was placed. Lord Lyndhurst and the duke immediately turned their thoughts to sir Robert Peel; but that right honourable baronet was of opinion he could be of no service to the king or the nation, in the way they suggested. Lord Lyndhurst found himself greatly embarrassed. He communicated with several political leaders, but could find no man of adequate weight disposed to step forward. Those who had resisted the measure, which now occupied all minds, if they came into office, would instantly have to encounter a hostile house of commons, indignantly claiming its own reform. To escape this evil, if a dissolution were resorted to, the state of the public mind was such, that it was hardly within the range of things possible for a parliament less favourable to reform to be elected. On the 15th, lord Lyndhurst reported to the king, that the commission with which he had been entrusted had totally failed. Earl Grey was then recalled, and the late government was restored on the 17th.

Wellington, in his place, explained what his conduct had been in the late transactions. Having been sent for by his majesty, he said he found a large number of friends who were not unwilling to give their support to a government, formed on the principle of resisting such advice as had recently been given to the king. He had, in consequence, advised his majesty not to reappoint the late ministers: he advised him to seek not his assistance, but that of other persons to fill the high offices of state. Instead of advising the king with a view to objects of personal ambition, as he had been accused of doing, he gave that advice which he thought would lead to another arrangement, stating himself to be ready to serve his majesty in any or in no capacity. It was usual, when ministers found a majority against them on a particular question, to modify the measure under consideration; but the late ministers, when the reform bill failed, had brought in a stronger and more objectionable measure, and this it was pro-

posed to force through the house by the creation of a large number of peers. If that were a legal and constitutional course, he considered the ancient constitution of the country at an end. He would ask, could any one be blind enough not to see, that if a minister might with impunity advise his sovereign to venture on such an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, thereby to decide any question in that house, there was absolutely an end of the power and importance of that house? and his opinion was, that the threat of creating peers, if it should have the effect of inducing noble lords to absent themselves from the house, or to adopt any particular line of conduct, was just as bad as the execution of it would be. The only course that could be pursued by those with whom he had the honour to act, was to counsel the king to resist the advice he had received; but his majesty insisted that "some extensive measure of reform"—he used the king's own words—should be framed. He had always thought the bill unnecessary: his opinion was unaltered; but, under the circumstances, he consented to assist his majesty in forming an administration upon the condition his majesty had mentioned. Had he refused to assist the king in such a case, noble lords might think he would have acted more wisely; but he could not help feeling, that if he had been capable of saying to his majesty, "I cannot assist you in this affair," he did not think he could have shown his face in the streets for shame, having abandoned his sovereign under such distressing circumstances. He strongly commented on the unconstitutional measure which had been contemplated—the creation of a great number of peers. When he first heard of it, he had said it was impossible such a thought could be entertained. He considered the just exercise of the prerogative of the crown did not, by any means, go so far as to enable his majesty to create a body of peers to carry any particular measure. When he (the duke) found, in consequence of the discussion in the house of commons, it was the opinion of the leading men that for such a purpose a creation of peers should not take place, as he perceived he could not form a government from that house which would secure the confidence of the country, he felt that it was his duty to inform the king that he could not fulfil the task with which he had been pleased to honour him, and his majesty then informed him he would

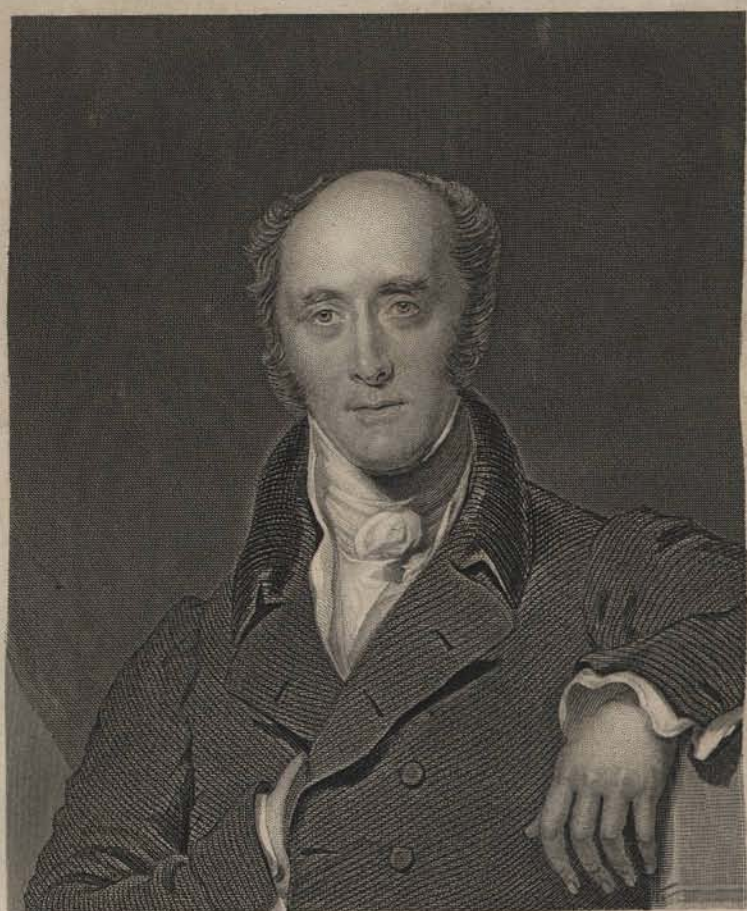
renew his communication with his former ministers.

Earl Grey and his colleagues, restored to office, declared they could only carry on the government of the country by passing the reform bill. The situation of the country appeared most critical. A considerable number of peers, in consequence, desisted from opposing the measure, which was then carried through its remaining stages, and received the royal assent on the 7th of June.

The duke, at this date, had become very unpopular. Instead of the shouts which had formerly greeted him, hisses and disrespectful speeches were frequently breathed where he appeared. On the 18th of June, having occasion to visit the mint, he was hooted on the way; and, when returning through Fenchurch-street, a ruffian seized his horse's bridle, and attempted to throw his grace from the saddle. His groom and the police exerted themselves with success to repel the assailant; and the duke passed through Cheapside to Holborn, still followed by a noisy mob, and eventually pelted with stones. He was in no small danger from the increasing violence of the crowd; but, leaving Holborn, he rode to Stone-buildings, in Lincoln's-inn, where, in the chambers of sir Charles Wetherell, he found safety, till a body of police from Bow-street attended to escort him to Apsley-house, "the windows of which," wrote the earl of Eldon, shortly afterwards, describing the scene, "are no longer boarded, but protected by iron, strong enough to be proof against ball and bullet; and which protecting iron, I have been told, cost him fifteen hundred pounds. So passeth away the glory of this world!"

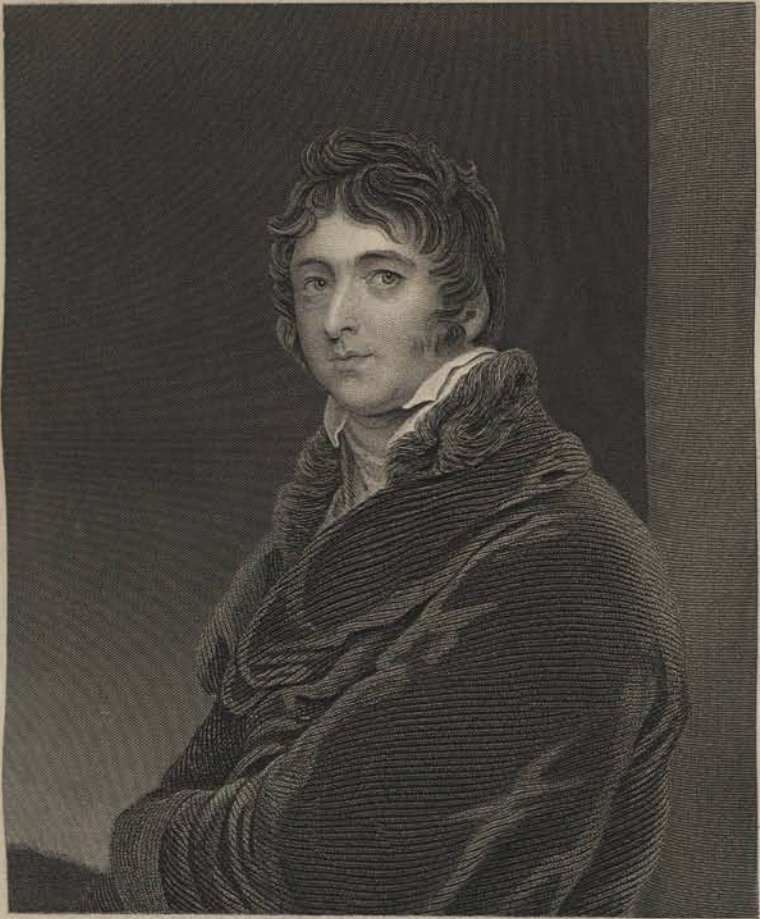
Whatever the feelings of the reformers might be, deputations from the merchants, bankers, and traders in the city of London, and others, and also from the city of Westminster, were anxious to testify the satisfaction they felt at the course the duke had pursued as a politician; and, on July 6th, deputations waited on him at Apsley-house with addresses, tendering him, in terms the most flattering, the expression of their gratitude for the stand he had made against the reform bill. Addresses had been voted, which were presented by Mr. Jeremiah Harman from London, and by sir Thomas Farquhar from Westminster. His grace, apprised of their coming, had a reply prepared, which he read. In this he stated that the people of England had, in former times, shown their disapprobation of the conduct of public men,

and in the excitement of the moment, were, in some cases, led to acts of riot and disorder; but on those occasions they had not been excited to violence and outrage by the speeches of gentlemen of influence, and by the publications of a licentious press; nor had the people been urged to form unions in every parish, of all the middling classes with the working or operative body, for the purpose of overruling the government and parliament. It was those combinations upon which a great authority had pronounced the judgment, that their permanent existence was inconsistent with good order and the safety of the state, which had occasioned the continuance of excitement after all pretence for it had ceased, and the insecurity of person and of property, which was obvious at that moment, and of which, said the duke, "the treatment of myself, in the middle of the day, in the most frequented communication of the capital, affords a flagrant example." He asserted, the pretext for the continuance of excitement had ceased, because the bill respecting which he had differed from many whom he then addressed had become the law, and it was his duty to submit to it, and to facilitate its execution by every means in his power. His grace proceeded to point out, that manufactures and commerce could not flourish, and that capital must disappear where political agitation and disturbance prevailed; that there could be no security for persons or property, and there must be a cessation of business, and a stagnation of employment. Whether they looked back to the history of their own country, or to the events of their own times in neighbouring countries, to those witnessed only within the last two years, they must consider the suggestions to the people, to assume control over the government and the parliament, equally inconsistent with the constitution of the British empire, and injurious to the people themselves. They had before their eyes the fatal effects of such an assumption of sovereignty, in a neighbouring capital. Circumstances having exposed him to be attacked as he had been, he returned his cordial and heartfelt acknowledgments for the interest which they had expressed for him as an individual; and it afforded him great satisfaction to be able to say, that the feelings manifested by the fellow-citizens of those who had waited upon him corresponded with their own. Many had offered him an asylum in their houses, and he was convinced, that there was not one who would not have



EARL GREY.

OB. 1846.



H. H. Meyer, sc.

LORD MELBOURNE.

OB 1848

made every effort in his power to save him from injury.

Though not an indifferent spectator of passing events, his name frequently occurs in the parliamentary debates of the period, as leader of the opposition in the years 1833 and 1834; but nothing very remarkable or memorable occurred. The session opened on the 4th of February, when the duke, though he did not oppose the address, sharply commented on the speech to which it was an answer. It was well known that the war in Portugal was carried on with the money and forces of England, and yet they heard of the necessity of neutrality being maintained; and the king of Spain had been told that he must remain neutral, or the British government would support Dom Pedro. Ought not the rule of neutrality to be equally binding upon England? It was, however, violated in the manner he had described, and the acts in breach of it were carried on under the direction of the British fleets in the Douro and the Tagus. He hoped ministers would lose no time in bringing forward whatever measures were required to complete the arrangement with respect to the church of Ireland, and to rescue that most deserving race of men (the clergy of that church) from a state of unparalleled suffering and distress.

In the course of this year a new honour was conferred on the duke of Wellington. The chancellor of the university of Oxford (lord Grenville) having deceased, his grace was elected to succeed him. The duke appeared at Oxford on the 9th of June, and opened the convocation on the following day. There orations were made highly complimentary to the new chancellor. Among the degrees conferred on this occasion, one was bestowed by the duke on lord Encombe, the grandson of the earl of Eldon.

Advancing years caused earl Grey to withdraw from public life. Lord Melbourne succeeded him as prime minister. Earl Spencer died in November, 1834, and, in consequence, lord Althorp, who was chancellor of the exchequer and leader in the house of commons, became a peer of the realm, and was entitled to the seat of his late father in the house of lords.

To carry on the government, it was necessary to find some public man who could take the place of lord Althorp in the lower house. Lord Melbourne waited on the king to give his advice on that subject. He had, however, scarcely opened the business by speak-

ing of the difficulty of filling up the vacancy, when the monarch bluntly told him he would take that trouble off his hands. Ministers, upon this, had only to resign.

The duke of Wellington being sent for by the king, advised his majesty to make sir Robert Peel the new prime minister. That right honourable baronet was then on the continent, and as nothing could be settled, till his return, for some short time, all the executive powers of the country were in the hands of the duke. A waggish pictorial representation of what the artist called a cabinet council, was published, in which his grace, seated at the head of the table, appeared, without a single colleague, the question—how is his majesty's government to be carried on? lying before him. Till sir Robert Peel returned to England, the situation in which the duke found himself was not a little extraordinary; holding, as he did, the office of premier and the three secretaryships of state.

Mr. Peel returned and accepted office. Parliament was dissolved, and this and the positions which the duke of Wellington (now become foreign secretary) had temporarily occupied, were sharply attacked, when the houses reassembled in February, 1835. The duke defended himself with his wonted straightforwardness and ability.

Threats of impeachment had been launched against him, in various places, as an usurper of unconstitutional power. He remarked upon it, that the charge, though loudly urged, was not a very serious one after all. When the king empowered him to form a ministry, he had declined the offer, however flattering it might have been to ambition; he did not act as one who had a personal object to serve; he refused the office of prime minister, and recommended to his majesty to send for sir Robert Peel, as the individual most capable, in the present times, of discharging the duties of the king's prime minister. It was necessary, both that some person should be in the government till sir Robert's return, and that whoever carried it on, should exercise no patronage, nor take any step which might prevent the new minister, on his arrival, from acting with perfect freedom. He had therefore advised his majesty to place him (the duke) provisionally at the head of affairs, as first lord of the treasury and secretary of the home department. It was true that, in the latter capacity, he held the seals of the three secretaryships; but whoever was appointed to any one of these

three offices, was competent to hold the seals of the other two in the absence of those to whom they had been confided; and he had exercised no more authority than if he had been one of the three principal secretaries, and his colleagues absent. No inconvenience had resulted from the arrangement. During the time he held the seals, there was not a single office disposed of, or act done, which was not essentially necessary for the service of the king and of the country; and sir Robert Peel found all things, as nearly as might be, in the same situation in which they had been when the change of ministry took place. It might be true that there was an incompatibility between the secretaryships and the office of first lord of the treasury, if these offices were held by the same individual for any length of time; but everybody knew that the arrangement was merely temporary. For his own part he had had no communication of any description with the court for between two and three months before he received his majesty's message; and although he was satisfied that some great change in the administration must follow the removal of lord Althorp from the house of commons, that message was as much a matter of surprise to him as it possibly could be to any of their lordships. The late administration had been dissolved by the impossibility of going on longer, from the time they lost their leader in the house of commons. Earl Grey had been under the necessity of resigning, when lord Althorp, then chancellor of the exchequer, resigned. The noble viscount, too, had declared that he considered the noble lord's assistance essentially necessary to him. But when his majesty was left by earl Grey, and when lord Althorp was removed from the other house, his majesty, forsooth, was not to be permitted to consider whether his position was not materially altered by these events; and whether it would not be expedient for him to make some other arrangements for the carrying on of his service. As to the dissolution of parliament; it was true, that a ministry who advised the dissolution of a parliament, was liable to be called on for some reason which might have induced them so to do; but he had seldom heard of such a course of proceeding as that ministers should be told, on the first day of the assembling of parliament, "Give me some reason why you thought fit to dissolve; and justify your dissolution of parliament by showing that the effort you have made has been a suc-

cessful one." The noble viscount, after heaping his censure upon them for dissolving, added, that in all cases where parliament had been dissolved, it was success which justified the measure. If, then, they had made an experiment which was to depend upon so peremptory a criterion, surely, he ought at least to allow them a short time to wait and see fairly what had been the result. He believed there were a great number of persons disposed and determined to support the administration, and he hoped the house would have the patience to wait and see what were the measures they had to propose for the benefit of the country.

Lord Brougham, in reply to the duke, maintained that he (the duke) was responsible for the dismissal of the late ministry, not as having advised or produced it (which he certainly had not done), but as having succeeded to it; for whoever, he argued, takes the place of a dismissed ministry, becomes answerable for that dismissal. For many acts of a government a minister might be held responsible, and would, by law, be held responsible, although ignorant of those acts, and albeit he did not advise them. The reason was simply this—the king could do no wrong; he must, however, have some adviser, and therefore some responsible adviser. Now, the noble duke stood in that position; he was peculiarly, he was emphatically, advisable for the change of his majesty's advisers. For who could be responsible but he who came into the space which the change had made vacant? If the king thought proper to take the seals from one man to give them to another, the man who took the seals became responsible for the change; he was responsible, in point of fact, as well as in point of law; but for his assistance the act could not have been committed.

It was not, for a single moment, pretended that the dismissal of the late administration arose from any incapacity on their part; it was not from any want of success in their measures; it was not from any failure of any sort or description, that, on the 14th of last November, the late administration was dissolved. But, forsooth, it was dissolved because lord Althorp had been called from the house of commons to the house of lords; and without him, it was said, the government could not go on. The late ministers, it seemed, had not an estate for the life of the king, nor the life of the parliament; they did not hold their places



Engraved by H. May

THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

during good behaviour, nor during pleasure, nor as long as they were efficient, nor on condition of their measures being attended with success; they held them simply during the natural life of the late lord Spencer, and no longer; that noble earl being then seventy-eight years of age. There never had been an admission, on the part of the late ministers, that they were not prepared to carry on the government. As to the question which had been put, whether the king was to be the only person excluded from forming an opinion as to the propriety of changing the ministry, he contended that though the power of nomination was vested primarily in the king, it was not a thing to be used capriciously or unreasonably. The parties who advised the dismissal of an administration on no public or stateable grounds, incurred a most serious responsibility; for the sovereign of this country had no right to dismiss his ministers, unless upon public grounds; and no man had a right to advise the exercise of that highest of the royal functions, unless he could openly state and defend the grounds on which that advice was given.

Though, notwithstanding the powerful appeal of lord Brougham, the defence of the duke was deemed satisfactory, but though he and the new premier manifested a greater disposition to favour liberal measures than they had heretofore avowed, it was soon evident that the ministry could not stand. On the 8th of April, sir Robert and his colleagues resigned, declaring it useless to attempt to carry on the business of the country in the face of the opposition they had to meet. In consequence of the defeat and resignation of sir Robert Peel, the duke again found himself the leader of the conservative opposition in the house of lords, and commenced what, to the political philosopher, will prove not the least interesting portion of his career; although, to the biographer, it furnishes no salient points. The violent oscillations of the public mind had sufficiently subsided to enable the people to reflect on the duke's career as a whole; an almost necessary consequence of which was, that he found himself once more exercising a moral influence proportionate to his great services. Between 1835 and 1841, when he again took office, he acted as a kind of moderator in political disputes, and a guide of public opinion. In 1839, he was, with sir Robert Peel, called on to take office. He fully coincided with that states-

man in resting his refusal on the ground that her majesty declined to make changes in the *personnel* of her court—that is to say, in respect of the ladies of the household.

His political life may here be said to have closed, though he still raised his voice in the cause of his country. It was the singular good fortune of this great man to triumph in peace, as he had done in war, over all who had been opposed to him. The earl of Winchilsea, whose stern hostility led to a personal combat, became his intimate friend. In 1837, he met, in the ambassador sent from France to attend the coronation of her majesty, his old antagonist Soult, who was Louis Philippe's ambassador extraordinary on the occasion. At the dinner given by the corporation of London to the distinguished foreigners in England, at Guildhall, those illustrious chieftains exchanged mutual compliments and expressions of amity. In 1839, a banquet given to the duke at Dover, as lord warden of the Cinque Ports, brought another old antagonist, lord Brougham, forth as his panegyrist. He said: "Although no man, on such an occasion, is entitled to entertain any personal feelings on his own behalf, it would be affectation, it would be insolent ingratitude, were I not to express the sentiments which glow within my bosom, at being the instrument of making known those feelings which reign predominant in yours. Enough, however, of myself; now for my mighty subject. But the choice you have made of your instrument—of your organ, as it were, on this occasion—is not unconnected with that subject; for it shows that on this day, on this occasion, all personal, all political feelings are quelled; all strife of party is hushed; that we are incapable, whatever be our opinions, of refusing to acknowledge transcendent merit, and of denying that we feel the irresistible impulse of unbounded gratitude; and I am, therefore, asked to do this service, as if to show that no difference of opinion upon subjects however important—no long course of opposition, however contracted, upon public principles—not even long inveterate habits of public opposition, are able so far to stifle the natural feelings of our hearts, so as to obscure our reason, as to prevent us from feeling as we ought, boundless gratitude for boundless merit. Neither can it pluck from our minds that admiration proportioned to the transcendent genius, in peace and in war, of him who is amongst us to-day; nor can

it lighten or alleviate the painful—the deep sense which the untired mind never can get rid of when it is overwhelmed by a debt of gratitude too boundless to be repaid. If I had all the eloquence of all the tongues ever attuned to speak, what else could I do? How could a thousand words, or all the names that could be named, speak so powerfully—aye, even if I spoke with the tongue of an angel—as if I were to mention one word—sir Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington, the hero of a hundred fields, in all of which his banner was waved in triumph; who never—I invoke both hemispheres to witness—bear witness Europe, bear witness Asia—who never advanced but to cover his arms with glory; the captain who never advanced but to be victorious; the mightier captain, who never retreated but to eclipse the glory of his advance by the yet harder task of unwearied patience indomitable to lassitude—the inexhaustible resources of transcendent skill; showing the wonders, the marvels of a moral courage never yet subdued. Despising all who thwarted him with ill-considered advice, neglecting all hostility, so he knew it to be groundless; laughing to scorn reviling enemies, jealous competitors, lukewarm friends—aye, hardest of all, to neglect despising even a fickle public, he cast his eye forward as a man might, else he deserves not to command men—cast forward his eye to a time when that momentary fickleness of the people would pass away, knowing that in the end the people are always just to merit.”

The duke of Wellington responded in the same cordial spirit, rejoicing that though differences of opinion might exist, there were occasions which lifted the politicians of England above all considerations of party.

Mr. O'Connell was not among the number of his political adversaries who became friendly towards the duke. Though the latter treated the angry speeches of the agitator, and the contemptuous epithets lavished on him, with appropriate disdain, his hatred of those arts which were used to inflame the Irish people, precluded him from thinking favourably of that learned person. No concessions made to his opinions could disarm Mr. O'Connell. This is not the place to describe all his various labours to disturb the government. It is sufficient to say, that it was at length thought necessary to subject him to a prosecution. He was charged with being engaged “in an illegal conspiracy for the purpose of effect-

ing changes in the constitution of Ireland, by other than constitutional means.” Seven of his friends were indicted with him. Their trial commenced, in the court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, on the 15th of January, 1844, and was brought to a close on the 12th of the following month, when a verdict of guilty was returned against the parties, with individual exceptions to a portion of the various charges.

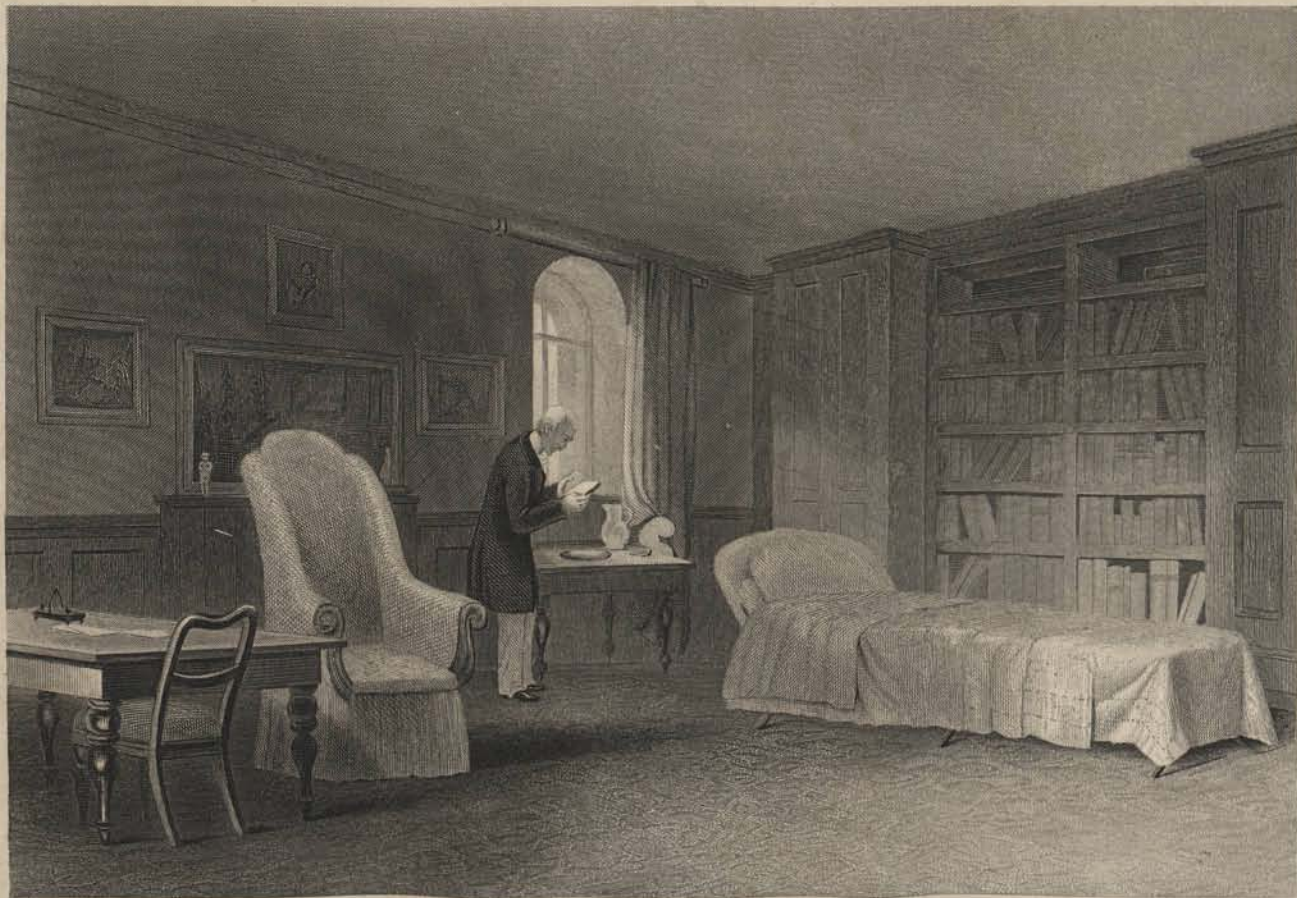
If less conspicuous than heretofore in his declining years, Wellington was still anxious to serve his country by offering sage counsel in regard to the administration of her affairs. He maintained his former opinions. The corn-laws he defended, he eulogised the skill and valour displayed by the army in the East Indies, he deprecated rash interferences with the great seminaries of learning, and renewed his opposition to the abolition of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. He was greatly affected by the death of sir Robert Peel, and rendered a high tribute of admiration to the talents and virtues of his departed friend. The ecclesiastical titles' bill received his support, and on that occasion he expressed his regret at the failure of the catholic relief bill, which he had been sanguine enough to hope would end, or at least abate agitation in Ireland. He praised the services of sir Harry Smith at the Cape; and his powerful mind, to the end of his lengthened career, was turned to all the great political questions of the day. Almost his last speech in parliament was made in support of the militia bill, an increase of the defences of the country having been loudly called for. A letter which he wrote on the subject was published, and evinced much anxious reflection, though its suggestions were not acted upon. On the occasion referred to he spoke with difficulty, and the long pauses between his sentences, and sometimes between the words, betrayed the effort it required to proceed. But his remarks were fully to the point. He asserted that the addition of the militia now proposed to be enrolled, would not swell our peace establishment to more than its fair constitutional proportions, and that our peace establishment ought to have been augmented long before. On the 23rd of June, his grace moved an humble address to her majesty for a copy of an order with respect to the transmission of reinforcements to the Cape. This was his final public act in the house of lords, except his attendance (and as was his wont, he was among the “earliest



O'CONNELL LEAVING THE HALL AFTER HIS TRIAL.

THE TRIAL OF DANIEL O' CONNELL, M.P. FEBY 1844.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S STUDY AND BEDROOM AT WALMER CASTLE.

WHERE HE DIED SEPT. 14, 1852. AGED 84 YEARS.

of the arrivals") at the ceremony of the pro-rogation of parliament on the 2nd of July.

His task was performed; his departure was at hand. On the 17th of September, 1852, the duke having sat up rather later than usual on the previous night, his valet did not call him until a quarter after six o'clock. About half-past seven o'clock, one of the housemaids heard unusual sounds proceeding from the duke's apartment. She immediately gave the alarm. The valet, alarmed, ran directly to the duke's room, and, on arriving there, found the duke lying upon his right side instead of his back, and breathing with apparent difficulty. Approaching his bedside, the valet informed the duke of the hour. "It is a quarter past eight o'clock, your grace." The duke opened his eyes slowly, and said, "Thank you." After a few moments he inquired (still in the same calm and collected voice), "Where does the apothecary live?" Kendall replied, "In Deal, close by, your grace." Pausing for a moment, the duke presently remarked—"I should like to see him, Kendall." Mr. Hulke, the apothecary, arrived, and imagining that his patient was suffering from an attack of indigestion, prescribed accordingly, and before leaving the castle, saw Lord Charles Wellesley, and gave it as his opinion that no danger was to be apprehended. After the surgeon had left the castle, Mr. Kendall prepared some tea, and asked the duke if he would take a little. The duke replied, "Yes, if you please." These were the last words he ever spoke. He had some difficulty in raising himself to take the tea. After drinking it, he again reclined on the bed, and it was observed that his difficulty of breathing appeared to increase. Lord Charles Wellesley, with several of the domestics, were soon on the spot. The duke remained insensible for some time, but at length recovered consciousness, though he did not speak. A succession of fits followed, and he ceased to live.

Full of years as the duke of Wellington was, the event, looking at the ordinary duration of human life, could not be supposed to be far distant; but it, notwithstanding, coming suddenly on the public, created an extraordinary sensation throughout the empire. "Forgot were hatred, wrongs (real or imaginary), and fears;" the unpopular minister, the opponent of reform, were remembered no more; but all parties, all classes desired to honour the great warrior who had successfully carried the thunder of England

from east to west, and closed his military labours in a blaze of triumph, without having known the mortification of a single defeat.

The wishes of the family having been ascertained, it was soon announced that the honours of a public funeral were to be rendered to the departed. Such was the desire of the queen, which was cordially responded to by parliament. The final ceremony was fixed to take place on Thursday, the 18th of November; but it was arranged that the body should lie in state at Chelsea. It may be said to have done so at Walmer, as many thousands visited the apartment in which it rested there. The corpse was brought to London on the morning of the 11th by the South-eastern railway, and was thence escorted to Chelsea.

The lying in state took place on the 11th, and following days, till the evening of the 17th, when the body was removed to the Horse-guards, preparatory to interment on the 18th.

The 18th of November was a day rendered memorable by all the attendant circumstances; nearly all the houses in the line the procession was to take, were fitted up with seats for the accommodation of spectators. The weather, for several weeks, had been remarkably wet. Nothing, however, in the threatening aspect of the clouds could prevent the multitudes, which thronged from all parts of England to witness the solemnity, from repairing to Fleet-street and the Strand long before daylight.

At an early hour the troops which were to attend began to muster in St. James's-park. On the left of the parade, facing the Horse-guards, the 2nd battalion of rifles (the 1st being then at the Cape) was drawn up. Next, the 1st battalion of royal marines and the 33rd regiment in column. To the right of these were the fusileer, Coldstream, and grenadier guards, the whole force forming an imposing array. At the east end of the Mall might be observed the head of the cavalry force, comprising eight squadrons from the most distinguished regiments in the service. Lord Hardinge, by his presence, greatly accelerated the preparations. The coffin was removed from the chamber in which it had rested during the night, and by the aid of machinery was raised to its position on the lofty summit of the car. At eight o'clock the hangings of the tent which concealed it were suddenly furled. The first minute-gun was fired, the troops presented arms and saluted the body, upon which the

roll of the muffled drum, followed by the music of the "Dead March" in *Saul*, announced that the procession had commenced.

A grand funereal car had been built for the occasion. Borne on six wheels, the lower part, bronze, a rich pediment exhibited in its panels the names of those places in India and in Europe which were identified with the greatest triumphs of the deceased. Appropriate military emblems graced its sides. A splendid pall, powdered with silver and embroidered, covered the bier, bordered with laurels of the same metal, and bearing the scriptural inscription, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." The pall was terminated by a magnificent fringe of silver two feet deep. The coffin, with the duke's hat and sword resting on it, surmounted the bier, and from four great halberts rising at each corner, was suspended a magnificent canopy, with pendent cords and tassels of the richest and most costly description. To this gigantic vehicle, twenty-seven feet long, ten feet broad, seventeen feet high, and weighing from ten to eleven tons, twelve of the largest and finest black horses that could be procured, were harnessed three abreast. They were completely covered with velvet housings, which bore the arms of the deceased. The horses' heads were surmounted by nodding plumes.

As the procession advanced towards the east end of the Mall, many members of parliament and peers who had assembled at that point uncovered as it passed. When the car arrived in front of Buckingham-palace it halted for a short time, giving her majesty and the royal family, who were in the balcony above the main entrance, an opportunity of seeing it. Passing up Constitution-hill, the car approached Grosvenor-gate. At the gate a halt was made, and the eye naturally turned towards Apsley-house, which was completely closed. The progress of the pageant lay through the western part of Piccadilly and St. James's-street. At St. James's-palace her majesty and the royal family had a second view of the procession. It moved through Pall-Mall to Charing-cross, and thence by the Strand to Temple-bar, which was, on this occasion, put in masquerade; nearly the whole of its front, both in Fleet-street and the Strand, was covered with black velvet and decorated with fringes. The summit displayed a large silver gilt urn, and the corners urns of a smaller size; from the top of each arose a constant blaze of gas. There

were several monograms, in the centre of which were the initials "W.A.," and suspended from each were representations of the various orders which the late duke had received from different countries. Adjoining were lions bearing shields, containing the armorial bearings of those countries of which he was marshal. For some weeks so bright a day had not been seen. The sun shone with unwonted splendour, when the solemn train entered the cathedral, as if to heighten the last earthly honours that could be rendered to the illustrious subject of the pageant with a ray of celestial glory. The spectacle was in every respect one of historical interest. There were old generals and field officers, the illustrious companions-in-arms of the duke, enduring, as best they could, the force of the searching November wind, which blew keenly through the open doorway of the sacred edifice. The distinguished foreigners withdrew before it several times, and the clergy, who, in double lines extending along the nave, waited for the service to begin, vainly sheltered their faces in their robes. Garter and his colleagues stood it out bravely, and, after many efforts, at length succeeded in marshalling the procession. It was a fine and an imposing sight to see the muster of veterans at the entrance during this detention—sir William Napier sitting on a kettle-drum—sir Charles moving about with the activity of a much younger man—lord Hardinge also vigorous, and full of life; but, most wonderful of all, the marquis of Anglesey, with bald, uncovered head, apparently unconscious of the fact that age stands exposure to cold less successfully than youth. The display of orders, stars, and ribands here was quite overpowering. The procession was of great length. A copy of the official programme follows:—

Infantry—Six Battalions.

Band of the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.

MAJOR-GENERAL FANE:—

2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.

Band of the 1st Battalion Royal Marines—Chatham Division.

1st Battalion Royal Marines.

Band of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.

Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.

Bands of the Scots Fusileer and Coldstream Guards.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHAW:—

Battalion Fusileer Guards.

Battalion Coldstream Guards.

1st Battalion Grenadier Guards.

Band of the Royal Artillery.

Artillery—Nine Guns of the Field Batteries.

Band of Her Majesty's 17th Lancers.

Cavalry—Five Squadrons, viz.:—

MAJOR-GENERAL JACKSON:—

17th Lancers.

Band of Her Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons.

13th Light Dragoons.

Band of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars.

8th Hussars.

Band of Her Majesty's Scots Greys.

Scots Greys.

8th Dragoon Guards.

Eight Guns of Horse Artillery.

The 17 Pieces commanded by Colonel Whinyates, C.B.

Band of the 1st Life Guards.

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. H. CAVENDISH:—

Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue.)

2nd Life Guards.

1st Life Guards.

The troops in the procession, and those assisting the civil authorities to preserve order were commanded by

Major-general H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.

The Infantry drawn up in columns in front of the Horse Guards presented Arms and reversed Arms, and, having saluted the Body, moved off the parade at 8 o'clock, followed by

Marshalmen on Foot.

Messenger of the College of Arms on Foot.

Eight Conductors with Staves on Foot.

Chelsea Pensioners, in number eighty-three, on Foot (who fell in at Charing Cross.)

Twelve Enrolled Pensioners on Foot.

One Soldier from every Regiment in Her Majesty's Service.

Three Soldiers of Artillery, and Three Soldiers of Infantry, of the East India Company's Army, representing the Artillery and Infantry of the Three Presidencies.

Thirteen Trumpets and Kettle Drums.

Two Pursuivants of Arms in a Mourning Coach.

THE STANDARD OR PENON,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

Servants of the Deceased in a Mourning Coach.

Lieut. and Deputy-lieut. of the Tower, in a Carriage. DEPUTATIONS FROM PUBLIC BODIES IN CARRIAGES.

Merchant Taylor's Company, in one Carriage.

East India Company, in one Carriage.

Corporation of the Trinity House, in one Carriage. Barons and Officers of the Cinque Ports, in one Carriage,

with the Lieutenant and Deputy-lieutenant of

Dover Castle, in one Carriage.

Captains of Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Sandown Castles, in one Carriage.

Board of Ordnance and Ordnance Department, in one Carriage.

Delegation from the University of Oxford, in two Carriages.

Deputation from the Common Council of the City of London, in three Carriages (who fell in here after the preceding part of the procession had passed through Temple-bar.)

Two Pursuivants of Arms.

Band of Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.

THE GUIDON,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

Comptroller of the late Duke's Household, in a Mourning Coach.

Physicians to the Deceased, in a Mourning Coach.

Chaplain of the Tower, Chaplain of the Forces in the London District, Chaplain-general of the Forces, in a Mourning Coach.

High Sheriff of the County of Southampton.

Sheriffs of London, in two Carriages.

Aldermen and Recorder of London; a Deputation consisting of four Carriages (who fell in here after the procession passed through Temple-bar.)

Military Secretary.

Companions of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Gen. Sir Loftus Otway, Vice-admiral the Hon. Josceline Percy, Lieutenant-general William Sandwith, Sir Joshua Rowe.

Knights Commanders of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Lieutenant-general Earl Cathcart, Admiral Sir John West, Lieutenant-general Sir Hoptoun Stratford Scott, Sir S. George Bonham.

Knights Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Lieutenant-general Right Hon. Sir Edward Blakeney, Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Cockburn, Lieutenant-general Sir George Pollock, Viscount Palmerston, being one of each Class from the Army, one from the Navy, one from the East India Company's Service, and one from the Civil Service.

Heralds, in a Mourning Coach.

Band of Her Majesty's 2nd Life Guards.

BANNER OF WELLESLEY,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

The Lords Justices of Appeal.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Paymaster General of the Forces.

The Right Hon. the Secretary at War.

The Right Hon. the Judge Advocate General.

The Master General of the Ordnance.

The First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Secretaries of State for Home and Col. Depart.

Speaker of the House of Commons.

Earl of Malmesbury, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

Earl of Derby, First Lord Com. of Treasury.

The Earl Marshal of England.

The Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Lord President of the Council.

The Lord Archbishop of York.

The Lord High Chancellor.

(At Temple-bar, the Lord Mayor, carrying the City Sword, joined in the procession.)

On Horseback.	Assistant	Assistant	On Horseback.
Quartermaster-general.	Adjutant-general.		
Aide-de-Camp to the Deceased.	Aide-de-Camp to the Deceased.		
Deputy Quartermaster-general.	Deputy Adjutant-general.		
Quartermaster-general.	Adjutant-general.		

A carriage of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, drawn by Six Horses, with the Gentleman Usher, the Equerry, and Groom of the Bedchamber, to his Royal Highness.

A Carriage drawn by Six Horses, with the Private Secretary, Treasurer, and Lord of the Bedchamber, to his Royal Highness.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, in a Carriage drawn by Six Horses, attended by the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, and the Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness.

Field Officer in Brigade, Waiting.
Serjeant Trumpeter.
Heralds.

Norroy King of Arms, in a Mourning Coach.
Band of the Royal Horse Guards.

THE GREAT BANNER,
Carried by a Colonel, supported by two Lieutenant-colonels, on Horseback.

(Here, on reaching the Cathedral, the Dignitaries of the Church, meeting the Body at the West Door, fell in.)

BATONS.

OF SPAIN—Borne by Major-general the Duke of Osuna, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Colonel Gabriel de Torres and Colonel de Calv  t y Lara.

OF RUSSIA—Borne by General Prince Gortchakoff, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Major-general Count Benkendorff and Lieutenant-colonel Tchernitzky.

OF PRUSSIA—Borne by General the Count de Nostiz, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by General de Scharnhorst and Lieutenant-general de Massow.

OF PORTUGAL—Borne by Marshal the Duke of Terceira, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Lieutenant-general the Count de Villareal and Major Don Manuel de Souza Coutinho.

OF THE NETHERLANDS—Borne by Lieutenant-general the Baron d'Omphal, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Captain Guillaume Tindal and Captain Gevers.

OF HANOVER—Borne by General Hugh Halkett, C.B., in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Colonels Poten and Marenholtz.

OF ENGLAND—Borne on a Black Velvet Cushion, in a Mourning Coach, by the Marquis of Anglesey, K.G.—Supported by Colonel the Duke of Richmond, K.G., and Major-general the Duke of Cleveland, K.G.

Gentleman { The Coronet of the Deceased, } Gentleman
Usher. { borne on a Black Velvet Cushion, } Usher.
 { in a Mourning Coach, by }
 { Clarenceux King of Arms. }
The Pallbearers, Eight General Officers, in Two Mourning Coaches.

Band of the Grenadier Guards.

THE CORPSE,

Covered with a rich Black Velvet Pall, adorned with Escutcheons, upon a Funeral Car, drawn by Twelve Horses, decorated with Trophies and Heraldic Achievements.

Gentleman Garter Principal King of Arms, in a Mourning Coach. Gentleman Usher.

THE CHIEF MOURNER,

In a long Mourning Cloak, accompanied by Colonel Lord Charles Wellesley, the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Wellesley, and by the Hon. William Wellesley, his Trainbearer, in a Mourning Coach.

The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., and the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T., supporters of the Chief Mourner, in a Mourning Coach.

Assistants to the Chief Mourner.

Relations and Friends of the Deceased.

The late Duke's Horse, led by the Groom to the Deceased.

Private Carriages of the Deceased and of the Chief Mourner.

Band of the Royal Marines—Woolwich Division.

Officers and Men from every Regiment in the Service; consisting of one Captain, a Subaltern, a Serjeant, a Corporal, and five men, from every Regiment.

Band of Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.

CARRIAGE OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Two Carriages representing Her Majesty's Suite.

Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester.

Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent.

Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

Troops closed the Procession.

The Pallbearers were—

General Viscount Combermere, G.C.B. and G.C.H.
General Marquis of Londonderry, G.C.B. and G.C.H.

General Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Lord Seaton, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.H., &c.

Lieut.-general Viscount Gough, G.C.B., &c.

Lieut.-general Sir Charles J. Napier, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Sir J. L. Lushington, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Sir G. Pollock, G.C.B.

Major-general Sir Harry G. W. Smith, Bart. G.C.B.

They were seated on stools on each side of the body. The officers bearing the bannerols ranged behind the supporters of the pall. The Chief Mourner occupied a chair at the head of the body, his supporters on either side, the trainbearer behind, and the assistant-mourners upon stools, also on either side.

H.R.H. Prince Albert was seated in a chair on the right hand of the Chief Mourner; the suit of H.R.H. took their places near him. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge had a seat near Prince Albert.

The body being elevated on a bier, and the pall removed, the coronet and cushion were placed on the coffin, as also the Field Marshal's baton of the deceased. The foreign batons were held and supported during the ceremony by the distinguished persons before named, and they, with the Marquis of Anglesey, occupied stools at the foot of the coffin. The burial service was then commenced. Dr. Milman, the Dean of St. Paul's, read, in a most impressive manner, the Lesson, taken from 1 Cor. xv., commencing at the 20th verse, at the conclusion of which *Nunc Dimittis* was chanted; that was followed by a dirge. The ceremony was concluded by the Bishop of London pronouncing the closing benediction; and at ten minutes before three o'clock, the whole solemnity concluded.